A Comparative Study of the *Majjhima-nikāya*

Volume 2

(Studies of Discourses 91 to 152, Conclusion, Abbreviations, References, Appendix)

Anālayo

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Chapter 10 *Brāhmaṇa-vagga*

MN 91 *Brahmāyu-sutta*

The *Brahmāyu-sutta*, the "discourse to Brahmāyu", describes how the Brahmin Brahmāyu became a disciple of the Buddha. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and another parallel in an individual translation.[1] A few lines of this discourse have also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[2]

The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its two Chinese parallels report in similar terms that the Brahmin Brahmāyu sent his student Uttara to find out if the Buddha was endowed with the MN II 133
thirty-two marks of a superior being (*mahāpurisalakkhaṇa*).[3] On coming into the Buddha's presence, Uttara was able to verify thirty marks on his own. The Buddha then per-

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[1] The parallels are MĀ 161 at T I 685a-690a and T 76 at T I 883b-886a. MĀ 161 and T 76 agree with MN 91 on the location and on taking the name of the Brahmin Brahmāyu as their title (梵摩經 or 梵摩渝經). According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 76 was translated by Zhī Qīan (支謙). MĀ 161 has been studied and translated by Minh Chau 1964/1991: 72, 166-172, 185-186, and 306-312. Brahmāyu is also mentioned in a list of eminent Brahmins under the heading of *ṣaḍ ānuśravikāḥ* in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 39,4.

[2] SHT V 1148 (pp. 146-147), SHT X 3269 (p. 20), SHT X 3425 (p. 73), SHT X 3962 (p. 232, identified in SHT XI), SHT X 4094 (p. 264), and the so far unpublished SHT XI 4587 and SHT XI 4617d, the former identified by Gudrun Melzer and the latter by Klaus Wille (I am indebted to Klaus Wille for kindly providing me with draft transliterations of these fragments). SHT X 3269 corresponds to the beginning of the discourse at MN II 133; SHT V 1148, SHT X 4094, and SHT XI 4587 parallel Uttara's examination of the Buddha's thirty-two marks and his return to Brahmāyu, described at MN II 135; SHT X 3425 has parts of the report how Brahmāyu approached the Buddha, investigated the thirty-two marks, and reflected what to ask the Buddha at MN II 142-143. Fragments that have preserved sections of listings of the thirty-two marks can also be found in SHT V 1045a (p. 27), SHT VI 1453 (p. 141), and SHT IX 2895 (p. 301).

[3] While MN 91 at MN II 134,2 and MĀ 161 at T I 685a11 agree on the name Uttara/優多羅, T 76 at T I 883b23 gives his name as 摩納, apparently taking *māṇava*, "Brahmin youth", to be his proper name. A difference in regard to the qualities of Uttara is that whereas according to MN 91 at MN II 134,2 he had mastered the three Vedas, *tiṇṇaṃ vedānaṃ pāragu*, according to MĀ 161 at T I 685a13 he had mastered four Vedas, 四典經. MN 91 at MN II 133,13 mentions the three Vedas also in relation to Brahmāyu (the parallel passage in MĀ 161 does not refer to Brahmāyu's knowledge of the Vedas). Minh Chau 1964/1991: 307 comments that the reference to four Vedas in the description of Uttara in MĀ 161 is a sign of later development. An otherwise unrelated discourse in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, SĀ 255 at T II 63c12, still speaks just of three Vedas, 三典. Influence of the later notion of four Vedas can also be found in the Pāli commentary at Ps III 362,15, according to which the subsequent reference in MN 91 at MN II 133,15 to "stories as fifth", *itihāsapañcamānaṃ* (found also in MĀ 161 at T I 685a14 as 五句說), implies that in the preceding part four Vedas are intended, *athabbaṇṇavedaṃ catutthaṃ katvā ... itihāso pañcamo*. A description of a learned Brahmin in the Jain *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* 2.18 in Lalwani 1973b: 152,18 does indeed list the four Vedas followed by *itihāsapaṃcamāṇaṃ.* Yet, as Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1297 note 850 points out, "it is more likely ... that the histories are called 'the fifth' in connection with the four branches of study auxiliary to the Vedas that precede them in the description", i.e., as the fifth of the listing in MN 91 at MN II 133,15: *nighaṇḍu, keṭubha, akkhara* and *pabheda* (a fourfold listing that has its counterpart in MĀ 161 at T I 685a13 in 深達因, 緣, 正, 文); cf. also Rhys Davids 1899: 109 note 2 and Winternitz 1908: 110.

formed a feat of supernormal power so that Uttara was able to verify the remaining two marks.[4] Uttara followed the Buddha for some time to observe the Buddha's conduct and then returned to his teacher in order to give a detailed account of the Buddha's thirty-two marks and of various aspects of the Buddha's conduct.[5]

MN II 136 The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its two Chinese parallels list the thirty-two marks of the Buddha by proceeding from feet to head. Treatments of the same topic found in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvyutpatti* differ, as their descriptions of these marks proceed rather from head to feet.[6]

Before embarking on a survey of these thirty-two marks in the *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels, it may be worthwhile to note that the *Brahmāyu-sutta* and other discourses consider the ability to recognize these marks of a superior being as an art to be learned. Such ability is in fact part of the standard description of the qualities of a praiseworthy Brahmin in the Pāli discourses.[7]

Now, if to recognize these thirty-two marks is a praiseworthy quality and requires previous training, it would follow that, at least in the way these marks were conceived at the time of the early discourses, they should not have been easily visible physical marks. In other words, the original conception of these marks would probably have intended nuances, perceptible only to a keen observer who was trained in the art of detecting them, not abnormal physical marks that are so plainly evident that one cannot fail to notice them.

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[4] T 76 at T I 883c8 further enhances this feat of supernormal power by describing that five coloured lights appeared and circled thrice around the Buddha's body, a phenomena that recurs again in T 76 at T I 884b21 in a description of how the Buddha would answer questions posed by his disciples.

[5] The versions differ on the time period during which Uttara followed the Buddha, which according to the Sanskrit fragment SHT V 1148R2 was three months, according to MĀ 161 at T I 686a13 four months, according to T 76 at T I 883c14 six months, and according to MN 91 at MN II 135,23 seven months. Another difference is that in the Sanskrit fragment and the two Chinese versions Uttara took his leave and paid his respect to the Buddha before departing, a circumstance not mentioned in MN 91.

[6] Hokazono 1994: 484,14 or Lefmann 1902: 105,11 or Vaidya 1958b: 74,22, and *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 236-267 in Sakaki 1926: 22-24, a difference in order already noted by Waddell 1914/1915: 138. Bollée 2005: 23 explains that in the order of listing found, e.g., in MN 91 and its parallels, "the feet are dealt with first, [since] gods as well as great men like kings [are] being looked up to from below, for the viewer is lying at his [or their] feet". Waldschmidt 1930: 271 and Weber 1994: 43 hold the sequence in MN 91 and its parallels to be the more original version; cf. also the survey in Burnouf 1852/1925: 577. For references to other occurrences of this order cf. Dietz 2006: 153. For references to these thirty-two marks in general cf. BHSD: 458-460; for a listing of these marks in an Uighur fragment cf. von Gabain 1954: 52-53; on the practice of visualizing the thirty-two marks, as described in T 643, cf. Yamabe 1999b: 216-262. For a comparison of the marks in the *Lalitavistara* with similar marks in *Purāṇa* texts cf. Sastri 1940: 311-314; for a survey of comparable marks associated with Mahāvīra cf. Shah 1987: 95-96.

[7] MN 91 at MN II 133,16 and MN II 134,2 includes *mahāpurisalakkhaṇesu anavayo* in a list of praiseworthy qualities of Brahmāyu and of his student Uttara. The same knowledge is, according to DN 4 at DN I 120,17, part of the prerequisites that make up a true Brahmin in the eyes of other Brahmins, according to AN 3:59 at AN I 166,20, this knowledge is required to be reckoned a *tevijjā* Brahmin by other Brahmins, and according to AN 5:192 at AN III 223,18, such knowledge makes a Brahmin worthy of respect by other Brahmins.

Another point to be noted is that the discourses present the science of these thirty-two marks as a Brahminical lore, considering such concern with physical marks as an occupation peculiar to Brahmins.[8] According to the *Mahāvastu*, when the bodhisattva was about to be born, the *deva*s of the Pure Abodes taught the thirty-two marks to the Brahmins in order to enable them to recognize the bodhisattva, a suggestion made also in the Pāli commentary.[9] This presents the thirty-two marks as a tool to help ancient Indian Brahmins appreciate the spiritual potential of the bodhisattva.

In the discourses, the thirty-two marks fulfil the same purpose in regard to the spiritual accomplishment of the Buddha, as by verifying their existence Brahmins develop the necessary faith to give ear to the Buddha's liberating teachings. Several discourses describe how prominent Brahmins are told by their fellow Brahmins that it is beneath their dignity to visit a wandering ascetic like the Buddha. In reply, Brahmins like Sonadaṇḍa, Kūṭadanta, and Caṅkī highlight the qualities of the Buddha, among others his possession of the thirty-two marks of a superior being, thereby lending support to their conviction that it is proper for them to visit someone who is endowed with such excellent qualities.[10] Thus, from the perspective of these discourses, the thirty-two marks of a superior being function as a tool by means of which Brahmins can be convinced to have respect for the Buddha, so that they become willing to approach him.

According to the description of these thirty-two marks in the *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels, a thousand-spoked wheel was found on the sole of each of the Buddha's feet.[11]

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[8] Those who wish to examine whether the Buddha has these marks are usually Brahmins attempting to ascertain the spiritual accomplishment of the Buddha, such as the Brahmin Ambaṭṭha in DN 3 at DN I 105,22, the Brahmin Pokkharasāti (Ambaṭṭha's teacher) in DN 3 at DN I 109,1, or the Brahmin Sela in MN 92 at MN II 146 (= Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 107,11). Coomaraswamy 1928a: 816 remarks that these "conceptions of ideal form, expressed in terms of physiognomy ... are not so much of Buddhist as of Brāhmanical (and ultimately of popular) origin". In fact, DN 1 at DN I 9,4 reckons the art of making predictions based on the physical marks (*lakkhaṇa*) of a person to be an "animal knowledge", *tiracchānavijjā*, and a wrong type of livelihood. Sv I 92,24 explains this passage to refer to predicting that someone with certain marks will become king, etc.: *lakkhaṇan ti iminā lakkhaṇena samannāgato rājā hoti*.

[9] Basak 1963a: 238,2 and 480,13 or Senart 1882a: 197,8 and 366,10, as well as Ps III 364,12.

[10] Sonadaṇḍa in DN 4 at DN I 116,8, Kūṭadanta in DN 7 at DN I 132,18, and Caṅkī in MN 95 at MN II 167,19.

[11] Minh Chau 1964/1991: 168 suggests that the preceding quality, according to which the Buddha sets his feet squarely on the ground, is not found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version. The description of the thirty-two marks in MĀ 161 at T I 686a25-c15 joins several marks into one, so that its actual listing covers only twenty-eight points, a circumstance which can easily lead to overlooking a quality when comparing the list in MĀ 161 with its counterparts in MN 91 or T 76. This may be why Minh Chau apparently did not notice the first quality in MĀ 161 at T I 686a25: 足安平立, which corresponds to the first quality in MN 91 at MN II 136,6: *suppatiṭṭhitapādo* and in T 76 at T I 883c23: 足下安平正, all of which describe the level tread of the Buddha's feet; on which cf. also Weller 1923: 174 note 27. Strong 2001: 41 explains the significance of this characteristic to be that "just as a *cakravatin* ... will encounter no obstacles or opposition as he conquers the world, so too a buddha will find none who can oppose him as he spreads the Dharma". Regarding another and presumably in some way related quality of the feet, *ussaṅkhapāda*, judging from Bollée 1977a: 375 the arches of the feet might represent having stepped on and thereby mastered evil.

A description of the feet of a Buddha in the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda *Vinaya* indicates that his soles were also decorated with swastikas.[12]

At a later point of its treatment, the individual translation reports that the wheel-mark produced by the Buddha's footprints would continue to shine for seven days and become the object of people's worship.[13] A discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and its Chinese and Gāndhārī parallels describe the effect the Buddha's footprints once had on a Brahmin.[14] This Brahmin had seen the imprint of the wheel-mark in the Buddha's footprints and was awe-struck, wondering what kind of a divine being could have such footprints. This motivated him to follow the footsteps until he came to the Buddha's presence, who then delivered a discourse to this Brahmin on the nature of a Buddha.

Another tale related to the wheel-mark on the Buddha's feet can be found in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*. According to this tale, when Ajātasattu had usurped the throne, Devadatta approached him and requested to be recognized as the successor to the Buddha. Ajātasattu replied that this was not possible, as Devadatta did not have wheel-marks on the soles of his feet. This caused Devadatta to approach a smith and have wheel-marks burnt on his feet.[15]

The wheel-mark on the Buddha's feet also played a central role in early Buddhist iconography, which initially did not depict the Buddha in human form,[16] but symbolically indicated his presence by various means, one of these being footprints marked with a wheel.

When describing the length and softness of the Buddha's hand and feet, the Pāli version notes that his fingers and toes were "netted".[17] The commentary on this characteristic draws attention to a *Vinaya* regulation, according to which someone whose fingers and toes are webbed together by skin should not be ordained.[18] The commentary then concludes that the reference to the Buddha's "netted" fingers and toes should not be

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[12] Basak 1965: 415,16 or Senart 1890: 304,16: *pādatalā jātā svastikairupaśobhitāḥ*. On the marks on the Buddha's feet and their representations cf. , e.g., Cicuzza 2011, Quagliotti 1998, Skilling 1992b, and id. 1996b.

[13] T 76 at T I 884a19, which actually reads 足不蹈, where the 不 could be a scribal error for 下, or else the idea could be that the wheel-imprints appeared without the Buddha's feet even touching the ground (an idea found, e.g., in T 807 at T XVII 751c6, cf. Harrison 1995: 4).

[14] AN 4:36 at AN II 37,26, SĀ 101 at T II 28a23, SĀ[2] 267 at T II 467a29, and the British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment 12 line 4 in Allon 2001: 120. Another parallel, EĀ 38.3 at T II 717c21, does not mention the wheel sign, as it only reports that the Brahmin saw that the Buddha's footprints were "excellent", 妙. Wimalaratana 1994: 138 notes that the wheel symbol as a mark of divine power is also found "on the hand of Visnu figures"; cf. also Horsch 1957: 73. Neumann 1896/1995: 1114 note 242 interprets the thousand-spoke wheel to refer to the imprint left by the heel on dusty or wet ground; for a similar suggestion cf. Senart 1882b: 90.

[15] Gnoli 1978a: 165,3.

[16] On aniconism cf., e.g., the arguments put forth in Dehejia 1991 and Linrothe 1993.

[17] MN 91 at MN II 136,13: *jālahatthapādo*. A listing of the marks of Mahāvīra in the *Uvavāiya* 16 in Leumann 1883/1966: 30,6 similarly speaks of *jālapāṇī*.

[18] Vin I 91,11: *na phaṇahatthako pabbājetabbo* (reading supplemented, as E[e] has abbreviated this part); cf. also Horner 1957/1970: 321 note 2.

taken literally, but should be understood to imply that his feet and hands were marked with lines.[19] In fact, even though the Buddha was never formally ordained, it would be curious to represent him with a physical peculiarity that would bar a prospective monk from ordination.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version follows a more literal interpretation of this quality, as it compares the Buddha's netted fingers and toes to a goose.[20] This image suggests that the Buddha's fingers and toes were connected to each other through skin. The same idea recurs also in the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Mahāvastu*, which describe that the fingers and toes were "connected" by a net.[21] Several scholars have suggested that such an interpretation could have arisen from a misunderstanding of a feature found on Buddha statues, as sculpture makers tend to weld fingers and toes together so that they do not break off.[22]

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[19] Ps III 376,17. Wimalaratana 1994: 89 explains that, since according to another characteristic the fingers are of equal length, "the lines running across the fingers must be parallel", concluding that "the clear cut parallel lines running on the palms and toes would have shown as if the fingers were connected to each other". Instead of lines on the surface of the palm, according to Coomaraswamy 1931: 21 the *jāla* could represent "a perfection of form demonstrated by the appearance of the reddish lines of light that may be seen between the parallel fingers when the hand is held up to the light ... such lines are only ... seen when the fingers are regular (*ekappamāṇā*) as well as delicate and long (which other *lakkhaṇa*s require), if the joints are swollen, there will be places where the fingers are too closely pressed together to allow ... the passage of any light at all, and other spaces where the fingers are not quite in contact, and only clear daylight can be seen between the fingers. Hence the *jālalakkhaṇa* implies after all nothing but a perfection of form of the fingers". For critical remarks on this interpretation cf. Banerjea 1931b. Senart 1882b: 146 interprets this sign as originally referring to a form of luminescence of the hand and feet.

[20] MĀ 161 at T I 686b7: 沙門瞿曇手足網縵, 猶如鴈王. The goose imagery recurs also in MĀ 59 at T I 493c27, paralleling a listing of the thirty-two marks in DN 30 at DN III 143,18, in DĀ 1 at T I 5b1, paralleling a listing of the thirty-two marks in DN 14 at DN II 17,23, and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 50,8; for further occurrences cf. Lamotte 1944/1981: 274 note 1; for a figurative use of the goose imagery in relation to the Buddha cf. also the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 148,12 or in Vaidya 1999: 91,31. Regnier 1997: 576 notes that in ancient Indian literature the *haṃsa* stands for nobility, making it only natural that characteristics of this animal are attributed to a venerated person; cf. also the detailed study by Vogel 1962. According to the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 90b9, this characteristic is only visible when the fingers are stretched apart, 張指則現, 不張則不現, translated by Lamotte 1944/1981: 273: "quand il écarte les doigts, la membrane apparaît; quand il n'écarte pas les doigts elle n'apparaît pas". This explanation suggests the possibility that perhaps this characteristic refers only to the connecting skin found at the base of the fingers, as suggested by Neumann 1896/1995: 1146 note 478. In the case of the Buddha, this skin may have been held to have differed from that of average human beings, perhaps being more prominent, so as to warrant mention as a special characteristic.

[21] Cowell 1886: 56,21 or Vaidya 1999: 34,22 and Basak 1965: 415,14 or Senart 1890: 304,14: *jālāvanaddha*, and Lefmann 1902: 318,14 or Vaidya 1958b: 232,25: *jālāvitānāvanaddha*; cf. also Wimalaratana 1994: 87.

[22] Banerjea 1930: 725 examines this feature in the light of early Indian sculptures and concludes that the idea that the Buddha had a sort of skin between his fingers and toes is due to being misled by "a simple craftsman's device", cf. also Foucher 1918: 308 and Lamotte 1946: 66. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1995: 214 notes that the same characteristic can already be found in painted Buddha images from the 2nd cen-

The *Brahmāyu-sutta* describes the concealed nature of the Buddha's male organ, a quality the *Madhyama-āgama* version illustrates with the example of a horse.[23] This is one of the two qualities the Buddha had to reveal to Uttara, as it would not have been possible for Uttara to ascertain this characteristic on his own.

The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its two Chinese parallels concur that the Buddha's skin had a hue resembling gold,[24] and was of such nature that dirt would not adhere to it.[25] The

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tury A.D. As in the case of paintings the fingers would not need any support to prevent breaking off, this indicates that by that time the Buddha was indeed thought to have had some type of skin or web between his fingers. Stutterheim 1929: 235 adduces a passage from Kālidāsa in support of the hypothesis that the *jāla* characteristic refers to reddish lines of light seen between parallel fingers of the hand held against the sun (cf. also Coomaraswamy quoted above in note 19), and suggests that the connection between the fingers to be seen on sculptures and painted images could be an attempt to represent the effect created by these reddish lines of light.

[23] MN 91 at MN II 136,17: *kosohitavatthaguyho* (on the term cf. also Sferra 2008), rendered in MĀ 161 at T I 686b16 and T 76 at T I 883c26 as 陰馬藏, an expression used also in DĀ 1 at T I 5b5, parallel to an occurrence of the same mark in DN 14 at DN II 17,28 (Hirakawa 1997: 1282 gives *kośagatavastiguyhatā* for 馬藏相), to which MĀ 161 at T I 686b16 adds "like an excellent horse king", 猶良馬王. The image of a horse king recurs also in MĀ 59 at T I 494a5 (parallel to *kosohitavatthaguyho* in DN 30 at DN III 143,23). The *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 50,15 compares this characteristic to a well-bred horse and also to a well-bred elephant. Barnes 1987: 120 explains that "a common Buddhist interpretation of the sheathed penis of the Buddha ... is ... that his penis is covered because he has abandoned sexuality completely". Dayal 1932/1970: 305 similarly comments that "the covered male organ typifies lifelong chastity"; cf. also Verardi 1999/2000: 71, who suggests that this mark "indicates the sexually indistinct nature of any divine being, who, as such, embodies both the male and the female principles", comparable to the retracted penis of a horse or an elephant, whereby "outwardly, its sexual characteristics remain indistinct". That something of this type must be intended is also highlighted by Egge 2003: 205 note 18, who points out that "the phrase *kosohitaṃvatthaguyhaṃ* is usually rendered as 'the genitals (lit. 'that which is to be hidden by a cloth') are enclosed in a sheath'. However, because *kosa* can mean foreskin, this mark thus understood is hardly distinctive". That is, perhaps the point of this mark is that the Buddha was able to retract his male organs, similar to horses and elephants; cf. also Anālayo 2010c. Another aspect associated by some scholars with this mark is that "the idea of a woman's incapability to become a Buddha must have been derived from this tenth mark possessed by the Buddha, because even if the genitals are concealed, this mark necessitates that a Buddha must be a man", cf. Kajiyama 1982: 65 (quoting Ōchō to this effect); cf. also Hae-ju 1999: 131 and Romberg 2002: 164. For a reply to this suggestion cf. Anālayo 2009b: 181-182 note 54.

[24] MN 91 at MN II 136,18: "[he is of] golden colour", *suvaṇṇavaṇṇo*, MĀ 161 at T I 686b22: "[his] body is of golden colour", 身黃金色, T 76 at T I 883c26: "[his] body is golden", 身色紫金. DN 30 at DN III 143,25 further qualifies *suvaṇṇavaṇṇa* as *kañcanasannibha*, "resembling gold", thereby making it clear that resemblance is intended with this characteristic (cf. also Dietz 2006: 155, restoration of fragment 1r4, and Sn 3:7 at Sn 551). Horner 1957/1970: 321 note 5 explains that golden is "the traditional colour symbol for immortality", Huxley 1996: 156 comments that "when the Buddha's skin shines forth brighter than gold [D. II. 133], this recalls the iconography of Indian gods"; cf. also Franke 1914b: 350 and Nakamura 2000b: 221. Powers 2009: 136 notes that "a golden exterior is a pervasive motif in Indian Buddhist literature that indicates moral excellence". DN 30 at DN III 159,7 reckons the golden colour of the Buddha's skin to be the karmic fruit of past lives spent free from anger. The *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 32,6 or in Senart 1890: 23,7 notes that already at his birth the body of the bodhisattva was of such golden colour, *sugataṃ vigrahaṃ iva jātarūpasya*. The *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1978a: 163,24 takes this qual-

commentary concludes that he Buddha had no need to wash himself at all. This stands to some extent in contrast to the *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its Chinese parallels, which record that the Buddha washed his feet,[26] and which also describe that after a meal the Buddha would clean his bowl in such a way that at the same time his hands were being washed.[27] From the commentarial perspective, however, a Buddha has no need to wash his hands and feet, although he may do so in order to refresh himself or set an example to others.[28]

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse explains that dust did not stick to the Buddha's skin due to his former wholesome conduct.[29] According to the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta*, this particular quality was the result of the Buddha's practice, during former lives, of approaching ascetics and Brahmins for instructions.[30] The connection the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta* makes between receiving instructions from an ascetic or Brahmin and being free from dust brings to mind the standard descriptions of the attainment of stream-entry during a gradual discourse given by the Buddha, which refer to the stream-entrant's vision of truth in terms of the arising of the "dustless and stainless" Dharma-eye,[31] although in this context the absence of dust is obviously meant symbolically.

According to the *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels, when the Buddha stood erect he could rub and stroke his knees with the palms of his hands.[32] This characteristic would

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ity literally, as it describes that Devadatta had his body gilded by a goldsmith in order to imitate the golden colour of the Buddha's body; cf. also T 1450 at T XXIV 191c2 and Matsunami 1979: 335. The *Theravāda* Vinaya also seems to follow a literal interpretation, as it refers to the colour of the Buddha's skin in order to define "gold", Vin III 238,2: *jātarūpaṃ nāma satthuvaṇṇo vuccati.*

25 MN 91 at MN II 136,20: "dust and dirt does not stick to his body", *rajojallaṃ kāye na upalippati* (B^{e}-MN II 337,13 and S^{e}-MN II 532,20: *upalimpati*), MĀ 161 at T I 686b10: "dust and water do not adhere [to it]", 塵水不著, and T 76 at T I 883c28: "dust and water do not adhere to [his] body", 塵水不著身.

26 MN 91 at MN II 139,26, MĀ 161 at T I 687b24, and T 76 at T I 884b14.

27 MN 91 at MN II 138,15, MĀ 161 at T I 687b11, and T 76 at T I 884a27.

28 Ps III 378,2; for similar notions of Buddhas not being in need to wash their feet or take a bath in a text of the Lokottaravāda tradition cf. Harrison 1982: 215,17. In regard to a description in MN 26 at MN I 161,5, according to which the Buddha went with Ānanda for a bath, Ps II 166,6 then explains that this was just in order to refresh himself, *utugahaṇattha*.

29 MĀ 161 at T I 687a16: 以本善行故. MĀ 161 at T I 687a23 and T I 687b20 makes the same indication in relation to the composure of the Buddha's faculties.

30 DN 30 at DN III 157,15.

31 MN 91 at MN II 145,13: *virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhammacakkhuṃ udapādi*. Gethin 2004b: 517, in his detailed survey of the range of meanings of the term *dhamma* in Pāli texts, explains that in the compound *dhamma-cakkhu* the term *dhamma* stands for "truth", in the sense of a "vision of the truth".

32 MN 91 at MN II 136,15: *ṭhitako kho pana so bhavaṃ gotamo anoṇamanto ubhohi pāṇitalehi jaṇṇukāni parimasati parimajjati* (B^{e}-MN II 337,7, C^{e}-MN II 580,14, and S^{e}-MN II 532,16: *anonamanto*, C^{e}adds *va* after *ṭhitako*, S^{e}: *jannukāni*), MĀ 161 at T I 686b20: "standing straight without bending the body, stretching the hands out [they] rub the knee(s)", 身不曲者, 平立伸手以摩其膝, and T 76 at T I 884a2: "standing straight both hands rub the knee(s)", 平住兩手摩膝; cf. also the *Mahāvadāna-sūtra* fragment 420aR2-3 in Fukita 2003: 81 (95.2 + 95.3), which has preserved: *(ma)ārjati parimārjati* (or in Waldschmidt 1953: 45: *[m]ārjati pari[mā]rjati*). DĀ 1 at T I 5b5 (parallel to DN 14) describes that, when standing straight, the hanging hands go past the knee(s), 平立垂手過膝.

require disproportionally long arms and does not seem to be compatible with another of the thirty-two marks, according to which the height of the Buddha's body equals the span of his arms.[33]

The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels agree that the Buddha had a superior sense of taste.[34] To include the Buddha's sense of taste in a listing of physical characteristics is puzzling, since it is not easy to imagine how visitors like Uttara were able to verify this quality.[35]

The Pāli and Chinese versions portray the Buddha with a long tongue and with forty white teeth,[36] which would imply that the Buddha had eight teeth more than the usual number of teeth in human dentition.[37] They also compare his jaw to that of a lion.[38]

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[33] MN 91 at MN II 136,27: *yāvatakvassa kāyo tāvatakvassa vyāmo, yāvatakvassa vyāmo tāvatakvassa kāyo*, an incompatibility pointed out by Kramrisch 1935: 164 note 2. Wimalaratana 1994: 94 notes that "in Brahminical literature ... long arms signify heroism ... and leadership".

[34] MN 91 at MN II 136,29: *rasaggasaggī* (S[e]-MN II 533,9: *rasattasaggī*), MĀ 161 at T I 686c4: 通味第一味, and T 76 at T I 884a6: 味味次第味. Childers 1875/1993: 401 s.v. *rasaggasā* translates *rasaggasaggī* as "having the nerves of sensation meeting at the top"; cf. also Wimalaratana 1994: 113, who suggests that this characteristic might refer to the "sensory taste receptors" found in the mouth. The topic of the Buddha's taste comes up again in MN 91 at MN I I 138,26, which notes that the Buddha would taste food without experiencing desire for the taste of food, *rasapaṭisaṃvedi ... āhāraṃ āhāreti, no ca rasarāgapaṭisaṃvedi*; cf. also MĀ 161 at T I 687b5 and T 76 at T I 884b1. The same topic recurs in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1978a: 37,27 as a statement made by the Buddha when, on the occasion of his first visit home after awakening, his former wife attempted to lure him with tasty food, *ahaṃ ... rasapratisaṃvedī no tu rasarāgapratisaṃvedī.*

[35] Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1298 note 856 comments that "it is difficult ... to understand either how this quality could be considered a physical characteristic or how it could be perceived by others". Boucher 2008: 176 note 12 similarly points out that "one might wonder why no doubt seems to have been expressed concerning the Buddha's exquisite sense of taste". Lopez 2005: 20 sums up that the texts do not indicate how someone could have seen "the perfect sense of taste, the forty teeth, and only one body hair per follicle".

[36] MN 91 at MN II 137,1, MĀ 161 at T I 686c3, and T 76 at T I 884a3.

[37] Myer 1986: 129 includes this characteristic among "physical peculiarities or even abnormalities that may well have been considered auspicious". Wimalaratana 1994: 115 explains that "in ancient India the possession of more than the common number of teeth was regarded as an auspicious characteristic", following "a common trend of Indian thought to increase qualities or characteristics numerically to denote the superiority of a person". According to an explanation proposed by Neumann 1896/1995: 1115 note 248, the reference to forty teeth might only represent the beginning fourth decade and thus should be taken to mean "over thirty" teeth. Such an interpretation would be in line with an observation made by Nitta 2008: 1099 regarding the thirty-two characteristics in general, in that some of these marks "seem very unnatural, leading us to wonder ... whether ancient Buddhists ... believed in them literally". Yet, in the present case a more literal understanding cannot be a priori excluded, as supernumerary teeth do on occasion occur, which could involve fourth and fifth molars, so that a set of forty teeth is not entirely impossible. In fact, had the Buddha been held to have the normal number of teeth (just "over thirty"), it would be difficult to understand how this could have been considered a distinct mark of a superior being.

[38] MN 91 at MN II 136,30, MĀ 161 at T I 686b28, and T 76 at T I 884a3; on the lion symbolism cf., e.g., Bareau 1971b: 17; on the tendency of associating the Buddha with the lion and the elephant in art cf. Bautze-Picron 2009.

This brings to mind a recurrent image in the discourses, which compares the Buddha's proclamation of his teachings to a lion sounding its roar.[39]

According to the Pāli version's description, the Buddha's head was like a turban.[40] The commentary explains this to refer to the roundness of the Buddha's head.[41] The Chinese versions, however, render the same quality in a way that appears to have a real protuberance in mind.[42]

This could be another misunderstanding caused by a feature found on Buddha images. In ancient Indian art, it was apparently a standard procedure to represent gods and divine beings with long hair, at times depicted as being worn in a topknot.[43] Although the discourses leave little doubt that the Buddha was shaven-headed just like other monks,[44]

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[39] Cf. above pp. 99 and 105; for a study of the motif of the lion's roar cf. Anālayo 2009g.

[40] MN 91 at MN II 137,9: "turban [like] head", *uṇhīsasīso* (S^e-MN II 533,17: *uṇhisasīso*), a mark the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta*, DN 30 at DN III 169,3, presents as the outcome of past lives spent in wholesome conduct, generosity, and respectful behaviour. The wearing of a turban was one of the royal insignia of a head-anointed king, cf., e.g., MN 89 at MN II 119,27, which depicts how king Pasenadi took off his turban, *uṇhīsa*, as a mark of respect when approaching the Buddha.

[41] Ps III 386,4: "according to one method of explanation, 'turban [like] head' [means] that his head is like a 'head wrapped with a turban', according to a second method of explanation, 'turban [like] head' [means] that his 'head is all round like a turban'", *purimanayena uṇhīsaveṭhitasīso viyā ti uṇhīsasīso*, *dutiyanayena uṇhīsaṃ viya sabbattha parimaṇḍalasīso ti uṇhīsasīso*.

[42] MĀ 161 at T I 686c13 and T 76 at T I 884a9: 肉髻, literally "flesh [like] a topknot".

[43] Banerjea 1931a: 510 and 512 explains that "wearing of long hair in different modes was a common custom among the males ... They not only carried these luxurious locks on their own heads in different shapes, but endowed their gods with this same characteristic. Thus the various gods depicted in the early Indian monuments of the pre-Christian period ... are shown with luxuriant hair dressed in various ways", with the hair worn in a topknot as "one of their most prominent adornments". When with the passage of time the Buddha was seen more and more as a divine being, "in the anthropomorphic representation of the Bhagavat, the depiction of the flowing tresses was quite natural". After surveying representations of the *uṇhīsa* in ancient Indian art, Banerjea concludes that the early representations were merely meant to show a topknot, but these representations were later misunderstood to represent a fleshy or even bony protuberance. Coomaraswamy 1928a: 835, who comes to the same conclusion, notes that "we have no literary or iconographic evidence for the interpretation of the *uṣṇīṣa* as a bony protuberance previous to about A.D. 100 at the earliest". Kramrisch 1935: 157 explains that "the manifested power of divinity is shown in the growth of hair", which she relates not only to the sculptural representation of the Buddha with long hair, but also sees behind the traditional account of the bodhisattva's first aspiration to become a Buddha, suggesting that "when the future Śākyamuni spreads his hair before Dīpaṅkara Buddha to walk over it, the power of the previous Buddha is transmitted to the Buddha to be". Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1995: 164 notes that "not only the Buddha but also gods show the uṣṇīṣa ... there is no doubt that it was intended to reproduce a hair-knot on top of the head ... not until *much* later was it understood as a protuberance of the skull"; cf. also Foucher 1918: 297, who relates the arising of the idea of a protuberance to a change in the way the hair was being represented. Waldschmidt 1930: 274 suggests that perhaps awareness of the fact that the Buddha had been shaven-headed caused the topknot to be interpreted as a protuberance.

[44] According to MN 26 at MN I 163,30 and its parallel MĀ 204 at T I 776b4, on going forth the bodhisattva shaved his head. Sn 3:4 at Sn p. 80,2 and its parallels SĀ 1184 at T II 320b28 and SĀ² 99 at T II 409a3 describe how a Brahmin saw the Buddha uncover his head and realized that the Buddha's head

artists soon took to portraying him with long hair, thereby giving expression to the semi-divine status he had acquired by their time.[45]

was shaven, which indicates that the Buddha continued to shave his hair. The suggestion by Taddei 1996/2003: 429 that this is the only canonical indication that the Buddha continued to be shaven-headed does not seem correct (cf. also Burnouf 1852/1925: 562, who assumed that there is no indication at all that the Buddha shaved his head), as he is qualified as shaven-headed, *muṇḍa*, also at Vin IV 91,20. Again, in Sn 3:4 at Sn 456 the Buddha says of himself that he has his head-hair shaved off, *nivuttakesa*. Thus, Schlingloff 1963b: 55 seems to be right when he concludes that according to the early tradition the Buddha shaved his hair and beard. Moreover, several passages indicate that the Buddha was not easily distinguishable from other monks, which he would have been if he had not been shaven-headed: According to DN 2 at DN I 50,15 and its parallel DĀ 27 at T I 108a4, King Ajātasattu needed help to recognize the Buddha among a congregation of seated monks. MN 31 at MN I 205,20, MN 128 at MN III 155,15, MĀ 72 at T I 536b8, MĀ 185 at T I 729c22, and EĀ 24.8 at T II 629b6 report that the guardian of a park in which three Buddhist monks were living wanted to stop the Buddha from entering this park, evidently not recognizing who was before him. According to MN 140 at MN III 238,8 and its parallels MĀ 162 at T I 690a27 and T 511 at T XIV 779c15, on meeting the Buddha by chance the monk Pukkusāti was unable to recognize him. The background story to *pācittiya* rule 92 Vin IV 173,6 records that other monks mistook Nanda for the Buddha, as the robe he was wearing was similar in length to the Buddha's robe. A similar account can also be found in the account of the corresponding *pātayantika* rule 90 in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 695b15, and in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 130b28. These instances suggest that the Buddha did not have longer hair than other monks or even any other physical mark of a type that would have made it easy for others to recognize him immediately; cf. also Guang Xing 2002b: 10 or id. 2005: 14. Regarding the Buddha being shaven-headed, according to the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 110,1 or in Senart 1897: 179,11, Upāli had been responsible for shaving the Buddha's hair; for additional sources cf. Bareau 1960: 262. Krishan 1966: 281 points out that the early sculptural representations also depict Jain saints with hair, even though according to the literary sources of the Jain tradition these saints had plucked out their hair when going forth. Ibid p. 282 then explains that the sculptural representations of the Buddha fashioned him after the model of Brahmā, who "in Indian iconography is invariably endowed with locks of hair". As Krishan indicates, to take Brahmā as a model for representing the Buddha is in line with a tendency in the discourses of comparing the Buddha's complexion to that of Brahmā, cf., e.g., MN 95 at MN II 166,32: "the recluse Gotama is handsome ... with a Brahmā-like complexion and stature", *samaṇo khalu, bho, gotamo abhirūpo ... brahmavaṇṇī brahmavaccasī* (B^{e}-MN II 379,5 and S^{e}-MN II 596,1: *brahmavacchasī*). In a similar vein, other discourses qualify the Buddha as "become Brahmā", *brahmabhūto*, cf., e.g., MN 18 at MN I 111,13, and according to Sn 3:5 at Sn 508, on seeing the Buddha a Brahmin exclaimed that he had met Brahmā, *bhagavā hi me sakkhi Brahm' ajja diṭṭho,* followed by explaining that the Buddha was like Brahmā, *brahmasamo.* Although these instances would originally not have been meant in a literal sense, a more literal understanding of such passages could well have provided a cue to sculptural representation.

45 The tendency towards investing the Buddha with such a status has been repeatedly noted, e.g., Behm 1971: 41 in his study of the *Jātaka*s finds "definite and unmistakeable signs of the divinisation of the Buddha". Chaudhary 1994a: 65 remarks that in the course of time the "Buddha was gradually shorn of human characteristics and superhuman qualities were bestowed on him. He was deified". Coomaraswamy 1928a: 838 comments that "the activity of the earthly Buddha, originally a living memory, has become, as it were, the *līlā* of a deity". Dayal 1932/1970: 28-29 explains that "the competition of the rival Indian sects and movements also led the Buddhists to advance new claims on behalf of their leader ... they transformed him into a living immortal, powerful and gracious *deva*". Gokhale 1994/2001a: 71 points out that in this way "the Buddha ceases to be an ordinary human being, and is elevated to the status of a person greater than some of the great gods of the Vedic mythology". Haldar 1977: 131 notes

The topknot used in such representations may then have been misunderstood as an actual protuberance on the Buddha's head, a feature that soon became standard for Buddha statues,[46] and was eventually also employed in depicting members of the Buddha's family.[47]

Two out of the thirty-two marks, the sheathed male organ and the long tongue, are not perceptible per se, but require an act of demonstration by the Buddha.[48] The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels agree that the Buddha did not actually show his private parts, but rather performed a feat of supernormal power to reveal his condition.[49] In order to display the length of his tongue, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version and

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various "characteristics of the Buddha [that] remind us of the Supreme god of Brāhmaṇical literature". According to Harrison 1978a: 37, "with the passage of time the Buddha became less an object of emulation and more an object of devotion, growing in stature as memories faded". Horner 1936/1979: 203 observes that "the idea of Gotama as a god ... came more and more to be in the air ... as his life on earth receded into the past ... the urge to worship required some outlet in the present". Jaini 1970/2001: 87 considers the Buddha's possession of these thirty-two marks to be an example for the tendency to deify the Buddha, commenting that "despite its anti-theistic dogma ... early Buddhism had all the ingredients of a theistic cult". Karunaratne 1973: 496 explains that the Buddha "was respected, adored and idealised. This tendency ... culminated in the belief that the Buddha was not a human being, but a superhuman being, a deva". Nakamura 1960: 152 and 157 contrasts the early scriptures where the Buddha "was in every respect regarded merely as a superior man", with later times when "as a consequence of the gradual process of deification ... he works wonders, he is omniscient" (cf. in more detail Nakamura 2000b: 213-225). Pachow 1976: 267 comments that the Buddha "after his death ... was elevated to the plane of a superman, and then made into a great divinity", while Werner 1991: 16 speaks of an "elevation of the Buddha to a cosmic figure, if not a virtual deity"; cf. also Bareau 1974b: 276. Williams 1991: 169-170, however, holds that "investing a being with divine attributes was common in Ancient India and by no means carried with it the dramatic implications which we assume in a monotheistic culture ... it was natural to refer to the Buddha in terms also used of gods. Such indicated little more than an attitude of deep respect and humility on the part of his followers"; cf. also ibid. p. 219. Regarding the glorification of the Buddha's body evident in descriptions of its thirty-two marks, Wüst 1928: 83 notes that this stands in contrast to the negative attitude among early Buddhists towards the human body in general. In line with the this tendency of investing the Buddha with a superhuman or divine status, the *uṇhīsa* was then understood as representing the Buddha's omniscience, cf., e.g., the *Buddhapādamaṅgala* in Cicuzza 2011: 37,8: *uṇhīsan ti ... taṃ sabbaññutañāṇaṃ nāma ratanamakuṭaṃ*, trsl. id. p. 143 as "the *uṇhīsa* ... this precious crown is called 'omniscient knowledge'".

[46] Wikramagamage 2005: 293 points out that early Buddha images belonging to the Sri Lankan Mahāvihāra tradition "have no abnormal protuberance on top of their heads", but "from about the second century A.C." one can find instances of the "Buddha Image with a slight bump on the top of the head".

[47] Zin 2003b.

[48] According to Sn 5:1 at Sn 1022, the Buddha knew that the Brahmin Bāvarī possessed these two marks (the Chinese counterpart in T 202 at T IV 433b13 attributes only one of these two marks to Bāvarī, the long tongue, 廣長舌). The context shows that Bāvarī was not present and also gives the impression that the Buddha had not met Bāvarī before, which suggests that the Buddha was able to know of these marks (or at least one of them) without even needing to be in Bāvarī's presence. This would set a contrast to other Brahmins, who are not able to recognize these marks even when they are in the presence of the Buddha, needing the Buddha's cooperation in order to verify that he possesses these two marks.

[49] MN 91 at MN II 135,14, MĀ 161 at T I 685c25, and T 76 at T I 883c7.

the individual translation the Buddha stuck out his tongue to lick his ears and cover his whole face.[50]

Regarding these demonstrations, it already strikes an odd note for the Buddha to stick out his tongue, but for him to show off his private parts seems even more bizarre. This act of demonstration has led to one of the dilemmas in the *Milindapañha*.[51] In a discussion with King Milinda, the monk Nagasena attempts to explain this act of demonstration by suggesting that the Buddha only created an image and made this visible to his visitor. When King Milinda still considers this to be inappropriate behaviour, Nagasena explains that a Tathāgata is willing to go even to such an extent to lead beings to awakening.[52]

The *Lakkhaṇa-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* records that the Buddha once took up the topic of these thirty-two marks on his own.[53] The *Lakkhaṇa-sutta*'s treatment differs from other discourses concerned with this topic in as much as it offers a Buddhist perspective on these physical marks, by explaining what particular karmic deeds of the past had caused the Buddha to be endowed with these thirty-two marks in his present life. This shifts emphasis from the physical marks themselves to their conditioned nature and their relation to wholesome deeds, thereby highlighting the beneficial results to be expected of wholesome conduct.[54] The *Lakkhaṇa-sutta* in fact explicitly indicates

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[50] MN 91 at MN II 135,17 and T 76 at T I 883c8. MĀ 161 at T I 685c28, however, does not mention any licking of the ears. Powers 2008: 14 notes that "the idea that a long, supple tongue is a desirable feature in men is also found in the classical medical text *Caraka's Medical Compendium*"; cf. also Coomaraswamy 1938/1977: 169 on what he sees as a related idea in the *Ṛgveda*. Regarding the symbolic significance of this characteristic, Dayal 1932/1970: 305 suggests that "the long tongue betokens success as a preacher". Kramrisch 1935: 165 note 3 explains that the ability of the tongue to reach the ear symbolizes how the Buddha's words reach the ears of the world. Wimalaratana 1994: 121 comments that the "long and slender tongue could as well be symbolic of the Buddha's tongue's flexibility for clear accurate enunciation". The *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 71,14 or in Vaidya 1999: 43,31 reports an occasion when the Buddha made a demonstration of his long tongue to a Brahmin who was under the impression that the Buddha had spoken a falsehood. In this context, the display of the tongue's ability to cover the whole face stands for truthfulness, confirming that it was impossible for a bearer of this mark to consciously speak a lie.

[51] Mil 167,26.

[52] Mil 169,3: "great king, the Tathāgata does what is difficult in order to awaken beings capable of being led to awakening", *dukkarañcāpi, mahārāja, tathāgato karoti bodhaneyye satte bodhetuṃ*. According to the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 90b21, cf. also Lamotte 1944/1981: 275, the Buddha would reveal this characteristic to his disciples by "creating [the magical apparition] of a horse treasure", 化作馬寶, and then indicate that his male organ was like this.

[53] DN 30 at DN III 142-179.

[54] Radich 2007: 322 notes that "DN 30 contains in embryo the key feature that ... characterise discourse about the marks in post-Pāli canonical era: a complex allegorical reading of each mark, interpreted in terms of a vast economy of merit that centres around the Buddha as a kind of world-saviour". Rhys Davids 1921: 136 remarks that the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta* "seems gravely ironical in the contrast it makes between the absurdity of the marks and the beauty of the ethical qualities they are supposed ... to mean". Wimalaratana 1994: 29 comments that "the importance of the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta* lies in the fact that it combines the concept of the Great Man with some of the fundamental tenets of Buddhism such as the

that this shift of emphasis makes the difference between the Buddha's exposition of these physical marks and the knowledge outsiders had of them.[55]

With their survey of the thirty-two marks completed, the *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels continue by describing various aspects of the Buddha's behaviour.[56] Similar to the description of the proper way of partaking of food in the *Sabbāsava-sutta*,[57] the *Brahmāyu-sutta* notes that the Buddha would not take food for the sake of ornament or adornment.[58] The *Madhyama-āgama* version agrees with the *Brahmāyu-sutta*,[59] where- MN II 138

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doctrine of *kamma*, rebirth, the law of causation". The parallel to the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta*, MĀ 59 at T I 493c19, differs in this respect, as it only lists the marks of a superior being without giving the detailed relation to former deeds found in DN 30, which might be a later addition to the Pāli discourse. A treatment of the karmic deeds responsible for the marks of a superior being with which the Buddha was endowed can, however, be found in T 584 at T XIV 968a24, in the *Lalitavistara* in Lefmann 1902: 429,3 or in Vaidya 1958b: 310,5, in a *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* passage in Conze 1964: 228,4, and in the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 55,4. For a comparative study of the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* with DN 30 cf. Samtani 1962; for a Khotanese fragment where a bodhisattva is encouraged to undertake those actions that will lead to being endowed with the corresponding mark in the future cf. Leumann 1920/1966: 116-122.

55 DN 30 at DN III 145,18: "heterodox sages also know the marks of a superior being by heart, but they do not know 'this characteristic will be obtained by the performing of this kind of action'", *mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni bāhirakā pi isayo dhārenti, no ca kho te jānanti, imassa kammassa katattā idaṃ lakkhaṇaṃ paṭilabhatī ti* (Be-DN III 119,6: *kaṭattā*, Ce-DN III 240,8 (after *katattā*): *imaṃ* and Se-DN III 159,16: *pe imaṃ*).

56 For a detailed comparison of the descriptions of the Buddha's conduct in MN 91 and MĀ 161 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 168-172.

57 MN 2 at MN I 10,9.

58 MN 91 at MN II 138,28, where the reference to ornament and adornment forms part of eight factors related to the Buddha's partaking of food, *aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgataṃ ... āhāraṃ āhāreti*. The corresponding part in MĀ 161 at T I 687b5 only takes up three factors, 三事清淨. T 76 at T I 884b2 agrees with MN 91 on taking up eight conditions related to the Buddha's partaking of food, 八因緣 (for a listing of six purposes when taking food according to the Jain tradition cf. *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 6.500 in Jambūvijaya 1985: 209,10). The factors or purposes listed in MN 91 at MN II 138,29 are: *n' eva davāya*, "not for amusement", *na madāya*, "not for intoxication", *na maṇḍanāya*, "not for ornament", *na vibhūsanāya*, "not for adornment", *yāvadeva imassa kāyassa ṭhitiyā*, "just for the endurance of this body", *yāpanāya*, for its "sustenance", *vihiṃsūparatiyā* (Se-MN II 535,19: *vihiṃsuparatiyā*), for "ending discomfort", *brahmacariyānuggahāya*, for "assisting the holy life", *iti purāṇañ ca vedanaṃ paṭihaṅkhāmi*, "in this way I shall overcome former feelings", *navañ ca vedanaṃ na uppādessāmi*, "I shall not arouse new feelings", *yātrā ca me bhavissati anavajjatā ca*, "so that I will be blameless", *phāsuvihāro cā ti*, "and live at ease". Counting the qualities one by one yields twelve qualities. Grouping them together into subjects according to the waxing syllable principle results in four main topics: 1) from *davāya* to *vibhūsanāya*, representing improper purposes; 2) from *ṭhitiyā* to *brahmacariyānuggahāya*, concerning maintenance of the body; 3) *paṭihaṅkhāmi* and *uppādessāmi*, showing the proper way of dealing with feelings; 4) *anavajjatā* and *phāsuvihāro*, describing the result of taking food in this manner. The detailed exposition of these qualities found in Vism 31-33 does not help to determine in what way the present passage should be divided so as to make up eight factors. One way of arriving at an eightfold presentation would be to set apart the section that comes after *iti*, which describes the overcoming of old feelings, the avoidance of new feelings, the blamelessness, and the living at ease, since the preceding factors would amount to eight. This would imply that the part that begins with *iti* is a sort of summary of what has been mentioned before. In

as the individual translation does not mention ornament or adornment in relation to food.[60]

MN II 139 The *Brahmāyu-sutta* describes that, on returning to the monastery, the Buddha would sit down cross-legged and establish mindfulness in front, "thinking" of the welfare of the whole world.[61] While the first part of this description points to the practice of meditation, the use of the verb "to think" (*cinteti*) suggests a more conceptual type of mental activity. According to the parallel passage in the *Madhyama-āgama* version, the Buddha would take his sitting mat and enter a room to sit in meditation. The same version reports that, on emerging from meditation, the Buddha's face would be radiant.[62] That is, in the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse he clearly engages in actual meditation, an impression also conveyed by the description given in the individual translation.[63] The *Madhyama-āgama* version explains that it was precisely the Buddha's meditation practice that was for the welfare of the whole world.[64]

That the Buddha was in this way setting an example to be emulated would be a conclusion Uttara could indeed draw based on his observations, whereas for him to know

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contrast to the difficulty of identifying eight aspects in relation to the Buddha's partaking of food, descriptions of the Buddha's voice in MN 91 at MN II 140,5, MĀ 161 at T I 687b28, and T 76 at T I 884b23, which similarly announce eight factors, continue by indeed listing exactly eight qualities of his voice. Regarding the qualification of the Buddha's voice in MN 91 at MN II 137,5 as *brahmassara*, a qualification also found in the parallels MĀ 161 at T I 686c5: 梵音 and T 76 at T I 884a6: 聲如梵聲, Basu 1986: 117 notes a parallelism between the qualities associated with Brahmā's voice and the requirement that at a sacrifice the "superintending priest [must be] having ... a good and sweet voice".

[59] MĀ 161 at T I 687a9 (robes) and T I 687b6 (food): 不為自飾, 不為莊嚴. Notably, in the case of a similar description in MN 2 at MN I 10,9 (cf. above p. 31 note 35), the parallel MĀ 10 at T I 432b23 associates the issue of avoiding ornament or adornment to wearing robes. MĀ 161 at T I 687b6 also refers to not taking alms food for the sake of wealth, 不為財物.This makes even less sense in relation to alms food received by a monk and gives the impression that an error in transmission has taken place, where a pericope meant for the reflection on robes was, perhaps accidentally, applied also to the next item in the list, to reflection on food. Such a type of error could also explain why in the Pāli tradition the issue of ornament and adornment is related to food instead of robes. Although the Pāli discourses are consistent in this respect, unlike *Madhyama-āgama* discourses (cf. MĀ 10 and MĀ 161), from a practical perspective it would be more natural to envisage that the problem of ornament and adornment could arise in relation to using robes instead of in relation to partaking of food.

[60] T 76 at T I 884b2.

[61] MN 91 at MN II 139,28: *nisīdati pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā ujuṃ kāyaṃ paṇidhāya parimukhaṃ satiṃ upaṭṭhapetvā ... sabbalokahitam eva so bhavaṃ gotamo cintento nisinno hoti*.

[62] MĀ 161 at T I 687b26: "when arising from sitting meditation, the complexion of [his] face is brilliant", 從宴坐起, 面色光澤.

[63] T 76 at T I 884b15 indicates that "[when he] sits to meditate, [he] quickly [attains] signlessness", 其坐禪定, 霍然無相 (adopting the 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading 相, found in fact at T I 884b17 instead of 想; on variations between these two characters cf. above p. 274 note 54). T 76 at T I 884b9, moreover, reports that the Buddha never slept: "day and night [he] does not sleep, yet he is not drowsy nor does he yawn", 晝夜 不眠, 亦無睡欠.

[64] MĀ 161 at T I 687b25: "for the sake of the welfare of the whole world the recluse Gotama enters a dwelling to sit in meditation", 沙門瞿曇饒益世間故, 入房宴坐.

that the Buddha would sit down to "think" about the welfare of the whole world would require Uttara to be able to read the Buddha's mind.

According to the *Brahmāyu-sutta* and the individual translation, Brahmāyu was so MN II 140 impressed on hearing the report by his student Uttara that he formally expressed his respect for the Buddha.[65] In the *Madhyama-āgama* account, Uttara voiced his wish to ordain under the Buddha.[66] Brahmāyu approved of this plan, so that Uttara returned to the Buddha and went forth.

On a later occasion, when the Buddha had come to the vicinity of Brahmāyu's place MN II 141 of residence, Brahmāyu went to visit the Buddha.[67] The three versions agree that Brahmāyu sent one of his students ahead to announce his visit, which according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version and the individual translation he did as a matter of propriety. The *Madhyama-āgama* account, however, reports that Brahmāyu had seen the great congregation that surrounded the Buddha and felt intimidated, hence he retreated to a nearby tree root and sent one of his students to announce his arrival.[68]

The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels agree in reporting that Brahmāyu was able to MN II 143 see thirty of the Buddha's marks of a superior being and requested in verse to be shown the remaining two. As is usual on such occasions, the Buddha readily responded to this request by displaying the two marks whose verification requires his cooperation.[69]

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[65] While according to MN 91 at MN II 140,23 he thrice expressed his reverence for the Buddha (with the *namo tassa*, etc., formula), according to T 76 at T I 884c16 he thrice bowed down and took refuge. T 76 also notes that through his supernormal powers the Buddha had become aware of the Brahmin's taking of refuge.

[66] MĀ 161 at T I 687c7. Notably, according to MĀ 161 at T I 686a15 Uttara took leave from the Buddha by using the address "Gotama", 瞿曇, which suggests that he did not consider himself a disciple of the Buddha. Only when he approached the Buddha again to go forth, MĀ 161 at T I 687c11, did he use the respectful address "Blessed One", 世尊. This is curious, since if Uttara had indeed been so inspired by the Buddha's qualities and deportment as to wish to go forth as a Buddhist monk, one would expect this inspiration to lead to a more respectful way of addressing the Buddha already when he was about to leave to report what he had seen to Brahmāyu. However, it could also be that this passage is meant to show his more distant attitude while still being on the mission of inquiry given to him by his teacher Brahmāyu, and only once he had received permission to go forth under the Buddha did he feel free to use "Blessed One" as the mode of address that expresses his new allegiance.

[67] MN 91 at MN II 140,31 and MĀ 161 at T I 687c15 note that the Buddha was staying in Makhādeva's Mango Grove, the location where according to MN 83 at MN II 78,22 and its parallels King Makhādeva and his descendants had spent the final part of their lives in renunciation, cf. above p. 466.

[68] MĀ 161 at T I 688a24. The three versions consequently differ on the way the student was told to announce Brahmāyu's visit. According to MĀ 161 at T I 688a25, he was to inquire merely after the Buddha's health and announce Brahmāyu's wish to come and visit, while according to MN 91 at MN II 141,22 and T 76 at T I 885a4 it was part of his mission to inform the Buddha of the eminent status and the qualities of his teacher.

[69] MĀ 161 at T I 688c21 continues by reporting that the Buddha had realized that Brahmāyu was a sincere seeker for the truth and therefore decided to teach him the Abhidharma: "I would rather teach him the profound Abhidharma", 我寧可說彼甚深阿毘曇. Yet, the exposition given by the Buddha to Brahmāyu was a poetical description of what according to the Buddha's teaching are the implications of reaching awakening, something that would not naturally fit into the category of being Abhidharma.

MN II 144 Having verified the thirty-two marks, Brahmāyu inquired after the significance of various epithets that describe a spiritually accomplished person. The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels differ on the epithets employed in this inquiry and in the Buddha's reply (see table 10.1).[70]

According to all versions, Brahmāyu asked after the implications of being a true Brahmin.[71] Although this inquiry is found in all versions, only the Chinese versions

[70] MN 91 lists eight such epithets, while MĀ 161 has four and T 76 five. The epithets in MN 91 at MN II 144,12, are a "[true] Brahmin", one who has "attained highest knowledge" (*vedagū*), one who has the "threefold knowledge", one who is "[truly] learned" (*sotthiya*), an "arahant", an "accomplished one" (*kevalin*), a "sage" (*muni*), and a Buddha. MĀ 161 at T I 688c29 lists a "[true] Brahmin", 梵志, one with the "threefold attainment", 三達, one "without attachment", 無著, and one "perfectly and totally awakened", 正盡覺 (or else, following a 聖 variant that reads 真, instead of 盡, one "perfectly and truly awakened"). The epithets in T 76 at T I 885c1 are a "Brahmin", 逝心, "[having attained] mastery", 通達, being "purified", 淨, being "appeased", 寂然, and "Buddha", 佛.

[71] MN 91 at MN II 144,12, MĀ 161 at T I 688c29, and T 76 at T I 885c1. The character-combination 逝心 in T 76 literally means "departed mind". Occurrences of this expression in T 76 at T I 883b11: "at that time there was a 逝心 called Brahmāyu", and in T 76 at T I 885a5: "the 逝心 Brahmāyu is one-hundred-and-twenty years old", indicate that 逝心 stands for a "Brahmin" (cf. also Park 2010: 347). This is further supported by the fact that T 76 at T I 883b22 introduces Uttara as "the 逝心 disciple"; cf. also T 76 at T I 884c19+26, which list the visitors of the Buddha as "the king of the country, [his] ministers, 逝心 and householders". At the same time, however, T 76 repeatedly uses the more common way of rendering Brahmin as 梵志, cf., e.g., T 76 at T I 885c1: "the 梵志 [Brahmāyu] said", or T 76 at T I 885c17: "Buddha told the 梵志 [Brahmāyu]". According to Nattier 2003b: 235, "variety in translation terminology, often using multiple translations of a given term ... even within a single text" is a prominent characteristic of Zhī Qīan's (支謙) translations, which would explain why T 76 has two modes of rendering Brahmin side by side. The choice of 逝心 as an alternative rendering of "Brahmin" could be related to an etymology suggested in DN 27 at DN III 94,1: *pāpake akusale dhamme bāhentī ti kho ... brāhmaṇā*, in Dhp 388: *bāhita pāpo ti brāhmaṇo*, in Ud 1.5 at Ud 4,8: *bāhitvā pāpake dhamme ... te ve lokasmiṃ brāhmaṇā* (B^e^-Ud 81,9 and S^e^-Ud 78,1: *lokasmi*), and in Sn 3:6 at Sn 519: *bāhetvā sabbapāpakāni ... pavuccate (sa) brahmā* (B^e^-Sn 359,20: *bāhitvā*), according to which a [true] Brahmin is one who discards evil. Norman 1991/1993c: 275 explains that "in brahmanical Hinduism a brahman (< *bṛṃh* – 'to be strong') was a brahman by birth, and was a kinsman of Brahmā", in contrast to which "the Buddha ... by adopting a different etymology (< *bṛṃh* – 'to destroy') ... was able to justify his view that a brahman was one who had destroyed evil"; on this type of 'etymological' explanation cf. also Balbir 1991: 133, Bhattacharya 1986: 294, Brough 1962/2001: 178, Eltschinger 2000: 17, Gombrich 2009: 181, Mette 1973: 33, Schneider 1954: 578, von Hinüber 1995b: 188, and von Simson 1986: 93. Thus, in the case of the expression used in T 76, 逝 might render *bāheti*, "to discard, to keep away". The use of 心 is more difficult to account for, perhaps this intends to render the °*maṇa* part of *brāhmaṇa*, mistaken to be related to *manas*, "mind". Alternatively, the idea might be that the "mind" of a Brahmin has "departed" from all evil. The Pāli commentary at Ps III 397,24 takes up the etymology of the term Brahmin as one who has "discarded evil", explaining that the reference in MN 91 at MN II 144,21 to one who "knows the mind to be purified and free from lust", *cittaṃ visuddhaṃ jānāti, muttaṃ rāgehī ti*, stands for the dictum that by discarding evil one becomes a Brahmin, *bāhitapāpattā brāhmaṇo ti*. This makes it quite possible that a similar gloss was also found in an ancient Indian commentary to T 76, of which Zhī Qīan may have been aware. In fact, the same etymology recurs in the other Chinese parallel to the present discourse, MĀ 161 at T I 689a3, according to which "eradicating evil and unwholesome things ... by this [one is] a Brahmin", 滅惡不善法 ... 以此為梵志. The same etymology can also be found in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004:

give an explicit answer to this inquiry. The *Madhyama-āgama* version explains that by overcoming evil and practising the holy life one deserves to be reckoned a Brahmin,[72] while the individual translation indicates that possession of the three knowledges makes one a Brahmin.[73]

Table 10.1: Brahmāyu's Inquiry and the Buddha's Reply in MN 91 and its Parallels

MN 91: Brahmāyu's inquiry	MN 91: Buddha's reply
Brahmin (1) attained highest knowledge (2) threefold knowledge (3) [truly] learned (4) arahant (5) accomplished (6) sage (7) Buddha (8)	sage (→ 7) accomplished (→ 6) Buddha (→ 8) (≠ 1-5)

MĀ 161: Brahmāyu's inquiry	MĀ 161: Buddha's reply
Brahmin (→ 1) threefold attainment (→ 3) without attachment (→ 5) perfectly & totally awakened (→ 8) (≠ 2, 4, 6-7)	Brahmin (→ 1) sage (→ 7) threefold attainment (→ 3) without attachment (→ 5) perfectly & totally awakened (→ 8) (≠ 2, 4, 6)

T 76: Brahmāyu's inquiry	T 76: Buddha's reply
Brahmin (→ 1) [attained] mastery purified appeased Buddha (→ 8) (≠ 2-7)	Brahmin (→ 1) [attained] mastery appeased purified Buddha (→ 8) (≠ 2-7)

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version records that Brahmāyu asked after the implication of being a sage (*muni*). Although this query is not found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version, the same discourse offers an explanation of this term similar to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version's reply.[74] Thus it seems as if the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse may have lost Brah-

237,16 or in Senart 1897: 396,15: *bāhetva sarvapāpakāni ... sa brahmā*, and in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla 1973: 340,13 or ŚSG 2007: 254,1 and T 1579 at T XXX 447a12; cf. also Baums 2009: 337.

[72] MĀ 161 at T I 689a3. MĀ 161 at T I 689a8 also offers a detailed description of the "threefold attainment" (= threefold knowledge) and of being "without attachment" (= arahant).

[73] T 76 at T I 885c3: "by attaining the three supernormal powers [one] is said to have become a Brahmin", 得三神足謂之逝心.

[74] MĀ 161 at T I 689a5 explains that by knowledge of the past and by eradicating ignorance one becomes a 牟尼, similar to the explanation given for the equivalent term *muni* in MN 91 at MN II 144,19, an ex-

māyu's inquiry after a sage (*muni*), while in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version an explicit reply to what makes one a true Brahmin appears to be missing,[75] so that in both versions the verse exchange has apparently not been preserved in full.

In spite of variations in regard to terminology, in all versions this exchange with Brahmāyu led from an examination of the physical marks of a superior being to the Buddha's explanation of what really makes one a superior being, thereby introducing a redefinition or perhaps even re-evaluation of the concept of a *mahāpurisa/mahāpuruṣa*.[76]

According to all versions, Brahmāyu was highly inspired by the Buddha's reply. While the *Madhyama-āgama* version only reports that he got up and wanted to worship the Buddha,[77] according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version and the individual translation he actually kissed and caressed the Buddha's feet.[78] In all versions, Brahmāyu's worship caused amazement among the assembled congregation.

MN II 145 The *Brahmāyu-sutta* and its parallels report that the Buddha gave Brahmāyu a gradual instruction that culminated in an exposition of the four noble truths, hearing which Brahmāyu attained realization.[79] Brahmāyu then took refuge and invited the Buddha and his monks for a meal the next day.[80] The *Madhyama-āgama* version reports that at the conclusion of the meal the Buddha spoke a set of stanzas in praise of the superiority

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planation found also in SN 7:8 at SN I 167,1 (or SN² 194 at SN² I 357,10), SN 7:13 at SN I 175,22 (or SN² 199 at SN² I 377,5), AN 3:58 at AN I 165,28, AN 3:59 at AN I 167,30, Dhp 423, It 3:5:10 at It 100,21, Sn 3:9 at Sn 647, and Thī 63-64.

[75] According to Ps III 397,24, however, the inquiry after the Brahmin was answered implicitly by the reference to the purified mind in MN 91 at MN II 144,21.

[76] A similar re-evaluation can be seen in other Pāli discourses. Thus, e.g., SN 47:11 at SN V 158,14 defines the *mahāpurisa* as one whose mind is liberated, *vimuttacitta*. According to AN 4:35 at AN II 36,4, one who practises for the welfare of many, has control over the mind, attains the four *jhāna*s, and has destroyed the influxes deserves to be reckoned a *mahāpurisa*. Dhp 352 reckons one who bears his last body a *mahāpurisa*, and Sn 5:3 at Sn 1042 uses the same qualification for one who has gone beyond craving. Radich 2007: 313 holds such passages to be later than those where the *mahāpurisa* is depicted in terms of physical characteristics, since the above passages employ different terms and hence "nothing here gives the impression that we are dealing with a coherent ... conception of *mahāpurisa*; the impression is rather that in each case we see a more or less *ad hoc* appropriation of a valorised term, on the fly". This then leads Radich (p. 329) to assume "an 'ethical' reinterpretation of an originally corporeal notion". This conclusion does not seem to take into account that the above instances refer to the very same idea of a fully awakened one, only expressed in different terms. Moreover, lack of stereotyping in orally transmitted material would rather be a mark of earliness and originality, instead of being an unequivocal sign of later development.

[77] MĀ 161 at T I 689a13.

[78] MN 91 at MN II 144,25 and T 76 at T I 885c10. According to T 76 he also shed tears and proclaimed his going for refuge. On the motif of caressing the Buddha's feet cf. above p. 511.

[79] While MN 91 at MN II 145,13 describes that he attained the Dharma-eye and MĀ 161 at T I 689b23 that he had a personal vision of the four noble truths, the description in T 76 at T I 885c28 is somewhat cryptic, although it seems to entail the same. T 76 at T I 885c29 additionally indicates that Brahmāyu's quick understanding was due to his observance of pure morality and respectful behaviour during past life encounters with former Buddhas.

[80] On his taking of the five precepts in T 76 at T I 886a9 cf. Park 2010: 350.

of a Buddha,[81] a set of stanzas not found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version or in the individual translation.

The three versions agree that not long after this meal Brahmāyu passed away as a MN II 146
non-returner.[82] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version and the individual translation conclude with the rejoicing of the monks, to which the *Madhyama-āgama* version adds that Brahmāyu (presumably earlier) had also rejoiced in the discourse.[83]

MN 92 *Sela-sutta*

The *Sela-sutta*, the "discourse to Sela", describes the conversion of the Brahmin Sela and his students.[84] This discourse recurs under the same title in the *Sutta-nipāta* and has a parallel in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[85] In addition, the events covered in the *Sela-sutta* are also recorded in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* and in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*.[86]

The *Sela-sutta*s, their *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel, and the accounts found in the Dhar- MN II 146
maguptaka and (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*s report that after hearing a discourse from

[81] MĀ 161 at T I 689c14. A similar set of stanzas spoken by the Buddha at the completion of a meal can be found in Sn 3:7 at Sn 568-569 and in Vin I 246,33, with the difference that, while the Pāli stanzas end in praising the Saṅgha as the most profitable field of merit, in MĀ 161 the final stanza reckons the Buddha as supreme among all beings. Anesaki 1901: 898 notes that this set of stanzas recurs frequently in the *Āgama*s. Although these stanzas are absent from the Chinese counterpart to Sn 3:7 at Sn 568-569, EĀ 49.6 at T II 800b19, similar stanzas are found in other *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses, cf., e.g., EĀ 18.4 at T II 589b3, EĀ 26.6 at T II 637c2, EĀ 33.2 at T II 684a9, EĀ 34.5 at T II 694c13, EĀ 37.10 at T II 717a6, EĀ 44.9 at T II 768b27, and EĀ 45.7 at T II 775b21. A similar set of stanzas occurs also, e.g., in SĀ^2 52 at T II 391b17 (translated in Bingenheimer 2009: 150) and SĀ^2 259 at T II 465a26 (translated in Choong 2009a: 377 note 21), in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932a: 156,1, in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 255,18 or in Senart 1897: 426,6, in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1978a: 29,15 and 253,15, and in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 192b16; for further references and a detailed study of various versions of this stanza cf. Skilling 2003.

[82] MN 91 at MN II 146,16, MĀ 161 at T I 690a2, and T 76 at T I 886a19.

[83] MĀ 161 at T I 690a4. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 207 expresses his puzzlement at this conclusion and ibid. p. 312 comments that "this shows a great discrepancy" as Brahmāyu "was already reported dead in the preceding paragraph". Perhaps Brahmāyu's delighted reaction came originally right after the exposition given to him by the Buddha. When during the course of transmission the discourse was provided with a more extensive conclusion in order to report what happened afterwards, the passage on the delighted reaction of the listeners (including Brahmāyu) would then have been shifted to the end of the discourse, without the reciters noticing that this almost gives the impression as if Brahmāyu rejoiced in hearing the news of his own passing away. Cf. also above p. 193 note 255 and p. 209 note 31.

[84] For a study of conversion stories in the *Sutta-nipāta* in general cf. Bailey 1991.

[85] Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 102-112 and EĀ 49.6 at T II 798a-800b. For a study of Sn 3:7 cf. Perera 1950; for a study and partial translation of EĀ 49.6 cf. Anālayo 2010c. While the Pāli versions take place in Āpaṇa, a town in the Aṅguttarāpa country, EĀ 49.6 is located at the Squirrels' Feeding Ground by Rājagaha.

[86] T 1428 at T XXII 873a25-c12, translated in Jaworski 1930: 112-115, and Dutt 1984a: 262-266. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* account, T 1428 at T XXII 873a25, agrees with MN 92 on the location, whereas the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* version, Dutt 1984a: 255,14, takes place at Udumā.

the Buddha, Keṇiya invited the Buddha and the monks for a meal.[87] Keṇiya's offering of beverages to the Buddha and the monks is also recorded in the Mahīśāsaka and Theravāda *Vinaya*s, both of which continue by describing how Keṇiya treated the Buddha to a meal, an account similar to the introductory narration in the *Sela-sutta*s.[88]

The *Sela-sutta*s do not give details about the nature of the discourse the Buddha had given to Keṇiya. According to the *Ekottarika-āgama* account, Keṇiya had asked for the Buddha's opinion on the Brahminical claim to class superiority. In reply, the Buddha examined this claim in detail, bringing up several arguments employed also in the *Assalāyana-sutta* and its Chinese parallels.[89] Satisfied by the Buddha's exposition, Keṇiya took refuge and invited the Buddha and his monks for the next day's meal.

While the *Ekottarika-āgama* version and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* simply report that the Buddha accepted the invitation, according to the *Sela-sutta*s and the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* the Buddha refused twice, warning Keṇiya that the congregation of monks was rather large. In fact, in the *Sela-sutta*s and in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* the disciples of the Buddha number one-thousand-two-hundred-and-fifty,[90] making it a considerable task to provide them all with food.[91]

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[87] Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 103,2 introduces Keṇiya as a matted-hair ascetic (cf. also *Therāpadāna* 389:26 at Ap 318,14, which qualifies him as a *tāpasa*), whereas EĀ 49.6 at T II 798b5 presents him as a Brahmin. According to Ps III 399,5, the matted-hair ascetic Keṇiya came indeed from an eminent Brahmin family. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 873a26, also refers to him as a Brahmin, whereas the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* in Dutt 1984a: 262,10 speaks of him as a seer.

[88] T 1421 at T XXII 151b28 and Vin I 245,25, an offering of beverages also recorded in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 464a29, the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Dutt 1984a: 262,19, and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 193a23; cf. also Jaworski 1930: 83-85 and 109-115.

[89] EĀ 49.6 at T II 798b19 takes up the class of someone born from a couple of mixed Brahmin and warrior class and compares this situation to a mule, similar to the argument given in MN 93 at MN II 153,12, cf. also below p. 554 note 130. EĀ 49.6 at T II 798c14 continues by comparing a skilled and knowledgeable Brahmin youth to his ignorant brother, similar to MN 93 at MN II 154,3, followed in EĀ 49.6 at T II 798c21 by contrasting the skilled brother's unwholesome behaviour and lack of restraint with his ignorant brother's restraint and wholesome conduct, similar to an argument found in MN 93 at MN II 154,11. EĀ 49.6 at T II 798c27 then compares a learned Brahmin youth of pure descent from the mother's side to an unlearned Brahmin youth of pure descent from the father's side, followed in EĀ 49.6 at T II 799a9 by contrasting a learned Brahmin youth of wholesome conduct with a wise Brahmin youth (or one who is not wise according to a 明 variant reading) who is of unwholesome conduct. In all these instances Keṇiya had to admit that class was overruled by other qualities. EĀ 49.6 at T II 799a21 then brings up the example of a foreign country in which only masters and slaves are found, similar to MN 93 at MN II 149,4. The last argument offered in EĀ 49.6 at T II 799a27 briefly refers to the mythical account of the origin of class and sex distinctions after one of the cyclic destructions of the earth, in some respects similar to an argument found in DN 27 at DN III 84,25.

[90] By presenting the Buddha in the company of one-thousand-two-hundred-and-fifty disciples, Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 102,20 (= MN 92) and T 1428 at T XXII 873b24 provide a favourable contrast to Sela, who according to both versions had less disciples, as Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 105,3 counts three hundred disciples and T 1428 at T XXII 873b16 five hundred followers (in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* version in Dutt 1984a: 265,2 he also has five hundred disciples). In EĀ 49.6 at T I 798a26+29, however, the disciples of the Buddha and the disciples of Sela both number five hundred. In general, the Pāli tradition tends to use

The Pāli and Chinese discourses report in similar terms that the Brahmin Sela chanced upon the preparations for the meal offering at Keṇiya's place. Told by Keṇiya that the preparations were for a Buddha, Sela decided to visit the Buddha himself.[92] Once he was in the presence of the Buddha, according to the *Sela-sutta*s and the *Ekottarika-āgama* account Sela was able to verify thirty of the marks of a superior being, while the other two marks were revealed to him by the Buddha.[93]

The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* account continues by narrating that Sela made an offering of beverages to the monks,[94] an offering that according to the Mahīśāsaka, (Mūla-) Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda *Vinaya*s had rather been made by Keṇiya before inviting the Buddha and the monks to the meal.[95]

The Pāli versions report that Sela decided to extol the Buddha,[96] as he thought that on being praised the Buddha would reveal his qualities.[97] According to the Chinese account,

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predominantly the number five hundred when describing a congregation of the Buddha's disciples, while the *Ekottarika-āgama* makes a frequent use of the number one-thousand-two-hundred-and-fifty, cf. above p. 419 note 141. Malalasekera 1937/1995: 22 takes the Pāli version's count of disciples to reflect actual conditions and concludes that the Aṅguttarāpa country "was probably rich, because we find as many as 1250 monks accompanying the Buddha".

91 According to the Pāli commentary, Ps III 400,1, the three hundred disciples of Sela should also be added to this count, since the Buddha already at this point knew that they would also go forth and thus come along for the next day's meal.

92 While Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 106,3 reports that Sela ascertained twice if he had properly understood that a Buddha had been invited, according to EĀ 49.6 at T II 799b25 a single question and answer on this topic were sufficient. T 1428 at T XXII 873b28 reports three such inquiries (according to Vin II 155,20, in a similar situation Anāthapiṇḍika also went so far as to ask three times if he had properly understood that a "Buddha" had been invited for a meal). Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 107,3 reports that Sela instructed his disciples not to interrupt his conversation with the Buddha, an instruction not found in EĀ 49.6.

93 According to EĀ 49.6 at T II 799c10, Sela asked in verse to be shown the remaining two marks. Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 107,17 does not record such a request, but only indicates that the Buddha became aware of Sela's wish, perhaps through his telepathic powers.

94 T 1428 at T XXII 873c5.

95 T 1421 at T XXII 151b28, Dutt 1984a: 262,19, and Vin I 245,25. Another variation on the events narrated in MN 92 can be found in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932a: 155,16, according to which Sela was an ascetic (*tāpasa*) and it was he who had invited the Buddha for a meal.

96 Sela's stanzas recur at Th 818-841; for a study of different versions of the stanza found in Sn 3:7 at Sn 558 or at Th 828 cf. Skilling 2005; cf. also Baums 2009: 344. The *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 20,23 and 35,1 or in Vaidya 1999: 12,25 and 21,9 refers to "verses [spoken by] Sela", *śailagāthā*, in the context of a listing of selected discourses; cf. also Rhys Davids 1896: 94. Such a reference is also found in the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 11b6: 世羅尼頌 and D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 265b2 or Q (1030) *khe* 249b1 and again D (1) *'dul ba ga* 225b1 or Q (1030) *nge* 214b5: *ri gnas kyi tshigs su bcad pa*; cf. also Lamotte 1956: 260 and Lévi 1915: 418. Another similar reference can be found in SĀ 1321 at T II 362c12: 尸路偈, also occuring in the context of a listing of different texts, preceded by references to versions of the *Therīgāthā* and the *Theragāthā*.

97 The suggestion that the Buddha can be made to praise himself if he is publicly extolled is surprising. Horner 1957/1970: 335 note 4 comments that "in the Buddha's Teaching this is what a foolish person does, e.g. Devadatta, not arahants and ... not the Tathāgata". She refers to DN 28 at DN III 115,20, according to which the Tathāgata does not reveal his qualities. Another relevant passage would be MN 22

however, Sela inquired about the path to liberation. In reply, the Buddha expounded the noble eightfold path, an exposition that caused Sela to attain stream-entry.[98]

The Pāli and Chinese versions agree that Sela informed his disciples of his wish to go forth under the Buddha, to which they replied by declaring that they would follow suit.

Thus, in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version Sela's wish to go forth arose after an exposition of the path to liberation that had caused him to become a stream-enterer. In contrast, according to the *Sela-sutta*s he rather wanted to go forth after hearing the Buddha's claim to be fully awakened, a claim made in reply to an eulogy of the Buddha by Sela.[99]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version continues by reporting that the Buddha expounded the four noble truths to his new monk disciples, with the result that all of them became arahants.[100] The *Sela-sutta*s also record that Sela and his disciples became arahants, although, according to their description, this happened after the meal offering by Keṇiya and was the result of diligent practice in seclusion.[101]

According to the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, Keṇiya was very pleased when he saw Sela and his Brahmin disciples turn up at the meal offering as Buddhist monks.[102] The *Ekottarika-āgama* version records that at the end of the meal Keṇiya and his family took refuge.

The Buddha then delivered a teaching to the assembled multitude, concluding with a set of stanzas on the heavenly retribution to be expected for doing what is wholesome and meritorious.[103] The *Sela-sutta*s do not record such a sermon. According to them, the

at MN I 140,18, according to which the Buddha will not be affected at all by any honour paid to him. Hence, one would not expect that, on being praised, he would react by praising himself. Pérez-remón 1980: 70 comments that "such statements of self-praise" probably "reflect more the high appreciation of the Buddha professed by his followers than the very way he spoke".

98 EĀ 49.6 at T II 800a18. Compared to Sn 3:7, for the Buddha to give Sela an exposition of the path to liberation seems more in line with what other discourses depict as the usual strategy adopted by him when faced with prospective disciples. It would also be natural for Sela to wish to go forth after he had attained stream-entry and thereby verified for himself that he had an awakened teacher in front of him.

99 The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Dutt 1984a: 264,5, simply reports that Sela went with his disciples to the Buddha and asked to be ordained, without recording any conversation between him and the Buddha.

100 EĀ 49.6 at T II 800a29.

101 Sn 3:7 at Sn p. 112,6. Two of the stanzas with which they declare their attainment, Sn 3:7 at Sn 571-572, recur in Sn 3:6 at Sn 545-546 as part of Sabhiya's praise of the Buddha. Compared to EĀ 49.6, Sn 3:7 offers a more plausible account. Although in certain instances a particularly gifted individual apparently was able to become an arahant in a very short time (cf., e.g., the case of Bāhiya in Ud 1:10 at Ud 8,13 or the case of Yasa in Vin I 17,3), it would be rather unusual for the same to take place in the case of five hundred, i.e., a 'substantially large number', of newly ordained disciples. Moreover, expositions of the four noble truths in other discourses usually lead only to stream-entry, not to full awakening, which the discourses generally present as the result of a period of intensive practice.

102 EĀ 49.6 at T II 800b4. The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* version in Dutt 1984a: 265,10 also records that Keṇiya was pleased to see Sela in robes, in fact, according to its account, Keṇiya told Sela that as soon as the meal offering was over, he would also go forth, a plan he then carried out.

103 EĀ 49.6 at T II 800b19.

Buddha expressed his appreciation of the meal offering with two stanzas on the supreme merit that accrues to those who make offerings to the Saṅgha.[104]

MN 93 *Assalāyana-sutta*

The *Assalāyana-sutta*, the "discourse to Assalāyana", records a debate between the Buddha and the Brahmin youth Assalāyana on the Brahminical claim to class superiority. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and another parallel in an individual translation.[105] In addition to these, the final part of the *Assalāyana-sutta* has a counterpart in a discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[106] A few parts of a version of the *Assalāyana-sutta* have also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[107]

The *Assalāyana-sutta* and its two Chinese parallels begin by describing how a group of MN II 147
Brahmins prevailed on Assalāyana that he should defend the Brahminical claim to class superiority in front of the Buddha.[108] The present and other instances in the early discourses of such debates on the presumed class superiority of Brahmins seem to reflect some degree of tension and probably also of competition between orthodox Brahmins and the Buddha as representative of the recluse (*samaṇa*) tradition.[109]

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[104] Sn 3:7 at Sn 568-569, a set of stanzas also found in the account of Keṇiya's meal offering in Vin I 246,33 (cf. also above p. 545 note 81), but absent from the account of his offering in T 1421 and T 1428.

[105] The parallels are MĀ 151 at T I 663b-666c and T 71 at T I 876b-878b. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 71 was translated by Dharmarakṣa. MĀ 151 and T 71 agree with MN 93 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. MĀ 151 has the title "discourse to the Brahmin Assalāyana", 梵志阿攝惒經 (with a 聖 variant reading as 梵志阿攝和經), cf. also Abhidh-k-ṭ, which gives the title as *rta len gyi bu'i mdo*. T 71 has the title "discourse on the Brahmin Assalāyana's questions about class superiority", 梵志頞波羅延問種尊經. MĀ 151 has been studied and translated by Minh Chau 1964/1991: 61 and 313-320.

[106] EĀ 40.9 at T II 742b-743a and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 110a4-111b5 or Q (5595) *tu* 126a2-128a1; cf. also Abhidh-k 3:12 in Pradhan 1967: 121,22+25, paralleling MN 93 at MN II 157,1+4, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 44c26 and T XXIX 45a1, as well as T 1559 at T XXIX 201c22+28. EĀ 40.9 and Abhidh-k-ṭ parallel the tale of the seven seers in MN 93 at MN II 154,29.

[107] The so far unpublished fragments are no. 2380/37 and 2380/44 of the Schøyen collection, identified by Klaus Wille (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of these fragments). The fragments correspond to the final part of the discussion with Assalāyana at MN II 154-155, in particular to his showing physical signs of being defeated and to the tale of the seven seers.

[108] While according to MN 93 at MN II 147,3 these Brahmins came from different provinces of India, *nānāverajjaka*, MĀ 151 at T I 663b28 indicates that they were from Kosala, 拘薩羅. Another minor difference is that, according to MN 93 at MN II 148,6 and T 71 at T I 876c22, it took three requests by the Brahmins to convince Assalāyana to take up their cause, whereas according to MĀ 151 at T I 664a9 two requests were sufficient. T 71 at T I 876c26 also makes a point of explicitly recording that Assalāyana and the Brahmins did not pay homage to the Buddha, 不為佛作禮.

[109] The distinction between these two types of ancient Indian religieux was apparently evident enough to

The progression of the arguments raised during the present debate with Assalāyana shows some variations in the three parallel versions (see table 10.2)

Table 10.2: Progression of Themes in MN 93 and its Parallels

MN 93	MĀ 151	T 71
mothers give suck (1)	two-class society (→ 2)	child of mixed parents (→ 8)
two-class society (2)	not obstructed by space	two-class society (→ 2)
retribution for evil (3)	loving kindness (→ 5)	retribution for evil (→ 3)
reward for restraint (4)	wash oneself (→ 6)	reward for restraint (→ 4)
loving kindness (5)	able to make fire	obstructed by space
wash oneself (6)	fire has same flame (→ 7)	wash oneself (→ 6)
fire has same flame (7)	child of mixed parents (→ 8)	be employed in king's service
child of mixed parents (8)	seven seers (→ 10)	fire warms all (→ 7)
two brothers (9)	four brothers (→ 9)	cross river
seven seers (10)		mothers give suck (→ 1)
		child of mixed parents (→ 8)
		evil child (→ 9?)
		retribution for evil (→ 3)
		seven seers (→ 10)
	(≠ 1, 3-4)	(≠ 5)

MN II 148 According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, the Buddha humorously contrasted the Brahminical claim to be born from the mouth of Brahmā with the empirically observ-

be noticed by Megasthenes, cf. McCrindle 1877: 98. According to Patañjali's *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* in Kielhorn 1880/1962: 476,9 (2.4.12.2), these two groups are opposed to each other, *yeṣāṃ ca virodha ityasyāvakāśaḥ, śramaṇabrāhmaṇam*. As already highlighted by, e.g., Foucher 1955: 260, these two sections of ancient Indian society were not only opposed to each other on ideological grounds, but were also in direct competition for the material support they required for their sustenance from the population (Gräfe 1974: 37 notes that the support to be given to Brahmins is reflected in references to the *brāhmaṇabhojana* at Vin I 44,22 and Vin I 60,25). Olivelle 1974: 6 explains that "according to the *Viṣṇusmṛti* a householder must turn back if he has seen ... a recluse, and a punishment of 100 *paṇas* is ordained 'for hospitably entertaining ... a religious ascetic at an oblation to the gods or to the manes' ... the sight itself of ... [a recluse] was considered by many as inauspicious. There was also a corresponding hostility towards the *brāhmaṇas* on the part of the recluses. In heterodox literature the *brāhmaṇas* are depicted as greedy social parasites living on the superstitious generosity of the common people". Nevertheless, as pointed out by Ruegg 2008: 5 note 3, "whether ... the *śramaṇa*s and *brāhmaṇa*s are in fact opposed depends of course on the circumstance in each case". Ruegg remarks that it also needs to be taken into account that quite a number of *bhikkhu*s were of Brahmin descent (cf. the survey in Chakravarti 1996: 198-220, Nakamura 2000a: 360-362, and Sarao 1989: 93-139, and the figures given in Gokhale 1976: 96, id. 1980a: 74, or id. 1994/2001c: 61). In fact, according to Vin I 71,25, *jaṭila*s were allowed to join the order without observing the usual probationary period; cf. also Bronkhorst 1998b: 84. Bailey 2003: 112 explains that "the jostling for status between brahmins and Buddhists ... should not necessarily be taken as antagonism. But it is competition". Fog 1994: 37 comments that "the religious competition between them also implied an exchange of ideas and symbols ... [which] explains the extensive use of Brāhmaṇa terminology and religious symbols ... within the world view of the Nikāyas". On the not invariably hostile relationships between Brahmins and early Buddhists cf. also Tsuchida 1991.

able fact that Brahmin mothers go through the normal process of pregnancy.[110] While the *Madhyama-āgama* version does not record this argument, the individual translation raises the same argument at a later point of its presentation.[111] The pregnancy of Brahmin wives as an argument against the Brahminical claim to be born from Brahmā's mouth recurs also in the *Aggañña-sutta* and in its *Dīrgha-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama* parallels.[112]

The *Assalāyana-sutta* and its two Chinese parallels agree in taking up some border regions of India in which a two-class society can be found,[113] a society where master and slave may exchange their roles.[114] The circumstance that the *Assalāyana-sutta* in this context refers to Yona has at times been taken as a sign of lateness.[115] Yet, closer MN II 149

[110] MN 93 at MN II 148,29. Gombrich 1992a: 164 comments that "this means that the brahmins have the same impurities from birth as other human beings". According to Norman 1991/1993c: 272, by referring to "the way in which brahmans are born, the Buddha satirises the Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda"; cf. also Gombrich 1988: 77 and Schmithausen 2005a: 170. Bronkhorst 2007: 212, however, doubts that the Buddha had knowledge of this Vedic hymn.

[111] T 71 at T I 877b24. T 71 differs in so far as it covers the pregnancy of all four classes, thereby indicating that Brahmins are not different from the other three classes in respect to birth.

[112] DN 27 at DN III 81,27, DĀ 5 at T I 37a25, and MĀ 154 at T I 674a12, translated in Meisig 1988: 87.

[113] According to MN 93 at MN II 149,4, this is the case in "Yona, Kamboja, and other border regions", *yona-kambojesu aññesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu* (S[e]-MN II 560,18: *yonaka-kambojesu*). Aśoka's fifth rock edict similarly speaks of Yona and Kamboja and other western border countries that are occupied by servants and masters, cf. Bloch 1950: 103, Hultzsch 1925: 191, or Woolner 1924/1993: 8-9. Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1299 note 872 explains that "*Yona* is the Pāli transliteration of Ionia. *Kamboja* is a region to the northwest of the Indian 'Middle Country'"; cf. also Basak 1963a: 18, Law 1932/1979: 50, and Malalasekera 1937/1995: 526. Kamboja as one of the sixteen Indian countries recurs in AN 3:70 at AN I 213,4, AN 8:42 at AN IV 252,8, AN 8:43 at AN IV 256,20, and AN 8:45 at AN IV 261,1. King Milinda apparently came from the Yona region, as according to Mil 1,11, 82,23, and 83,1 he was a native of Kalasigāma in Alasanda, two hundred *yojana*s from the town of Sāgala of the Yona district. The *Mahāvaṃsa* 12:4-5 in B[e]-Mhv 68 reports that the Yona country was converted to Buddhism after the third of the councils recognized in the Theravāda tradition. While MĀ 151 at T I 664a18 agrees with MN 93 on speaking of Yona and Kamboja, 餘尼及劍浮國, T 71 at T I 877a13 speaks instead of the Kuṣāṇas, 月支國.

[114] MĀ 151 at T I 664a19 agrees with MN 93 at MN II 149,6 on contrasting "slave", 奴, with "master", 大家. T 71 at T I 877a11 instead contrasts "slave" with "clansman", 人善家子, corresponding to *kulaputta*. The three versions also differ in regard to the conclusion drawn after the various arguments. MN 93 concludes each argument by indicating that the Brahminical claim to class superiority has been invalidated, a reasoning found in similar terms (though only on one occasion) in T 71 at T I 877c18. MĀ 151 instead follows each argument by indicating that each of the four classes will be able to reach understanding as long as they adopt the right path, cf., e.g., MĀ 151 at T I 664a22: "Brahmins ... warriors, merchants, and workers, if they [practise] the right approach, they will obtain good understanding and know by themselves in accordance with the Dharma", 梵志 ... 刹利, 居士, 工師, 若正趣者, 亦得善解, 自知如法.

[115] Bronkhorst 2007: 209 holds that the mention of Yona "suggests that the passage which contains this reference was composed after – perhaps long after – the conquest of Alexander the Great"; cf. also Bechert 1961: 41 note 2, Lamotte 1947: 217, and Winternitz 1920/1968: 40, who comments that the reference to Yona points to the existence of the Greek-Bactrian kingdom and therewith to a time shortly before Aśoka.

inspection brings to light that a reference to Yona could well have arisen already at the time of the Buddha.[116]

The individual translation offers additional details on the argument made in this passage, as it explains that by dint of good conduct a slave can become a free man, while a free man who undertakes evil conduct may end up having to sell himself as a slave.[117] Thus, from the perspective of this version, the point of the argument appears to be to contrast the Brahminical belief in being the inheritors of a divinely fixed order with the existence of masters and slaves in other societies, where their respective status would be due to their own deeds.[118]

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[116] Regarding the term itself, Kent 1950/1953: 204 s.v. *Yauna* notes that the term Yauna occurs in an inscription by Darius I (who reigned 522-486 BC), the corresponding Sanskrit form *Yavana* occurs in Pāṇini 4.1.49; for a survey of references to Yavana or Yona cf. also Karttunen 1997: 316-320 and Narain 1957: 165-169. Töttössy 1955: 310-311 explains that "the term *Yona-*" was "taken over into Indian from the Old Persian form *Yauna-* some time about the end of the sixth century B.C."; cf. also Ray 1988: 312. In regard to the reference to the writing of the Yavanas in Pāṇini, Bühler 1895/1963: 27 note 1 comments that "it seems to me not wonderful that an author ... whose countrymen, the Gandhāras, had furnished a contingent for Xerxes's invasion of Greece, should mention the old Oriental name of the Greeks ... to me it seems absolutely impossible to make the mere occurrence of the word Yavana in Sanskrit works a mark, which proves that they must have been written after the invasion of Alexander". Sircar 1953: 101-102 comments that "the Greeks of Ionia in Asia Minor ... and the people of north-western India certainly came into contact with each other ... since the time of Darius I (522-486 B.C.)". Given that "Indian archers ... formed an important element in the army of Xerxes and shared the Persian defeat ... the people of Uttarāpatha at least had direct knowledge of the Greeks as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.". It "is therefore no wonder that the very word *Yauna*, meaning the Greeks, used for the first time in the records of Darius I, was borrowed by the Indians without any modification". In fact, a famous detail of Xerxes's campaign to conquer Greece in 480 BC was the heroic resistance offered by the Spartans under Leonidas, so that it would indeed not be surprising if some knowledge of their valour, and perhaps also of their social division into two classes of master and slaves, should have been known in India already by the later part of the fifth century BC from reports given by Indians who had taken part in Xerxes's campaign. Since this campaign was in revenge for the support given by the mainland Greeks to the Ionian revolt against Persian dominion, it would also not be surprising if the Indians referred to the Spartans as "people from Yona". That this rumour may have been still fairly new would fit the formulations in MN 93 at MN II 149,4 and MĀ 151 at T I 664a18, both of which agree that the Buddha made a point of ascertaining if Assalāyana had already 'heard' (*suta*/聞) about the conditions in these border countries. Since according to modern scholarship the Buddha's teaching activities could be assigned to the second half of the fifth century and perhaps even early fourth century (cf., e.g., Bechert 1995: 286, Brekke 1998: 32, and Cousins 1996b: 60), it would appear entirely possible that the Buddha and his contemporaries had indeed heard of the Spartan two-class society, to which they referred to as the Yona country. Thus, as already noted by Basham 1980: 23 note 2, the reference to Yona in MN 93 "is not ... conclusive for a late date". Halbfass 1995: 199 sums up: "references to *yona*, etc., in the Pali canon need not be later interpolations, added after Alexander's campaign. They may well go back to the oldest layers of the canon"; cf. also Anālayo 2009x.

[117] T 71 at T I 877a14.

[118] The commentary Ps III 409,16, however, explains the present argument in MN 93 by narrating how a childless Brahmin trader might go with his wife to these border countries and then pass away. His wife might then consort with a slave and have a child. This child might follow his father's trade and eventually return to the middle country and take a Brahmin wife. Due to his impure descent, the children re-

The topic of wholesome and evil deeds comes up again in the *Assalāyana-sutta* and the individual translation, which take up the retribution for wholesome and evil ways of conduct. The two versions point out that, just as wholesome conduct will lead to a heavenly rebirth, so evil conduct will lead to hell, independent of class affiliation.[119]

Although the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse does not record this argument, it agrees with the *Assalāyana-sutta* on bringing up the practice of loving kindness, an argument not found in the individual translation. According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions, Assalāyana had to admit that members of any of the four classes (*vaṇṇa*) would be able to practice loving kindness, the practice of this '*brahma*'-*vihāra* not being a prerogative of Brahmins.[120] MN II 151

The *Assalāyana-sutta* and its Chinese parallels also point out that a member of any class will be able to wash himself, thereby punning on the Brahminical notion that only Brahmins are able to purify themselves.[121] The individual translation additionally inquires whether anyone could recognize the dirt washed away in the water to be the dirt of a Brahmin, a warrior, a merchant, or a worker.[122]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version and its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart compare the ability of high-class members to make fire with superior types of wood to low-class members who make fire with inferior types of wood. Both come to the conclusion that any of the resultant fires can be used, and their colour and flame will be similar to the other fires.[123] The individual translation instead describes members of the four classes that come close to a fire during the cold season and concludes that the fire will warm them all.[124] MN II 152

In addition to these practical examples concerned with washing and making a fire, the two Chinese discourses also bring up the argument that a member of any class will

sulting from this marriage will not be pure Brahmins. As in this way it can be imagined how Brahmins can come to be of impure descent, the Brahminical claim to class superiority is rendered invalid. The point the commentary tries to make seems rather contrived and could be modelled on DN 3 at DN I 93,16, where the Buddha humbled the pride of a young Brahmin by pointing out that he was the descendant of a slave.

[119] MN 93 at MN II 149,17 and MN II 150,11 illustrates the two types of conduct by listing the ten courses of action (*kammapatha*). Instead of describing the actual undertaking of these ten courses of action, T 71 speaks in each case of the corresponding mental state. Thus T 71 at T I 877a18+23 contrasts someone who "enjoys killing", 憙殺, with someone who has a "mind of not killing", 無殺心, etc. The topic of the retribution for evil conduct comes up again in T 71 at T I 877c20.

[120] MN 93 at MN II 151,6 and MĀ 151 at T I 664b14.

[121] MN 93 at MN II 151,18 and MĀ 151 at T I 664b23.

[122] T 71 at T I 877b9.

[123] MĀ 151 presents this as two separate arguments, where the first point at T I 663a10 is that they can all produce fire, while the second point at T I 663a21 is that the flame of their fires do not differ, corresponding to the argument in MN 93 at MN II 152,10. MN 93 at MN II 152,1 introduces this example by speaking of "a hundred men of different births", *nānājaccānaṃ purisānaṃ purisasataṃ*, which has its counterpart in MĀ 151 at T I 664c9 in the expression "hundred types of people", 百種人, an expression MĀ 151 at T I 664b22 also uses in relation to the argument about washing oneself.

[124] T 71 at T I 877b20.

not be obstructed by empty space.[125] The individual translation additionally points out that members of any class will find employment in the king's service and will also be able to cross a river with the help of a boat.[126]

MN II 153 The three versions also take up the class of a child born from a couple of mixed class, with one parent from the warrior class and the other parent from the Brahmin class.[127] According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* accounts, Assalāyana indicated that the child could belong to either the father's or the mother's class;[128] in the individual translation, Assalāyana similarly admitted that he did not know to which class the child would belong.[129] The three versions agree in illustrating this dilemma with the example of a mule, which could not be reckoned to be a horse or a donkey.[130]

MN II 154 The *Assalāyana-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel raise another argument that involves Brahmin brothers. Assalāyana had to admit that a brother who is learned will

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[125] MĀ 151 at T I 664a29 and T 71 at T I 877b5.

[126] T 71 at T I 877b13 and T I 877b22. The second example brings to the mind the image of "crossing" the stream, found frequently in the discourses.

[127] While MN 93 at MN II 153,18 takes up the possibility that the child is like the mother or like the father, MĀ 151 at T I 665a29 distinguishes between three possible cases, where the child might be like the father, it might be like the mother, or else it might not be like any of the two, 或似父, 或似母, 或不似父母.

[128] MĀ 151 at T I 665a21 relates this argument to the previous discussion on making a fire by highlighting that class identity is simply the outcome of where one is born, just as different types of fire are simply named after the type of fuel in dependence on which they burn. The image of different types of fire reckoned in accordance to their fuel can also be found in MN 38 at MN I 259,24, where it serves to illustrate the dependent arising of consciousness.

[129] T 71 at T I 877c9, where already at the onset of the discussion at T I 877a2 the Buddha had taken up the example of children born from mixed parents of any of the four classes.

[130] While MN 93 and MĀ 151 follow this exchange with the simile of the mule, T 71 has first the simile and then the present exchange. The same dilemma, together with the mule simile, occurs also in EĀ 49.6 at T II 798b19 (parallel to MN 92). According to EĀ 49.6, a child from a couple of mixed Brahmin and warrior descent would invariably belong to the class of the father. Another instance of this dilemma can be found in DN 3 at DN I 97,4, according to which a child from a Brahmin and warrior couple would be acceptable to Brahmins, while the members of the warrior class would not give such a child consecration. Its parallel DĀ 20 at T I 83b6 similarly indicates that the warriors would not respect a child from a Brahmin father and a warrior mother and not consider it as a rightful heir, while the Brahmins would respect a child from a warrior father and a Brahmin mother and would consider it a rightful heir. The different opinions proposed in these texts show that the *Assalāyana-sutta*'s inquiry after the class of a child from parents of mixed class delves into a complex subject. According to Devi 1999: 50, "when a male of a higher varṇa marries a woman of a lower varṇa, the marriage ... and the offspring is said to be aṇuloma (... in the natural order); when there is a union of a woman of a higher varṇa with a male of a lower varṇa ... the children of the union are said to be pratiloma (... against the natural or proper order)". Ibid. explains that while there were different opinions on whether an *aṇuloma* child deserves to be reckoned as a member of the father's class, "the *pratilomas* ... are lower in status than any of the two parents" (ibid. p. 54). Applied to the present dilemma, this suggests that a child born from a couple where the father's class is superior to the mother, the child might be reckoned the same class as its father or else might only receive the inferior class status of its mother. A child from a father of inferior class, however, would not seem to stand any chance of being reckoned a member of the higher class of its mother.

be honoured by the Brahmins over an unlearned brother.[131] If, however, such an unlearned brother should be virtuous while the learned one is of evil conduct, then the Brahmins will honour virtue over learning. In both versions, the Buddha highlighted that by first agreeing to the superiority of learning and then to the superiority of moral conduct, Assalāyana had accepted the very grounds based on which the Buddha proclaimed purification of all four classes.[132]

The *Assalāyana-sutta* concludes its examination of Assalāyana's claims by narrating a former meeting between the seer Asita Devala and seven Brahmin seers, a tale also found in the partial parallel from the *Ekottarika-āgama* and in the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[133] The individual trans- MN II 155

[131] MĀ 151 at T I 666a29 differs from MN 93 in so far as it contrasts two learned brothers with two unlearned brothers. T 71 at T I 877c13 has a related argument, although this involves a single child of bad conduct, not brothers.

[132] While according to MN 93 at MN II 154,24 Assalāyana remained silent, showing signs of being defeated, MĀ 151 at T I 666b15 describes that, after hearing this argument, Assalāyana got up and paid respect to the Buddha. The assembled audience was thereupon struck by wonder and expressed their admiration for the Buddha's might and power. MĀ 151 at T I 666a26 also describes that Assalāyana was reduced to silence, which according to its account, however, happened after the tale of the seven Brahmin seers, a tale MĀ 151 has before the present argument. This placing is less apposite, as the tale of the seven Brahmin seers fits more naturally after Assalāyana had been defeated, a placing given to it in MN 93 and T 71. Assalāyana's paying respect and the surprised reaction of the audience, who then express their admiration for the Buddha in various terms, also do not fit too well into the narrative flow of MĀ 151. According to MĀ 151 at T I 664a10, Assalāyana had come to the Buddha in the company of a group of Brahmins that had asked him to defeat the Buddha. As there is no indication that, apart from these Brahmins, others were also present, the audience of the discourse appears to consist of these Brahmins (judging from the flow of the narration, it would fit the situation well if these Brahmins had approached the Buddha in private, since Assalāyana's premonition that he might be unable to defeat the Buddha in debate would have alerted them to the possibility of being unsuccessful and hence would have made it preferable to avoid challenging the Buddha in the presence of others, cf. also Ps II 284,13 for a similar type of reasoning in relation to another discourse that also records the Buddha being challenged). MĀ 151 at T I 666b28 reports that after the discussion with the Buddha these Brahmins blamed Assalāyana for not having stood his ground, which makes it improbable that these same Brahmins would earlier have praised the Buddha in the way described in MĀ 151 at T I 666b17. Perhaps the description of Assalāyana's paying of respect and the reaction of the audience to this behaviour made its way into the present discourse from the account of a similar sequence of events involving the Brahmin Brahmāyu in MĀ 161 at T I 689a13, in which case this description suits the context and is also found in the parallels MN 91 at MN II 144,28 and T 76 at T I 885c9.

[133] EĀ 40.9 takes place at Sāvatthī and begins by reporting that King Pasenadi paid a visit to the Buddha. On seeing several ascetics pass by, Pasenadi proclaimed that he held them to be arahants. In reply, the Buddha explained that close examination was required in order to ascertain if someone was an arahant. This introductory tale is similar to an exchange between the Buddha and Pasenadi recorded in SN 3:11 at SN I 78,1 (or SN^2 122 at SN^2 I 177,1). EĀ 40.9 at T II 742b17 then continues with the tale of the seven Brahmin seers visited by Asita Devala. Similar to MN 93, Asita's appearance angered the Brahmins so that they tried to curse him. Instead of turning into ashes, Asita became ever more handsome. The reason for his visit in EĀ 40.9, however, is different, as the wrong view of the seven Brahmin seers was that by undertaking asceticism they would be able to reach kingship on earth or in heaven. It is nota-

lation and the Pāli commentary agree in identifying the seer Asita Devala with the Buddha in one of his former lives.[134] The *Assalāyana-sutta* and its parallels relate with minor variations how Asita Devala visited a group of Brahmin seers who were holding the same view that Assalāyana had tried to defend in front of the Buddha.[135] The Brahmin seers tried to curse Asita Devala, but instead of turning into ashes he became ever more handsome.[136]

MN II 156 The *Assalāyana-sutta*, the individual translation, and the Tibetan version agree that Asita Devala refuted the notion of class superiority of the Brahmin seers by getting them to admit that they were not really sure of the purity of their descent through past generations. According to the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, however, the Brahmins felt sure of the purity of their descent for up to seven generations. They were, however, unable to indicate to which class the being to be born belonged.[137] The individual translation explores this point in additional detail, indicating that, while the child is growing in the womb, the parents are unable to know if it will be blind, deaf or dumb, if it is going to be hunchbacked or lame.[138] If they do not know even this much, how could they claim to know that it has come from Brahmā's mouth?

MN II 157 While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version concludes with Assalāyana taking refuge as a lay disciple, according to the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the individual translation he only paid his respect.[139] The *Madhyama-āgama* version continues by describing how the other Brahmins blamed Assalāyana for having been worsted by the Buddha instead of successfully defending their claim to class superiority.[140]

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ble how EĀ 40.9 combines elements of MN 93 with material found in a different discourse in the Pāli *Nikāya*s; for other instance where an *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse combines material found in the Pāli canon in different discourses cf. above pp. 472-473 notes 159 and 165, as well as p. 546 note 89).

[134] T 71 at T I 878a5 and Ps III 411,7. Horner 1957/1970: 347 note 2 and Malalasekera 1937/1995: 210 suggest that Asita Devala may be identical with Kāla Devala in Jā 423 at Jā III 463,16. Such an identification would, however, not agree with the suggestion by the Pāli commentary and the individual translation that Asita Devala was a former birth of the Buddha, as Kāla Devala was one of the students of Sarabhaṅga, a former life of the Buddha, so that the identification proposed by Horner and Malalasekera would result in a co-existence of two former lives of the Buddha. On Asita Devala cf. also Windisch 1916: 6-13.

[135] MN 93 at MN II 154,29 speaks of seven Brahmin seers, *brāhmaṇisayo*, EĀ 40.9 at T II 742b18 and T 71 at T I 878a2 speak just of "seven Brahmins", 七梵志 or 七婆羅門, MĀ 151 at T I 665b26 speaks of "numerous seers", 眾多仙人, as does D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 110a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 126a4: *drang srong rab tu mang po dag*.

[136] EĀ 40.9 at T II 742b29 explains that this happened because he overcame their anger through *mettā*.

[137] MĀ 151 at T I 666a13 adds that Asita also asked if the seers knew the sex of the being to be born, and what direction it came from; the additional argument about the direction from which the *gandhabba* comes is also found in D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 111a7 or Q (5595) *tu* 127b2. On the *gandhabba* cf. also above p. 254 note 243.

[138] T 71 at T I 878b8.

[139] MĀ 151 at T I 666b28 and T 71 at T I 878b27.

[140] According to MĀ 151 at T I 666c2, to illustrate Assalāyana's defeat the Brahmins used the same two similes employed in MĀ 133 at T I 631c10 to illustrate how the householder Upāli had been unable to stand his ground in debate with the Buddha.

MN 94 *Ghoṭamukha-sutta*

The *Ghoṭamukha-sutta*, the "discourse to Ghoṭamukha", records a discussion between the monk Udena and the Brahmin Ghoṭamukha. Of this discourse, so far no parallel seems to have been identified.[141]

The concluding section of the *Ghoṭamukha-sutta* indicates that the Buddha had already passed away by the time of this discourse, followed by recording the building of an assembly hall by the Brahmin Ghoṭamukha in order to express his appreciation for the instruction he had received from Udena.[142] As the construction of such a hall will take some time, a remark on the successful completion of the construction work must be considerably later than the Buddha's passing away, and thus posterior to the communal recitation of the discourses at the so-called first council that according to the traditional account took place at Rājagaha soon after the Buddha's demise.[143]

MN 95 *Caṅkī-sutta*

The *Caṅkī-sutta*, the "discourse [spoken in the presence of] Caṅkī", explains how to preserve and arrive at truth. This discourse does not have a parallel in the Chinese *Āgamas*. Considerable parts of this discourse have, however, been preserved in Sanskrit fragments, which stem from two different versions of this discourse. One of these two versions was probably referred to as the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra*, thereby taking as its title the name of the main protagonist of the discourse, the Brahmin youth Kāmaṭhika,[144] or Kāpaṭhika in the Pāli version.[145] The other Sanskrit version has the title *Caṅgī-sūtra*

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[141] Sanskrit fragment SHT V 1476R3-5 (p. 228) reports that a Brahmin, on being informed that the Buddha had passed away, expressed his willingness to travel a considerable distance to meet the Buddha if the latter had still been alive, similar to MN 84 at MN II 90,16 and MN 94 at MN II 162,24. The Sanskrit discourse takes place near Kauśāmbī and has views as its subject, while MN 84 takes place in Madhurā and MN 94 near Vārāṇasī. The respective subject matter also differs, as MN 84 reports the Brahmin's claim to class superiority and MN 94 examines four types of person who torment themselves, torment others, torment both, or torment neither. Hence this Sanskrit fragment would not be a parallel to MN 84 or to MN 94; cf. also the fragments mentioned above p. 309 note 2.

[142] MN 94 at MN II 163,25; cf. also Franke 1915: 163 and Pande 1957: 137.

[143] On the first council or perhaps better "rehearsal" cf. also below p. 863.

[144] The fragments are SHT III 883a (pp. 132-133), SHT IV 165 folios 29-31+42 (p. 203-205, cf. also SHT VII p. 241 and SHT IX p. 379, which also identifies folio 42), SHT V 1025A (p. 9, identified in SHT VII p. 274), and Pelliot fragment bleu 18,2, no. 17 in Hartmann 1991: 90-92. SHT IV 165 folio 29 and SHT V 1025A4-5 correspond to the beginning of the discourse at MN II 164 and to the reasons for visiting the Buddha at MN II 166-167. SHT IV 165 folio 31A concludes the exposition of these reasons. SHT IV 165 folio 30B parallels the Buddha's request to the young Brahmin that he should not interrupt the conversation the Buddha was having with other Brahmins, found at MN II 168,24. SHT III 883a and Pelliot fragment bleu 18,2 parallel the Buddha's examination of the Brahminical claim to truth at MN II 169-170. SHT III 883a also has parts of the Buddha's exposition on how to protect truth at MN II 171. The *uddāna* in fragment 299V3 in Hartmann 2000: 363 has preserved *maṭhikaḥ,* suggesting that the discourse was entitled after its protagonist Kāmaṭhika.

[145] Following the reading given in E^e. B^e-MN II 380,17 and C^e-MN II 654,5 instead read Kāpaṭika, and S^e-

and thereby agrees with the Pāli *Caṅkī-sutta* on taking as its title the name of the Brahmin who makes his appearance during the beginning part of the discourse and who is also present in the assembly that witnessed the discussion between the Buddha and Kāpaṭhika.[146] The *Caṅgī-sūtra* has some linguistic features that resemble the *Mahāvastu*.[147]

MN II 164 The *Caṅkī-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* begins by describing that the Brahmin Caṅkī intended to visit the Buddha, who had come to stay in a nearby grove. Other Brahmins objected that it would be beneath Caṅkī's dignity to go and visit the Buddha. Caṅkī remained firm in his decision, however, giving various reasons why it was proper for him to visit the Buddha.

MN II 166 Compared to the Pāli version, the Sanskrit fragments present several additional reasons why the Brahmin felt it was appropriate for him to visit the Buddha. According to the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra*, additional reasons for approaching the Buddha were:

- he had gone beyond future rebirth,
- he taught a doctrine good in its beginning, middle, and end.[148]

According to the *Caṅgī-sūtra*, additional reasons that made it appropriate to visit the Buddha were:

- he dwelled in secluded places,
- he had reached peaceful concentrative attainments,
- he was superior to others in his wisdom,
- he was endowed with unsurpassable knowledge and conduct.[149]

Another quality extolled in the *Caṅgī-sūtra* is that the Buddha receives exquisite food.[150] The *Caṅgī-sūtra* also proclaims that, in whatever location the Buddha arrives, humans will be protected from being harmed by demons.[151]

MN II 598,3 reads Kāpadika. SHT IV 165 folio 30B2 reads Kāvaḍika, while fragment 3V4+5 and fragment 4R3 in Hartmann 2002b: 4 read Kamaṭhika, with Kamaḍhika found in fragment 3V3.

[146] Fragments of this discourse have been published by Brekke 2000: 55-61 and Hartmann 2002b: 3-16; cf. also Braarvig 2010: 2-5.

[147] Brekke 2000: 54-55.

[148] SHT IV 165 folio 29Re-f: *kṣīṇā me jāt[i]* and *(madhye ka)l(y)ā[ṇ]aṃ paryavasāne [kal](y)[ā](ṇa)[ṃ].*

[149] Fragment 2R1, R4-5, and V2 in Hartmann 2002b: 3: *bhavāṃ gautamaḥ āraṃ[ṇ]y(a)[k](āni śayyāsa)nā-n(i) adhyāvasat[i] pr[ā]ntāni vivikt[ā]ni ... lābhī śāntānāṃ samāpattīnāṃ ... mūrrdhnani āhatvā prajñāgatena tiṣṭhati ... anuttarāye vidyācaraṇasaṃpadāye ...* .

[150] Fragment 2R2-3 in Hartmann 2002b: 3: *sa hi bhavāṃ gau[ta]maḥ lābhī praṇī[t]ānāṃ khādanīyabhojanīyānāṃ.* The inclusion of this as a praiseworthy quality of the Buddha brings to mind the parallel to the *Mahāgovinda-sutta* found in the *Mahāvastu*, which similarly takes up the exquisite nature of the food the Buddha received, cf. Basak 1968/2004: 122,10 or Senart 1897: 201,3: *labhī ... bhagavāṃ ... praṇītānāṃ khādanīya-bhojanīyānāṃ.* The Pāli and Chinese counterparts to this passage only mention the Buddha's attitude towards food, without taking the nature of the food he receives into consideration, cf. DN 19 at DN II 223,26, which just mentions that the Buddha took food without being intoxicated by it, *vigata mado ... āhāraṃ āhāreti*, while T 8 at T I 208c7 speaks of the absence of any conceit, 受飲食, 遠離憍慢 (another parallel, DĀ 3 at T I 30b-34b, does not seem to cover this quality at all). The present passage in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 122,13 or in Senart 1897: 201,6 also refers to the absence of any intoxication, *vigatamado āhāram āharati*, in addition to its description of the exquisiteness of the food received by the Buddha.

Before turning to Caṅkī's visit to the Buddha,[152] the *Caṅgī-sūtra* describes the reaction of the other Brahmins to Caṅkī's praises of the Buddha in further detail. According to its account, the other Brahmins came to the conclusion that just one of the qualities mentioned by Caṅkī would be sufficient to visit the Buddha, even if the Buddha were to stay at a considerable distance.[153]

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[151] Fragment 2R6 Hartmann 2002b: 3: *sa hi bhavāṃ gautamaḥ yaṃ grāmaṃ vā nnāga[raṃ v](ā u)paniśrāya viha(rati na) tat[r]a [a]manuṣ(y)ā manu[ṣy]āṃ viheṭhenti.* This way of highlighting the Buddha's protective powers again brings to mind the *Mahāvastu*, which dwells at considerable length on this subject in its description of the Buddha's arrival at Vaiśāli. According to the *Mahāvastu*, not only did the Buddha's arrival cause all demons to leave the town, thereby putting an end to a plague, but in several former existences as a hermit, an elephant, and a bull, his presence had the same effect on demons, cf. Basak 1963a: 361,7 or Senart 1882a: 283,7. To describe the protection against non-human beings afforded by the Buddha's presence is, however, not exclusive to the *Mahāvastu*, since such a description also occurs in DN 4 at DN I 116,14: *samaṇo khalu, bho, gotamo yasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati, na tasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā amanussā manusse viheṭhenti*, a statement found also in its Sanskrit counterpart folio 398R1 in Hartmann 2002b: 8: *bha[vā]ṃ (g)[au](tamo) [y]aṃ grāmakṣetraṃ upaniśṛtya viharati na tatrāmanuṣyā manuṣyāṃ viheṭhayanti*, and in its Chinese counterpart DĀ 22 at T I 95b12: "at a location reached by the recluse Gotama, non-humans and spirits do not dare to make trouble", 沙門瞿曇所至之處, 非人, 鬼神, 不敢觸嬈. Skilling 1992a: 111 notes that "a similar statement is made in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, and a similar idea occurs in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavibhaṅga* in Tibetan and Chinese translation". Nevertheless, when considered together with the reference to exquisite food, this emphasis on the protective aura caused by the Buddha's presence may reflect some degree of affinity between the *Caṅgī-sūtra* and the *Mahāvastu*, in addition to their linguistic similarities.

[152] According to MN 95 at MN II 164,5, the Buddha was staying in a grove of *sāla*-trees (shorea robusta) called "grove of *deva*s", *devavane sālavane*, located north of the village Opasāda. The commentary Ps III 414,16 explains that this grove was called *devavana* because religious offerings were made in it to *deva*s, *devatānaṃ balikammaṃ karīyati*. *Caṅgī-sūtra* fragment 3R5 in Hartmann 2002b: 4 also speaks of a grove of *deva*s, *devāṃmravana*. SHT IV 165 folio 29Rb of the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* refers instead to a *śiśapāvana*, similarly located north of the village, *uttareṇa grāmasya*. A *siṃsapāvana* or *śiṃśapāvana* recurs in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in fragment S 360 folios 164R4, 170R3, and 178V5+R1 in Waldschmidt 1950: 14, 17, and 21, in DN 23 at DN II 316,8, in SN 56:31 at SN V 437,20, and in AN 3:34 at AN I 136,19. Although the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* indicates the *śiṃśapāvana* to be invariably found "north of the village", *uttareṇa grāmasya*, the actual locations of the grove differ. DN 23, SN 56:31, and AN 3:34 also associate the *siṃsapāvana* with different locations. These variations suggest that references to a *siṃsapāvana* or *śiṃśapāvana*, a grove with Indian Rosewood trees (dalbergia sissoo) north of a village, could be just a standard pericope, cf. also von Simson 1965: 72 and Legittimo 2004: 46. MN 95 locates this particular grove near the village Opasāda, to which SHT IV 165 folio 29Vc and SHT V 1025 A5 refer as Upasālā, while fragment 2V3 and fragment 3R1+5 in Hartmann 2002b: 3-4 speak of Upaśaya.

[153] Fragment 2V5-6 and fragment 3R1 in Hartmann 2002b: 3-4: *ekinā pi aṅgena saṃvi(d)[ya]ti arhāma ... gauta[m]aṃ darśanāye upasaṃkkramituṃ paryupāsanāya sace so bhavāṃ gautamaḥ ito syā ekasmi ... yojanaśate pi.* In MN 95 at MN II 168,6, Caṅkī himself makes the statement that even one of these qualities would suffice for making it appropriate to visit the Buddha, *ekamekena pi ... aṅgena samannāgato ... mayam eva arahāma ... gotamaṃ dassanāya upasaṅkamituṃ* (B^{e}-MN II 380,10 and S^{e}-MN II 597,16: *upasaṅkamitun ti*), although he does not refer to the distance at which the Buddha might dwell. A passage similar to the *Caṅgī-sūtra* can be found in the *Kūṭatāṇḍya-sūtra*, Sanskrit fragment 402v3 in von Criegern 2002: 40, where the Pāli version, DN 5 at DN I 133,25, does not have such a statement.

MN II 168 The Pāli version and its Sanskrit fragment parallels report that during the ensuing discussion between the Buddha and some senior Brahmins, the Brahmin youth Kāpaṭhika broke in and interrupted their conversation. When the Buddha rebuked Kāpaṭhika for this, Caṅkī intervened on behalf of Kāpaṭhika, declaring that the young Brahmin was wise and capable of taking part in the discussion.

MN II 169 Kāpaṭhika then confronted the Buddha with the claim that the Brahminical oral tradition preserves the only truth. According to the *Caṅkī-sutta* and the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra*, the Buddha unveiled the weak foundation of this claim by inquiring whether the former sages, held to be the founders of this tradition, had personal realization of the truth.[154] While in the Pāli account the point at stake was whether the former Brahminical teachers could claim to "know" and "see" the truth,[155] according to the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* the point at issue was personal and direct realization of five qualities.[156]

MN II 170 According to the Sanskrit fragments, Kāpaṭhika remained silent in reply to the Buddha's query. In the Pāli version, however, Kāpaṭhika admitted that those former sages had not claimed to have such personal realization.[157] The *Caṅkī-sutta* and the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* continue with the simile of the blind men.[158] Kāpaṭhika replied by declaring that his truth claim was not only based on faith, but also on oral tradition.

According to the *Caṅkī-sutta*, in reply to this declaration by Kāpaṭhika the Buddha examined the limitations of five sources of knowledge:

- faith,
- liking,
- oral tradition,

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[154] Although this exchange has not been preserved in its entirety in the Sanskrit fragments, Pelliot fragment bleu 18,2Vd+Rc, no. 17 in Hartmann 1991: 91, has preserved references to *(Vāma)devo*, *Viśvāmitro*, *Jamada[gnir]*, and *[A]ṃ[g](iraso)*, while SHT III 883aV5 refers to *(A)[ṣṭa]ko*, *Vāmako*, *Vāmadevo*, and *Viśvā(mitro)*, pointing to a similar list of ancient Indian sages as found in MN 95 at MN II 169,29.

[155] MN 95 at MN II 169,17: *aham etaṃ jānāmi, aham etaṃ passāmi, idam eva saccaṃ mogham aññan ti.*

[156] SHT III 883aV2: *(e)vaṃ (va)dad-ahaṃ-eṣāṃ paṃcāna[n-dha]rmāṇāṃ svayam-abhi(jñ)[ā](ya)* and V6: *eṣāṃ paṃcānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ sva[y]*, although unfortunately the fragment has not preserved the part that indicates what are these five qualities. Hartmann 1991: 91 draws attention to a similar formulation found in MN 99 at MN II 199,30, where the question at stake is whether former Brahminical teachers could claim to have personal and direct realization of the fruits of truth, asceticism, celibacy, study, and generosity.

[157] Pelliot fragment bleu 18,2Re, no. 17 in Hartmann 1991: 91: *(tūṣṇ)ī[m](bhū)to madg[u]bhūta(ḥ)* and SHT III 883aV8: *(sra)staskandhaḥ adhomu[kho] ni[ṣ](p)[r](atibhānaḥ).*

[158] SHT III 883aR1 has preserved a reference to the blind men, *andhāveṇyu[pa]mān[o]*. This simile has a counterpart in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* 1.2.5, which illustrates the predicament of ignorant fools who deem themselves wise with the image of "blind men led by one who is himself blind" (translated by Radhakrishnan 1953/1992: 609), *andhenaiva nīyamānā yathāndhāḥ*. Horsch 1961: 1406 comments that this parallelism need not imply a direct relationship between early Buddhism and the *Upaniṣad*s, as the image of the blind led by a blind would have been part of ancient Indian lore in general. Another instance of this image can be found in the Jain *Sūyagaḍa* 1.1.2.19 in Bollée 1977b: 18,11, translated ibid. p. 95, who (p. 96) mentions another occurrence in *Mahābhārata* 2.38.3.

- examination-and-reasoning,
- intuitive acceptance of a view.[159]

The *Caṅgī-sūtra* fragments, however, instead take up truth claims based on what is seen, heard, sensed, and cognised.[160] According to the *Caṅgī-sūtra*, when truth claims are made based on what is seen, heard, etc., but without having reached personal realization,[161] then they can lead to dogmatic adherence to an oral tradition.[162]

The Pāli and Sanskrit versions agree that to protect truth one should not make dogmatic claims based on any of the sources of knowledge listed in their respective presentations.[163] The *Caṅkī-sutta* and its parallels proceed from protection of truth to discovery of truth (*saccānubodha* or *satyānubodha*). MN II 171

The Pāli version introduces discovery of truth by describing a householder who investigates if a monk shows signs of being under the influence of greed, anger, or delusion. In the Sanskrit fragment versions, however, the object of a similar investigation appears to be the Buddha himself.[164]

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[159] MN 95 at MN II 170,27: *saddhā, ruci, anussava, ākāraparivitakka, diṭṭhinijjhānakkhanti.* SHT III 883a R4 has preserved a reference to *(svākā)raparivitarkitaṃ*, followed by *sudṛṣṭiniddhyā*, so that this version may have had a similar exchange.

[160] Hartmann 2002b: 11 remarks that although "the structure of the present passage is partly obscured ... it becomes clear that only four factors, *dṛṣṭaṃ, śrutaṃ, hvutaṃ/hmutaṃ, vijñātaṃ* are listed here". Other Pāli discourses similarly indicate that what is seen, heard, sensed, and cognised should not be taken up in a dogmatic manner. Thus, MN 1 at MN I 3,15 warns against conceivings in regard to these four; MN 22 at MN I 135,34 presents these four as instances for identification and the genesis of views; MN 112 at MN III 30,8 indicates that an arahant is thoroughly detached from these four; MN 143 at MN III 261,10 advises not to hold on to these four when one is about to pass away; and according to Sn 5:9 at Sn 1086 freedom from attachment to *diṭṭha suta, muta*, and *viññāta* leads to Nirvāṇa. On *diṭṭha suta, muta*, and *viññāta* cf. also Bapat 1950: 93-94, Bhattacharya 1980, Jayatilleke 1963/1980: 60-61, Jayawickrama 1978: 50-51, and below p. 635 note 4; on *muta* in particular cf. also Gómez 1976: 159 note 21.

[161] Fragment 4V3 in Hartmann 2002b: 5: *sāmaṃ dharmmaṃ anabhijñāya.*

[162] Fragment 4V3-4 in Hartmann 2002b: 5: *paramparāya piṭa(kasaṃpradānena ekā)[nt](a)śravaṇena niṣṭhā gaṃtuṃ idam eva satyam moghaṃ āṃnyad iti.*

[163] MN 95 at MN II 171,12: *na tveva tāva ekaṃsena niṭṭhaṃ gacchati, idam eva saccaṃ, mogham aññan ti*, a recommendation found similarly in *Caṅgī-sūtra* fragment 4V6 and 5R1 in Hartmann 2002b: 5: *na ca puna sthāmaśaḥ praḷaṃśaḥ pragṛhya abhiniviśya abhivyavahara[t]i ... idam eva satyaṃ mogham aṃnyad i[t]i.*

[164] While MN 95 at MN II 171,31 speaks of a monk in general, *bhikkhu aññataraṃ gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā upanissāya viharati*, *Caṅgī-sūtra* fragment 5R6 in Hartmann 2002b: 5 introduces this part with a reference to the arising of a Tathāgata, *śāstā loke [u]t[p]ad[y]ati tathāgato arahāṃ saṃmyaksaṃbuddhaḥ* ..., and then continues (V1) with *so anyataraṃ grāmaṃ vā nnagaraṃ vā upaniśrāya [v](i)harati*, so that here it is the Tathāgata who lives in dependence on some village and then becomes the object of the householder's investigation. Fragment 326V6 of the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* in Hartmann 2002b: 13 also refers to the arising of a Tathāgata. The arising of a Tathāgata and the description of how a householder investigates the Tathāgata concerning the presence of greed, anger, or delusion recur also in fragments of the *Piṃgalātreya-sūtra*, fragment 367v5-6 in Peipina 2008: 41, reading: *śāstus tṛṣu sthāneṣu viśuddhiṃ samanveṣate tadyathā lobhadha(r)[me] dveṣadharme mohadharme*, and in the *Śrāmaṇyaphala-sūtra* found in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978a: 230,16, which also combines these two elements by describing how a householder goes forth to undertake the gradual path after having in the above

This investigation is concerned with ascertaining if this person might claim to know what he does not know and teach what will be to the detriment of those who follow his instructions. The Pāli and Sanskrit versions agree in qualifying the teachings given by this person to be profound and sublime,[165] qualifications other Pāli discourses associate with the Buddha's exposition of the Dharma.[166]

MN II 173 The *Caṅkī-sutta* and its parallels describe in similar terms how, based on such investigation, the householder places confidence, learns, and practises the teachings, until he reaches personal realization of the truth.[167] In regard to the series of steps that lead from initial confidence to personal realization of the truth, the *Caṅgī-sūtra* adds that after having heard the teachings and before being able to bear them in mind, they need to be learned.[168] The *Caṅgī-sūtra* also presents a transitional step between intuitive acceptance of the teachings and the arising of the desire (to practise), which is the arising of

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manner investigated the Tathāgata. The same is, however, not found in the Pāli and Chinese versions of the same discourse, cf. DN 2 at DN I 62,24, DĀ 27 at T I 109b7 (to be supplemented from T I 83c3), and T 22 at T I 272b28 (another parallel, EĀ 42.7 at T II 764a13, does not have the gradual path account at all). In the case of MN 95, if the Pāli version were to be emended in accordance with the Sanskrit fragment, MN 95 at MN II 171,31 would simply read *aññataraṃ gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā upanissāya viharati*, without specifying *bhikkhu* to be the subject of this sentence. That is, the difference between the Pāli and the Sanskrit versions revolves around the occurrence of the subject *bhikkhu* in the Pāli sentence. The sentence found in MN 95 at MN II 171,31 occurs also in MN 55 at MN I 369,11: *bhikkhu aññataraṃ gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā upanissāya viharati*, where this sentence is similarly followed by examining the relationship of this monk to a lay supporter. The similarity between these two discourses is also highlighted in the commentary at Ps III 426,11, which refers to MN 55 in its gloss on the present passage in MN 95. Due to this affinity between the two discourses, it could easily have happened that, during the transmission of the *Majjhima-nikāya* collection, the subject *bhikkhu* accidentally made its way from MN 55 into the present passage in MN 95. A problem with this hypothesis, however, is that in MN 95 this sentence is not preceded by a reference to the arising of a Tathāgata, so that, without the subject *bhikkhu*, the sentence would not only be without an explicit subject, but also without an implicit subject.

165 MN 95 at MN II 172,14: *gambhīro so dhammo duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍitavedaniyo* (B^{e}-MN II 384,16, C^{e}-MN II 658,28, and S^{e}-MN II 603,11: *paṇḍitavedanīyo*), *Caṅgī-sūtra* fragment 5V4 in Hartmann 2002b: 6: *gāmbhīraṃ nipuṇaṃ sukhumaṃ duranubodhaṃ atarkkiyaṃ atarkkāvacaraṃ paṇḍitavedanīyaṃ*, *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* fragment 327R5 in Hartmann 2002b: 14: *śānto sya sa dharmaḥ parṇī[t]o gambhīro gambhīrāvabhāso durdṛśo duravabodho tarkyo tarkyāvacaraḥ*.

166 The same set of qualifications recurs in MN 26 at MN I 167,31, MN 72 at MN I 487,5, MN 85 at MN II 93,25, SN 6:1 at SN I 136,9 (or SN^{2} 172 at SN^{2} I 298,9), and Vin I 4,33 in relation to the teachings of the Buddha Gotama, and in DN 14 at DN II 36,2 in relation to the teachings of the Buddha Vipassī .

167 A to some extent comparable series of steps can be found in the Jain *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* 2.37-46 in Lalwani 1973b: 199,29.

168 Fragment 6V1 in Hartmann 2002b: 6: *śṛṇvantaḥ dharmmaṃ paryyāpuṇati, dharmmaṃ paryyāpuṇ[aṃ]*, the corresponding statement in MN 95 at MN II 173,20 just reads *sutvā dhammaṃ dhāreti*. The *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* agrees in this respect with the Pāli presentation, cf. fragment 327V6 in Hartmann 2002b: 15: *śrutaṃ dharman dhārayati*. In other Pāli discourses, *pariyāpuṇāti* and *dhāreti* occur in a triad of near synonyms, cf., e.g., DN 32 at DN III 206,14 or MN 89 at MN II 124,30, so that the difference between MN 95 and the *Caṅgī-sūtra* do not seem to involve a substantially different conception of the steps required for coming to a personal realization of the truth.

joy.[169] The role of joy as an important factor for the path to realization is a recurrent theme in the Pāli discourses.[170]

The final part of the *Caṅkī-sutta* describes arrival at truth through repeated development of the same factors and records that Kāpaṭhika became a lay disciple of the Buddha. The *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* fragment instead reports that the Buddha gave a gradual teaching to the Brahmin Caṅkī (Cāṃgī), leading up to a disclosure of the four noble truths.[171] Hearing this teaching, the Brahmin attained stream-entry,[172] took refuge, and invited the Buddha and his monks for a meal the next day. According to the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* fragment, once the preparations were completed, the meal offering took place, at the conclusion of which the Buddha spoke a set of verses.[173] MN II 174

MN 96 *Esukāri-sutta*

The *Esukāri-sutta*, the "discourse to Esukārī", records a conversation between the Buddha and the Brahmin Esukārī. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[174]

The *Esukāri-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin with a Brahmin proclaiming in front of the Buddha that the members of any class should serve those of a higher class, with the Brahminical class being the one that should be served by all other classes.[175] In reply to this proclamation, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version the Buddha asked the Brahmin Esukārī if the whole world had authorized the Brahmins to establish MN II 177

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[169] Fragment 6V1-2 Hartmann 2002b: 6: *dharmmanidhyānaṃ kṣaṃat(i) ... (prāmodyaṃ) [j]āyati, pramuditasya cchandaḥ jāyati*, MN 95 at MN II 173,22, however, directly proceeds to the desire (to practise), *dhammanijjhānakkhantiyā sati chando jāyati*. The *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* fragment 327V6 in Hartmann 2002b: 15 proceeds differently, since from memorizing the teachings it continues via thinking and examining to investigating, *dhṛtaṃ dharmaṃ cintayati, cintayitvā tulayati, tulayitvā upaparīkṣate*.

[170] E.g., AN 10:2 at AN V 2,25 indicates that the presence of joy, *pāmojja*, naturally leads to the arising of happiness, concentration, and realization. SN 12:23 at SN II 32,3 compares this natural sequence to rain that falls on a hill top and in due course fills the rivers and flows into the sea.

[171] DĀ (Skt) fragment 328r4. This final part of the *Kāmaṭhika-sūtra* fragments is no longer part of the material published in Hartmann 2002b (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of this section of the fragment).

[172] DĀ (Skt) fragment 328r7 reports that the Brahmin Cāṃgī attained insight into the four noble truths, saw the Dharma, and went beyond doubt, indications corresponding to the standard description of stream-entry in the early discourses.

[173] DĀ (Skt) fragment 328v8, which begins with a reference to *agnihotramukhā yajñā*; for a study of a range of occurrences of this stanza cf. Skilling 2003; on a rendering of this stanza in the Chinese *Dīrgha-āgama* cf. Meisig 2010: 72.

[174] The parallel is MĀ 150 at T I 660c-663b. While MN 96 takes place in Jeta's Grove near Sāvatthī, MĀ 150 has the Bamboo Grove by Rājagaha as its location. The two versions agree on taking the name of the Buddha's visitor, Esukārī/鬱瘦歌邏, as their title.

[175] Bucknell 2007: 21 note 59 points out that in MN 96 at MN II 177,22 (the same holds true for MĀ 150 at T I 661a7) the listing of classes begins with the Brahmins, followed by the warrior class, whereas elsewhere in the discourses such listings begin with the warrior class. This departure from the usual sequence reflects the circumstance that the listing is presented as being spoken by a Brahmin, who naturally puts his own class in first position.

who should serve whom.[176] According to the *Madhyama-āgama* version, however, the Buddha asked if this proposition was based on personal knowledge of the Brahmins.[177] In both versions, the Brahmin had to answer in the negative, which caused the Buddha to compare the Brahminical prescription on the service to be rendered among the members of the four classes to forcing a poor person to eat meat and also ask him to pay for it.[178]

MN II 178 According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the appropriateness of giving service should be evaluated based on whether such service results in bettering or worsening the server's condition, in the sense of whether faith, virtue, learning, generosity, and wisdom will increase or decrease due to such service. The parallel version similarly reports that the Buddha made the Brahmin acknowledge that the point at stake was whether these five qualities increase or decrease through rendering service, although in the *Madhyama-āgama* account this takes place through a series of questions and answers.[179]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version also explores the need to avoid generalizations by pointing out that unwholesome conduct happens even when someone has a high social position or is endowed with great beauty and wealth. This line of reasoning, which is not found in the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse, highlights that sweeping proposals, like the declaration made by Esukārī, do not take into account individual differences.

MN II 180 The *Esukāri-sutta* and its parallel agree that the Brahmin Esukārī came out with another proposition, in which he described the type of wealth characteristic of each of the four classes. The two versions agree on three of these types of wealth:

- begging is a Brahmin's wealth,
- a bow is a warrior's wealth,
- farming is the wealth of a merchant.[180]

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[176] MN 96 at MN II 178,15: "how is it ... has the whole world agreed to the Brahmins setting forth these four types of service", *kiṃ pana ... sabbo loko brāhmaṇānaṃ etad abbhanujānāti, imā catasso pāricariyā paññāpentū ti* (C^{e}-MN II 668,21: *paññāpentī ti*)?

[177] MĀ 150 at T I 661a18: "do the Brahmins know by themselves these four types of class and what respectful behaviour to designate for these four classes", 諸梵志頗自知為四種姓, 施設四種奉事? When evaluating the difference between the two versions, it seems that the issue at stake is social convention. Thus, the suggestion in MN 96 that a general consensus would be needed to set up such conventions seems quite appropriate. In contrast, the proposal in MĀ 150 that to determine the type of service to be rendered among members of the different classes requires personal knowledge seems less straightforward, as one might wonder what kind of personal knowledge would enable setting out such conventions.

[178] The instruction given to this man in MĀ 150 at T I 661a26 actually enjoins that "[you] can eat, [but you] should give me 'straight'", 可食, 當與我直. The 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition p. 1285 note 4 suggests the occurrence of 直 to be an error for 值, "price", facilitated by the fact that both characters have the same pronunciation, in which case the reading found in the Indic original used for the translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* would have been similar in meaning to the Pāli version. Another difference is that MĀ 150 does not specify that the person who is given the meat is poor. The specification that the man is poor recurs in another instance of this image in AN 6:57 at AN III 384,10.

[179] MĀ 150 at T I 661c20. As its fourth quality, MĀ 150 lists 庶幾. This should be the counterpart to *cāga* in the Pāli version, although another discourse in the same collection, MĀ 152 at T I 669b18, has the more straightforward 行施 as its counterpart to a reference to *cāga* in MN 99 at MN II 199,19.

[180] While MN 96 at MN II 180,21 associates the merchant class to farming and cattle raising, *kasigorak-*

In regard to the fourth class, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version the sickle and the carrying-pole are a worker's characteristic type of wealth.[181] The *Madhyama-āgama* parallel instead speaks of "hemp" as the wealth of a worker.[182]

The *Esukāri-sutta* reports the Brahmin's proclamation that those who despise their respective type of 'wealth' fail their duty, comparable to a watchman who commits theft.[183] The commentary explains that a watchman does not do his duty if he steals the goods he should be protecting.[184]

The *Madhyama-āgama* account instead illustrates this case with the example of a cowherd who does not look after his cows, indicating that to spurn the traditional duties of one's own class is comparable to a cowherd who does not fulfil the task for which he has been employed.[185] In both versions, this proposition receives the same reply as the earlier proposition about service, followed by illustrating the vanity of such proclamations with the same simile about forcing someone to eat meat and demanding payment for it.

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse, in reply to Esukārī's description of the MN II 181
wealth of the four classes the Buddha declared the "noble supramundane Dharma" to be a person's own wealth,[186] while according to the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse he proclaimed a person's own wealth to be the "Dharma of appeasement", the "Dharma of complete cessation", the "Dharma of the path to awakening" and the "well-gone Dharma".[187] Although differing in formulation, both versions would have the same type of 'wealth' in mind.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse explains class to be merely the conditioned outcome of one's place of birth, similar to different types of fire that are reckoned according to the fuel in dependence on which they burn. The same version continues by declaring that anyone who goes forth under the Tathāgata and refrains from the ten unwholesome courses of action, to whatever class he may belong to, is "accomplished in the method

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kha, MĀ 150 at T I 662b14 only mentions farming, 田作. As Rhys Davids 1922: 203 points out, for assessing the economic situation in ancient India it is significant that this passage sees the pursuit of agriculture as unfit for Brahmins.

181 MN 96 at MN II 180,26: *asitabyābhaṅgī.*

182 MĀ 150 at T I 662b21: 麻, without offering further indications on how hemp can be considered the characteristic wealth of a worker.

183 MN 96 at MN II 180,13+18+22+27: *sandhanaṃ atimaññamāno akiccakārī hoti, gopo va adinnaṃ ādiyamāno ti* (S^e-MN II 614,17: *saddhanaṃ*).

184 Ps III 428,25.

185 MĀ 150 at T I 662b1+8+15+22: "having despised his own wealth, he will in turn suffer a setback, just like a cowherd who is unable to watch the cows will in turn suffer a setback", 輕慢自有財物已, 則便失利, 猶如放牛人不能看牛者, 則便失利.

186 MN 96 at MN II 181,7: *ariyaṃ ... lokuttaraṃ dhammaṃ purisassa sandhanaṃ* (S^e-MN II 615,19: *saddhanaṃ*).

187 MĀ 150 at T I 662c10: 息止法, 滅訖法, 覺道法, 善趣法. MĀ 150 introduces this statement by pointing out that the Buddha made such a proposal "having himself well realized and well known dharmas", 我自善解, 善知諸法, thereby setting a contrast to the Brahminical proposition, which was not based on personal knowledge.

of the wholesome Dharma”.[188] This indication is not made in the *Madhyama-āgama* version.

MN II 182 The *Esukāri-sutta* and its parallel continue with various arguments against the Brahminical claim to class superiority, such as the ability of all four classes to practise loving kindness, to wash themselves, or to kindle a fire, similar to the arguments raised in the *Assalāyana-sutta* and its parallel.[189] Both versions conclude with the Brahmin Esukārī taking refuge.

MN 97 *Dhānañjāni-sutta*[190]

The *Dhānañjāni-sutta*, the “discourse to Dhānañjāni”, records Sāriputta’s instructions to the Brahmin Dhānañjāni. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[191]

MN II 185 The *Dhānañjāni-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by describing that a monk, who had just come from Rājagaha, visited Sāriputta.[192] According to the *Dhānañjāni-sutta*, Sāriputta asked the monk about the welfare of the Buddha, of other monks and of the Brahmin Dhānañjāni.

The *Madhyama-āgama* parallel reports that Sāriputta also inquired about the well-being of the nuns and the laity. He, moreover, not only wanted to know if they were keeping well, but also if they were eager to see the Buddha and delighted in hearing the

[188] MN 96 at MN II 181,34: *ārādhako hoti ñāyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ*. Although this part is not found in MĀ 150, a counterpart to an occurrence of the same expression in MN 99 at MN II 197,6 can be found in its parallel MĀ 152 at T I 667a19, which speaks of “reaching proper understanding and therefore knowing in accordance with the Dharma”, 得善解, 則知如法. The “method”, *ñāya*, occurs also in the standard recollection of the Saṅgha, which qualifies the noble disciple to be practising the “method”, *ñāya*, e.g., in AN 3:70 at AN I 208,23, an expression that appears to have its counterpart in 行要, “to practice [what is] essential”, in its parallel MĀ 202 at T I 771c4. To attain this “method”, *ñāya*, is according to DN 22 at DN II 290,10 and MN 10 at MN I 56,2 one of the fruits of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice. In this case, the Chinese parallels speak in their corresponding sections of attaining “the right dharma”, MĀ 98 at T I 582b10: 得正法, or of attaining “great wisdom”, EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a3: 得大智慧.

[189] Cf. above p. 549. MĀ 150 at T I 662c13 begins this series of arguments by bringing up the question if only Brahmins will not be obstructed by empty space, found also in MĀ 151 at T I 664b1.

[190] B^e-MN II 395,16, C^e-MN II 680,1, and S^e-MN II 623,1: *Dhanañjāni-sutta*, a spelling of the name of the protagonist found throughout in these three editions.

[191] The parallel is MĀ 27 at T I 456a-458b and agrees with MN 97 on locating the discourse in the Squirrels’ Feeding Ground by Rājagaha. MĀ 27 agrees with MN 97 on using the name of its Brahmin protagonist as its title, given in the form 陀然, with the additional specification that he was a Brahmin, 梵志陀然經. Comments on MĀ 27 can be found in Minh Chau 1964/1991: 37, 73-74, 102, and 207.

[192] While MN 97 at MN II 184,28 notes that Sāriputta was in the company of a great number of monks, MĀ 27 at T I 456a25 reports the Buddha to have been in the company of a large group of monks. Another minor difference is that Sāriputta initiated the conversation by asking the monk where he came from, MĀ 27 at T I 456b2. This seems a reasonable beginning of their conversation, as due to the presumably itinerant life style of the early generations of Buddhist monks it would have been difficult to know where a newly arrived monk had just come from, making it only natural to begin a conversation with such a question.

Dharma.[193] According to the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse, Sāriputta also indicated that Dhānañjāni was an old friend of his from the time before he had gone forth.[194] This would explain Sāriputta's concern for Dhānañjāni, a concern evident in both discourses.

In the *Madhyama-āgama* version Sāriputta inquires after Dhānañjāni in the same manner as he had inquired after the monks, the nuns, and the laity. The *Majjhima-nikāya* presentation, however, gives the impression that Sāriputta is already aware of the fact that something might be going wrong, since in addition to inquiring if Dhānañjāni was well, he also wants to know if Dhānañjāni is diligent.[195] Diligence in the present context seems to refer specifically to moral conduct, in fact both versions indicate that Dhānañjāni's lack of diligence was that he engaged in larceny, due to the bad influence of his new wife.[196]

Sāriputta eventually came to Rājagaha and visited Dhānañjāni.[197] When taken to task MN II 186
by Sāriputta,[198] Dhānañjāni excused himself by explaining that, being a householder, he had to look after others. The two versions agree that Dhānañjāni mentioned the need to look after:

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[193] MĀ 27 at T I 456b8: "the monk community and the nun community ... the community of male lay followers and the community of female lay followers ... do they wish to frequently see the Buddha and delight in hearing the Dharma", 比丘眾, 比丘尼眾 ... 優婆塞眾, 優婆夷眾 ... 欲數見佛, 樂聞法耶? According to MĀ 27, Sāriputta repeated the same question also in relation to recluses and Brahmins.

[194] MĀ 27 at T I 456b25: "he is an old friend of mine [from the time] when I had not yet gone forth", 是我昔日未出家友.

[195] MN 97 at MN II 185,14: *kacci ... dhānañjāni brāhmaṇo appamatto ti?* On hearing from the other monk about Dhānañjāni's conduct, according to MN 97 at MN II 185,21 Sāriputta voiced his disappointment and reflected that he should meet Dhānañjāni, a reaction not described in MĀ 27.

[196] While in MN 97 at MN II 185,19 the role played by the wife is mentioned in the other monk's description of Dhānañjāni's conduct, in MĀ 27 at T I 457b28 it is Dhānañjāni himself who, on being taken to task by Sāriputta, attributes his unrighteous conduct to the influence of his wife.

[197] MN 97 at MN II 186,2 narrates that, when Sāriputta arrived, Dhānañjāni was at his cowshed getting his cows milked, *gāvo goṭṭhe dohāpeti* (B^e-MN II 396,18 and S^e-MN II 624,13: *duhāpeti*). MĀ 27 at T I 456c10 instead reports that he was "punishing residents", 苦治居民. The idea of "punishing", literally "inflicting pain", could be due to mistaking √*duh*, "to milk", for √*dru*, "to harm" or "to hurt". The occurrence of "residents" is less easily explained, although perhaps the idea that someone is being harmed or hurt might have led to a misinterpretation of *goṭṭha* or *goṣṭha*, "cow-pen", for *gotta* or *gotra*, "clan". Alternatively, the reference to the "residents" could be a gloss introduced by the translator. A mistaking of √*duh* for √*dru* could occur more easily in a Prākrit in which, like in Pāli, the two forms are not distinguishable by the occurrence of an *r* in the latter (cf. PED: 328 s.v. *duhati* "to milk", s.v. *duhana* "one who injures"), whereas such a mistaking would be less probable had the original been in Sanskrit.

[198] While according to MN 97 at MN II 186,19 Sāriputta asked Dhānañjāni if he was diligent, according to MĀ 27 at T I 456c21 Sāriputta right away accused him of his larceny. This stands to some extent in contrast to the standard procedure depicted in the discourse for investigating the misdoings of someone, which is to ascertain first with the culprit if, what has been reported about his misdoings, is correct, cf., e.g., MN 21 at MN I 123,11 or MN 22 at MN I 132,9 and their parallels MĀ 193 at T I 744a23 and MĀ 200 at T I 763c5. The same is also a standard procedure in the *Vinaya*. This type of approach appears to have been part of common etiquette and a generally approved way of going about a rumour or an allegation. In view of this, for Sāriputta to straightaway rebuke Dhānañjāni, without any inquiry, as reported in MĀ 27, strikes an unfamiliar note.

- his parents,
- his wife and children,
- his slaves,
- his departed ancestors,
- the gods,
- the king.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version points out that he also had to look after friends, relatives, and guests (see table 10.3).[199] Instead of friends, relatives and guests, the *Madhyama-āgama* mentions his need to support recluses and Brahmins.[200]

Table 10.3: Householder's Cares in MN 97 and MĀ 27[201]

MN 97	MĀ 27
parents (1) wife and children (2) slaves (3) friends (4) relatives (5) guests (6) dead ancestors (7) gods (8) king (9) oneself (10)	oneself (→ 10) parents (→ 1) wife and children (→ 2) slaves (→ 3) king (→ 9) gods (→ 8) dead ancestors (→ 7) recluses and Brahmins (≠ 4-6)

To look after one's friends fits the present context just as well as the need to support recluses, since in both versions Dhānañjāni had been quite eager to offer food to Sāriputta,[202] thereby showing his willingness to support a recluse, an action which at the same time would also have been an act of looking after an old friend.

On being questioned by Sāriputta, in both versions Dhānañjāni had to admit that, on being reborn in hell due to evil conduct, he would not stand a chance to get respite by explaining that he had acted for the sake of others. The *Dhānañjāni-sutta* adds that not only would he not be able to get away with such a request, but even those for whose sake he undertook unwholesome deeds would not be able to intervene on his behalf.[203]

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[199] MN 97 at MN II 186,23.

[200] MĀ 27 at T I 456c25: "giving gifts to recluses and Brahmins", 布施沙門梵志.

[201] Particularly noteworthy is that MN 97 at MN II 186,27 puts the care to be given by Dhānañjāni to himself as the last in its list, while MĀ 27 at T I 456c23 has the same as the first in its presentation.

[202] MĀ 27 at T I 456c11+16 depicts Dhānañjāni's attempt to offer food in a particularly respectful manner, relating that, on seeing Sāriputta, the Brahmin arranged his clothes so as to uncover one shoulder, held his palms together in respect to welcome him and then took a golden vessel in an attempt to offer food to Sāriputta, an attempt he repeated three times.

[203] Except for the last case in MN 97 at MN II 188,10, which takes up the case of evil deeds undertaken for one's own sake. In this case, an intervention by those for whose sake the evil was done is evidently out of question. The corresponding passage in MĀ 27 at T I 456c29 does not cover the case of doing evil

According to both versions, Sāriputta explained that it was possible for Dhānañjāni MN II 188
to fulfil his responsibilities by earning his livelihood in a righteous manner.[204] Dhānañjāni was delighted by Sāriputta's exposition, according to the *Madhyama-āgama* version this was the case to such an extent that he formerly took refuge and declared himself a lay disciple.[205]

The *Dhānañjāni-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel record that on a later occa- MN II 191
sion Dhānañjāni fell sick.[206] When Sāriputta came to visit him,[207] Dhānañjāni illustrated his headache with the image of his head being split by a strong man with a sword, or a strap being tightened around his head, followed by comparing his stomach pains to the belly of an ox that is carved up by a butcher, and his fever to a man who is being roasted by two other men over hot coals or a fire.[208]

According to the *Dhānañjāni-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, Sāriputta de- MN II 193
scribed to Dhānañjāni an ascending series of prospective rebirths, ranging from hell to

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for one's own sake at all, which fits the context well, since to do evil for one's own sake would be a rather lame excuse when confronted with the wardens of hell.

[204] MN 97 at MN II 188,21 precedes this with a question and answer exchange, during which Sāriputta questions Dhānañjāni if it were better to support his parents, etc., in a righteous or in an unrighteous manner, a catechism not found in MĀ 27. A quotation in the *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 108,4 or in Lévi 1932a: 55,19 on properly supporting one's parents without doing evil appears to be taken from the present context. The *Karmavibhaṅga* refers to its source as the *Dhanaṃjaya-sūtra*.

[205] According to MĀ 27 at T I 457c1, Dhānañjāni wanted to take refuge with Sāriputta, who told him that he should rather take refuge with the Buddha.

[206] While according to MN 97 at MN II 191,34 Dhānañjāni sent a messenger to inform Sāriputta of his condition, according to the MĀ 27 at T I 457c20 Sāriputta was told by another monk who had just come from Rājagaha that, although Dhānañjāni was now eager to see the Buddha and delighted in hearing the Dharma, he was not well. This passage thus comes as a counterpart to the earlier instance in MĀ 27, when a monk from Rājagaha had informed Sāriputta that Dhānañjāni was well, but was not eager to see the Buddha and did not delight in hearing the Dharma.

[207] According to MĀ 27 at T I 457c27, on seeing Sāriputta approach, Dhānañjāni tried to get up from his bed, but was told by Sāriputta to remain where he was.

[208] A minor difference is that, according to MN 97 at MN II 193,2+14, the first three similes illustrate the action of violent winds, *adhimattā vātā*, in Dhānañjāni's head and belly. In MĀ 27, however, they illustrate his pain, as instead of winds MĀ 27 at T I 458a6 simply speaks of his "headache", 頭痛, and MĀ 27 at T I 458a9 of his "abdominal pain", 腹痛. According to ancient India medicine, particular 'winds' are responsible for the different motions that take place within the body. MN 62 at MN I 422,30 refers to such winds as "up-going winds", *uddhaṅgamā vātā*, and "down-going winds", *adhogamā vātā*, which according to an explanation given in Vism 350,22 are responsible for upwards motions such as vomiting and belching, and for downward motions such as the expelling of excrements and urine. Ñāṇamoli 1987: 98 note 24 explains that such winds refer to "motion or driving force rather than what moves or is moved". From the perspective of ancient Indian medicine, an imbalance in these winds causes disease. An example of this can be found in Vin I 205,1, which reports that the monk Pilindavaccha was afflicted by wind, *vātābādho hoti*. He was given an oil decoction as remedy, which suggests his disease to have been a problem related to the stomach and/or digestion. Vin I 205,17+24 records that Pilindavaccha also had winds in his limbs and joints, *aṅgavāta* and *pabbavāta*, which according to Horner 1951/1982: 278-279 could refer to rheumatism. On these cases of affliction by "wind" cf. also Zysk 1991: 92-96.

the Brahmā world. On hearing Sāriputta speak of rebirth in the Brahmā world, in both versions Dhānañjāni expressed his enthusiasm for such a prospect.[209] According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, on seeing Dhānañjāni's reaction, Sāriputta reflected that he would show Dhānañjāni the way to rebirth in the Brahmā world, a reflection not recorded in the *Madhyama-āgama* version.

MN II 195 Both versions report that Sāriputta taught Dhānañjāni the practice of the four *brahmavihāra*s as a boundless radiation in all directions. The *Madhyama-āgama* version makes explicit what is only implicit in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, as it states that Dhānañjāni put Sāriputta's instructions into practice and developed the four *brahmavihāra*s.[210] The two versions agree that, after Sāriputta had left, Dhānañjāni passed away and was reborn in the Brahmā world.[211]

The *Dhānañjāni-sutta* and its parallel continue with a somewhat different evaluation of the teachings given by Sāriputta to Dhānañjāni. In the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the reciters themselves voice their disapproval of Sāriputta's act as part of their narrative presentation. They indicate that Sāriputta had left after establishing Dhānañjāni in the "inferior Brahmā world", even though "there still was more to be done by him".[212]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* account continues by reporting that the Buddha expressed the same disapproval in front of other monks as soon as he saw Sāriputta approaching from afar.[213]

Once Sāriputta had arrived, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version the Buddha asked him directly why he had only established Dhānañjāni in the inferior Brahmā world and left when there was still more to be done, a question implying a reproach.[214] In this way, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version expresses disapproval of Sāriputta's action three times.

According to the *Madhyama-āgama* account, when the Buddha saw Sāriputta from afar he rather praised Sāriputta's wisdom.[215] After praising Sāriputta's wisdom, the

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[209] While in MN 97 at MN II 194,24 Dhānañjāni twice exclaims that Sāriputta had mentioned the "Brahmā world", *brahmaloko ti*, in MĀ 27 at T I 458a26 he twice proclaims "the Brahmā world is supreme", 梵天最勝.

[210] MĀ 27 at T I 458b12: "he practised the four divine abodes, abandoned sensuality and cast aside thoughts of sensuality, and on the breaking up of the body with the ending of life he was born in the Brahmā heaven", 修習四梵室, 斷欲捨欲念, 身壞命終生梵天中.

[211] According to MN 97 at MN II 195,16, Dhānañjāni asked Sāriputta to pay homage to the Buddha on his behalf, a detail not found in MĀ 27.

[212] MN 97 at MN II 195,20: *sati uttarikaraṇīye, hīne brahmaloke patiṭṭhāpetvā* (C^e-MN II 698,9: *uttariṃ karaṇīye*).

[213] MN 97 at MN II 195,25.

[214] MN 97 at MN II 196,1. While MN 97 ends after Sāriputta's reply without the standard conclusion to a discourse, MĀ 27 at T I 458b26 indicates that Sāriputta delighted in what the Buddha had said, adding to this the delight experienced by innumerable hundreds of thousands of beings, 無量百千眾. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 37 cites this conclusion as an example for *Madhyama-āgama* passages that "strike a rather exaggerated note, unknown to the moderate attitude of early Buddhism".

[215] MĀ 27 at T I 458b16 attributes to Sāriputta a series of different types of wisdom, similar to MN 111 at MN III 25,5.

Buddha explained to the other assembled monks that Sāriputta had successfully taught Dhānañjāni the path to the Brahmā world, adding that if Sāriputta had continued to teach the Brahmin further, Dhānañjāni would have understood the Dharma.[216]

Similar to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the Buddha then asked Sāriputta why he had not taught Dhānañjāni something higher than rebirth in the Brahmā world. As in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, Sāriputta explained that he had adapted his teaching to the natural inclination of Dhānañjāni.

Hence both versions make essentially the same point, in the sense that it would have been possible to lead Dhānañjāni to a higher attainment. Yet, the way they go about making this point is markedly different. The Buddha's remark and subsequent question in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version imply a reproach, as Sāriputta is presented as someone who has failed to do his duty. In the *Madhyama-āgama* version, however, instead of reproaching Sāriputta for not having done his duty, the Buddha much rather praises Sāriputta's wisdom.

Thus, while the *Madhyama-āgama* version even gives praise to Sāriputta, the reciters of the *Majjhima-nikāya* version consider his teachings to Dhānañjāni blameworthy to such an extent that, in addition to recording how the Buddha expressed his disapproval to the other monks and also directly reproached Sāriputta, they present the same criticism as part of their narrative description. This occurs only rarely in the discourses, where the sections spoken by the narrator usually serve to introduce or conclude events by relating circumstances or supplying additional information, but normally do not present explicit evaluations in the way this is done in the present instance.

This is noteworthy, since in the Theravāda tradition Sāriputta is usually held in high regard.[217] His teaching of the path to rebirth in the Brahmā world also does not seem to be particularly objectionable, since the next but one discourse in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the *Subha-sutta*, reports that the Buddha did exactly the same.[218]

In this way, the present difference between the *Dhānañjāni-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel confirms a point made already earlier, in that differences and variations between Pāli and Chinese versions of the same discourse need not be expressions of sectarian bias.[219] If the school affiliation of the *Dhānañjāni-sutta* had influenced the pre-

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[216] MĀ 27 at T I 458b19: "if [Sāriputta] had continued to teach him higher, he would have quickly known the Dharma", 若復上化者, 速知法.

[217] Minh Chau 1964/1991: 21 contrasts the eminent position held by Sāriputta in the Theravāda tradition with the high esteem of Mahākassapa prevalent in the Sarvāstivāda tradition.

[218] MN 99 at MN II 207,14 and its parallel MĀ 152 at T I 669c5. The circumstance that the Buddha did not teach Subha something higher suggests that, unlike Dhānañjāni, Subha may not have had the potential to understand higher teachings. Moreover, Subha was still young and not on his deathbed, which would leave open the possibility that on a later occasion he might be given further instructions. Nevertheless, the fact that the Buddha only taught Subha the path to rebirth in the Brahmā world shows that to teach this path is not necessarily seen as objectionable in itself.

[219] Cf. above p. 381 note 211, Anālayo 2007i: 37, and id. 2008a: 16. With this I do not intend to rule out sectarian influence, in fact a probable instance of such influence can be seen right away in my next study of MN 99, cf. below p. 573 the discussion regarding the reference to *vibhajjavāda*. My point is

sent passage, the Theravāda version should have avoided putting any blame on him. Thus, when evaluating such differences, it needs to be taken into consideration that variations need not invariably reflect sectarian concerns.

MN 98 *Vāseṭṭha-sutta*

The *Vāseṭṭha-sutta*, the "discourse to Vāseṭṭha", expounds the qualities of a true Brahmin. This discourse recurs in the *Sutta-nipāta*.[220] Otherwise, so far no parallel to this discourse appears to have been identified.

MN 99 *Subha-sutta*

The *Subha-sutta*, the "discourse to Subha", reports a discussion between the Buddha and the Brahmin Subha during which the Buddha taught his visitor the path to the Brahmā world. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[221] In addition to this parallel, a few parts of a version of the present discourse have been preserved in a Sanskrit fragment.[222]

MN II 197 The *Subha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by describing that the Brahmin Subha, being recommended to do so, went to visit the Buddha.[223] According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, Subha asked the Buddha's opinion about the Brahminical view that a householder accomplishes the proper way, while someone gone forth fails to do so.[224]

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only that sectarian influence is not the sole way how differences between orally transmitted texts can come about.

[220] Sn 3:9 at Sn p. 115-123 (comprising stanzas Sn 594-656); for parallels in the Jain *Uttarājjhayaṇa* to some of the verses found in Sn 3:9 cf. Charpentier 1910b: 65-68.

[221] The parallel is MĀ 152 at T I 666c-670a and has the title "discourse to Suka", 鸚鵡經, thereby employing the name of the Brahmin protagonist of several parallels to MN 135, a discourse whose Pāli version speaks instead of the Brahmin Subha, just as MN 99. Although MN 99 and MĀ 152 thus adopt a different name, they agree on taking the respective name of their Brahmin protagonist as the title of the discourse. While MN 99 takes place in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī, MĀ 152 has the Bamboo Grove by Rājagaha as its location. For a remark on MĀ 152 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 61. Akanuma 1929/1990: 168 lists also T 79 as a parallel, which, however, is rather a parallel to MN 135.

[222] This is the so far unpublished fragment no. 2375/37 of the Schøyen collection, identified by Peter Skilling (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of this fragment). Fragment 2375/37A1 sets in with a reference to celibacy as the second quality listed by the young Brahmin, corresponding to the third quality listed in MN II 199,15, fragment 2375/37Bz refers to the protagonist of the discourse as *śubho māṇavo*.

[223] While according to MN 99 at MN II 196,16 Subha had inquired if there were arahants in Sāvatthī and was thereon told to visit the Buddha, according to MĀ 152 at T I 667a2 he had asked after a renowned teacher with a substantial following. MĀ 152 at T I 667a13 also differs from MN 99 in as much as it describes the splendid sight of the Buddha, who was emanating a bright light like a golden mountain. This is a frequent pericope in the *Madhyama-āgama*, cf. above p. 408 note 94.

[224] MN 99 at MN II 197,6. A comparable Brahminical disdain for going forth, although phrased differently,

In the *Madhyama-āgama* version, the view presented by the Brahmin visitor was that a householder is superior to someone gone forth in regard to being able to reach understanding and knowledge.[225]

According to the *Subha-sutta*, the Buddha explained that he was one who would make a declaration on such a matter after carrying out an analysis, using the term *vibhajjavāda* in this explanation.[226] The parallel version in the *Madhyama-āgama* similarly indicates that the Buddha would answer Subha's question with the help of an analytical explanation, with the difference that, according to its presentation, Subha had requested such an analytical explanation.[227]

This minor difference introduces a slight shift of emphasis, as in the *Madhyama-āgama* version the Buddha's reply simply takes up something suggested by his visitor. In the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse, in contrast, the Buddha's reference to carrying out an analysis comes without any external prompting, so that here the analytical approach stands out as a qualification the Buddha himself attributes to his way of replying to questions.

This slight shift of emphasis probably reflects the respective textual affiliation, as during later stages of the history of Buddhism the term *vibhajjavāda* came to be closely associated with the Theravāda tradition.[228]

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can be found in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 133,8 or in Senart 1897: 221,2: "going forth ... is of little worth, of little profit, of little power, [deserving] little praise", *pravrajyā ... alpārthikā ca alpabhogā ca alpeśākyā ca alpānuśaṃsā ca*.

225 MĀ 152 at T I 667a19 reports the proposal that a householder "will reach proper understanding and therefore knowledge in accordance with the Dharma", 便得善解, 則知如法, unlike someone who goes forth. MĀ 152 also differs from MN 99 in as much as Subha does not present this as a Brahminical view, but only indicates that he had heard this, 我所聞.

226 MN 99 at MN II 197,10: "in this matter, I am one who speaks [after carrying out] an analysis", *vibhajjavādo kho aham ettha* (S^e-MN II 650,18: *vibhajavādo*). The term *vibhajjavādin* recurs in AN 10:94 at AN V 190,18, where it similarly qualifies the analytical approach of the Buddha. Cousins 2001: 133 comments that in these instances the Buddha "is never simply described as a *vibhajja-vāda* or *vibhajjavādin*; it is always a question of being one who responds critically in a particular manner, as indicated by the pronoun *ettha*. In fact, elsewhere and on other issues, the Buddha's position is represented as unequivocal ... there would in fact be some support in the *Nikāyas* for calling him [also] an *ekaṃsa-vādin* ... in the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta* (D I 191) we find the Buddha declaring that he has made known *ekaṃsikā* teachings, namely the Four Noble Truths", cf. also Abeynayake 2009b: 95, Karunadasa 2000: 27 or id. 2010: 286, Jain 1985: 62, Prasad 1972b: 106, Rhys Davids 1938/1978: 99, and Sujāto 2006: 137.

227 MĀ 152 at T I 667a23: "I shall provide you with an analytical explanation", 我當為汝具分別說, in reply to the Brahmin's requests for an analytical explanation in MĀ 152 at T I 667a21: "may you now analyse this matter for me", 願今為我分別此事. Hirakawa 1997: 184 indicates 分別說部 to stand for *vibhajavādin*, cf. also Soothill 1937/2000: 140. In other contexts, 分別說 can simply stand for explaining something in detail.

228 According to the *Mahāvaṃsa* 5:271-272 in B^e-Mhv 40, at the council of Pāṭaliputta the Theravādins claimed to be Vibhajjavādins, cf. also Bareau 1955: 206 and Oldenberg 1879/1997: xlii. Similarly, Vism 711,23 uses the term Vibhajjavādin as an epithet expressing praiseworthiness in its eulogy of a Mahāvihāra monk. In contrast, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* reckons those who were at odds with the Sarvāstivāda doctrine on the existence of past and future phenomena to be *vibhajyavādinaḥ*/分別說部/

Another minor difference is that according to the *Madhyama-āgama* account the Buddha began each of his replies by telling Subha to listen carefully to what he was going to say.[229] This turn of speech is not found in the *Subha-sutta,* although a similar injunction occurs frequently in other *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses.[230]

At a later point, the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Subha-sutta* employs this injunction in quite a unique manner, as it describes that Subha also told the Buddha to listen carefully.[231] Although several Pāli discourses depict how a monk tells another monk to listen well and in one instance even record that a householder told a monk to listen well,[232] there does not seem to be a single Pāli discourse in which anyone tells the Buddha to listen well.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version's presentation clearly is the more unusual reading, the lectio difficilior. When evaluating this more unusual reading, it could be noted that, according to both versions, the Buddha had just invited Subha in a very polite manner to explain what the Brahmins reckoned as the five bases for merit.[233] The commentary does not give further details as to why the Buddha extended this invitation in such a polite manner. In both versions, Subha replied that he was willing to speak on such a subject when being in a company like the Buddha and his monks. This gives the impression that for him to speak on this subject possibly depended on the audience, in the sense that perhaps Brahmins would not easily proclaim such teachings in public.

If Subha was about to deliver Brahminical teachings that were considered to some extent esoteric, it would be less surprising if he were to tell the Buddha to listen well, perhaps slipping into a turn of speech normally used when instructing other Brahmins on this matter.

分別部, cf. Abhidh-k 5:25 in Pradhan 1967: 296,6, with its Chinese parallels in T 1558 at T XXIX 104b27 and T 1559 at T XXIX 257c27. Thus, for the compilers of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* this term carried negative connotations. On the term *vibhajjavāda* as representative of the Theravāda tradition cf. also, e.g., Anālayo 2009m, Cousins 2001, Karunadasa 2000 or id. 2010: 282-293, Prasad 1972b: 105-113, and Shwe Zan Aung 1915/1979: xl; on the same term in other Buddhist schools cf. Dutt 1978: 208-210. Cox 2004b: 506 explains that "the name *Vibhajyavāda* might be best characterized as a loose umbrella term for those, excluding the Sarvāstivādins, who belonged to the original Sthavira branch".

229 E.g., MĀ 152 at T I 667a22: "listen, pay careful attention", 諦聽, 善思念之.

230 E.g., in MN 54 at MN I 360,17: *suṇāhi sādhukaṃ manasi karohi*, an injunction that in this case is absent from the corresponding *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, MĀ 203 at T I 773b2. At times, the same injunction occurs in both versions, cf., e.g., MN 27 at MN I 178,11: *suṇāhi sādhukaṃ manasi karohi* and its parallel MĀ 146 at T I 656c11: 當善聽之. Thus, both collections make use of this pericope, although not always in the same discourses.

231 MĀ 152 at T I 667c10: "Gotama, listen well, Gotama", 瞿曇, 善聽, 瞿曇.

232 Ānanda tells another monk that he should listen well in AN 5:169 at AN III 201,18, AN 5:170 at AN III 202,23, and AN 6:51 at AN III 361,10. The householder Ugga tells an unnamed monk that he should listen well in AN 8:22 at AN IV 213,8.

233 MN 99 at MN II 199,7: "if it is not inconvenient for you, it would be good if you could state those five things in this assembly", *sace te agaru, sādhu te pañca dhamme imasmiṃ parisatiṃ bhāsassū ti* (B^e-MN II 415,14, S^e-MN II 653,11: *parisati*). MĀ 152 at T I 667c6: "those five things ... can you state them now, being in this assembly", 五法 ... 汝在此眾, 今可說耶?

If this turn of speech should indeed have been part of the original discourse, it could easily be imagined how during the process of oral tradition it could have been lost, as for a layman to tell the Buddha to listen carefully must have appeared odd to the reciters and runs counter to their natural tendency, evident in the discourses, to enhance the status of the Buddha.

Returning to the discussion described in the *Subha-sutta*, in reply to Subha's proposal about the superiority of the householder's way of life, according to both versions the Buddha explained that he did not approve of householders or recluses who practise wrongly, but commended both if they practised rightly.[234]

Subha then presented the Buddha with the view that the activity of a householder is of greater fruit than the activity of someone who goes forth.[235] In both versions, the Buddha explained that the activity of a householder could yield great or small fruit, just as the activity of a recluse may yield great or small fruit. Both versions illustrate the activity of a householder with the example of agriculture and the life of someone gone forth with the example of engaging in trade, an activity that involves comparatively less effort.

The *Subha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel next turn to the five bases for MN II 199
merit proclaimed by the Brahmins, which they list with some variation in sequence (see table 10.4).

In both versions, the Buddha highlights that the Brahmins' proclamation of these five bases for merit was not based on personal realization, a situation comparable to a file of blind men leading each other.[236] According to both versions, Subha was displeased with this comparison and reacted by quoting a saying by the Brahmin Pokkharasāti,[237] in which Pokkharasāti derided recluses and Brahmins who claim to have reached a superhuman state.

234 AN 2:9 at AN I 69,14 records the Buddha making a similar point, also in relation to accomplishing the proper way. Bluck 2002: 7 notes that such passages indicate some degree of "'complementariness' between monastics and lay disciples", in that what really counts is proper practice in both cases. Shiraishi 1996: 188 observes that, according to the position taken by the Buddha, "whether one is a householder or whether one leaves the home, one is still required to abandon the wrong course of action".

235 According to MN 99 at MN II 197,19, Subha also suggested that the activity of a householder requires greater effort, whereas according to MĀ 152 at T I 667b12 it was the Buddha in his reply to Subha who brought up the issue of which activity requires greater effort.

236 MĀ 152 at T I 668a15 differs in so far as, instead of blind men, the simile is concerned with blind children, 盲兒. MĀ 152 at T I 667c29 also reports that Subha tried to defend his position by explaining that the Brahmins base their faith on their oral tradition: "but the Brahmins base their faith on [what they have] memorized", 但諸梵志因信受持, which brings to mind an argument raised by the Brahmin Kāpaṭhika in a similar discussion in MN 95 at MN II 170,24: "the Brahmins honour this as oral tradition", *anussavā p' ettha brāhmaṇa payirūpāsantī ti*.

237 Ps III 446,25 offers alternative explanations of the name Pokkharasāti, one of which is that he got this name because of resembling a lotus, *pokkharasadisattā*. Lévi 1912: 501 explains that this commentarial gloss points to an earlier stage when this name still had a *d* instead of a *t*, such as in its Sanskrit form Pauṣkarasādi, as otherwise the word play on *sadisa* would not work, in fact the commentary mentions both Pokkharasāti as well as Pokkharasādi.

Table 10.4: Five Bases for Merit in MN 99 and MĀ 152[238]

MN 99	MĀ 152
truth (1)	truth (→ 1)
asceticism (2)	generosity (→ 5)
celibacy (3)	study (→ 4)
study (4)	asceticism (→ 2)
generosity (5)	celibacy (→ 3)

MN II 201 The *Subha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel report in similar terms how, by way of a question and answer exchange, the Buddha got Subha to admit that the proclamation made by Pokkharasāti was not appropriate.[239]

MN II 203 According to the *Subha-sutta*, the Buddha pointed out that Pokkharasāti was not able to realize a superhuman state due to being obstructed by the five hindrances of sensual desire, ill will, sloth-and-torpor, restlessness-and-worry, and doubt. The *Madhyama-āgama* version – where the point at stake is knowing one's own benefit, the benefit of another, and the mind of other recluses and Brahmins – instead lists sensual desire, ill will, personality view, clinging to rules, and doubt (see table 10.5).

Thus, instead of the two hindrances sloth-and-torpor and restlessness-and-worry, this listing mentions personality view and clinging to rules, so that in the *Madhyama-āgama* version what obstructs clear vision are the five lower fetters, instead of the five hindrances.[240] This suggestion is unusual, since in other discourses the precondition for clear vision is the removal of the five hindrances,[241] not an eradication of the five lower fetters.[242]

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[238] My survey is based on MĀ 152 at T I 669b16+27. This is, however, only a recapitulation of the original listing in MĀ 152 at T I 667c10, which omits generosity and mentions asceticism twice, under two different headings, namely 熱行 and 苦行. Note 13 in the Taishō edition suggests to take 苦行 to stand for *cāga*, generosity, but in view of the fact that MĀ 152 at T I 669b18 no longer mentions 熱行 and instead has 行施, "practise generosity", it may be preferable to take 苦行 at its usual meaning of "ascetic practice" and consider the earlier occurrence of 熱行 to have accidentally replaced 行施.

[239] MN 99 at MN II 201,13 compares the proclamation made by Pokkharasāti to a blind man who claims that coloured forms, even and uneven, stars, the moon, and the sun do not exist because he cannot see them. MĀ 152 at T I 668b17 illustrates the same only with the example of various types of visible form (white or black, beautiful or ugly, long or short, far or near, gross or subtle), without bringing in stars, the moon, or the sun.

[240] MĀ 152 at T I 668c18: 身見 and 戒取, which correspond to *sakkāyadiṭṭhi* and *sīlabbataparāmāsa*. MĀ 152 precedes these two with sensual desire and ill will, 欲 and 恚, and concludes its listing with doubt, 疑. As all five are introduced as "obstructions", 障礙, "obstacles", 覆蓋, and as causing "blindness", 盲, standard qualifications for the effect of the five hindrances, it would have been more natural to find a listing of the five hindrances instead of the five lower fetters.

[241] Cf., e.g., SN 46:55 at SN V 121,17 or AN 5:51 at AN III 63,22.

[242] Perhaps the presentation in MĀ 152 is the outcome of a confusion of the five hindrances with the five lower fetters. Such a confusion could easily occur, as *Madhyama-āgama* discourses usually list the five fetters in a sequence where sensual desire and ill will stand at the beginning and doubt comes as the last term, cf. MĀ 4 at T I 424c21, MĀ 38 at T I 481a26, and MĀ 205 at T I 778c20, a sequence also found

Table 10.5: Five Obstructions in MN 99 and MĀ 152

MN 99	MĀ 152
sensual desire (1)	sensual desire (→ 1)
ill will (2)	ill will (→ 2)
sloth-and-torpor (3)	personality view
restlessness-and-worry (4)	clinging to rules
doubt (5)	doubt (→ 5)
	(≠ 3-4)

The *Subha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel agree in next taking up the five types of sensual pleasure, explaining that Pokkharasāti was incapable of vision because he indulged in sensual pleasures without seeing any danger in such indulgence.[243] Both versions illustrate the difference between sensual pleasures and non-sensual pleasures by comparing fire that burns in dependence on fuel to the much brighter fire that due to an act of supernormal power would burn without any fuel.[244]

The *Subha-sutta* next illustrates non-sensual pleasure that is free from sensuality with MN II 204
the example of the first and the second *jhāna*, an illustration not found in its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues by reporting that the Buddha asked Subha what the Brahmins consider most fruitful among the five bases for merit declared by them. Subha replied that generosity was considered the most meritorious among the five. This exchange is also absent from the *Madhyama-āgama* version.[245]

Both versions bring up the hypothetical case of visitors to a Brahminical sacrifice who, having the wish to get the best seat and food, are annoyed when this does not happen.[246] When Subha explains that the generosity of the Brahmins is motivated by

in the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 419c7. The sequence for listing the fetters adopted in the *Madhyama-āgama* is thus similar to the standard listing of the hindrances, with the first two and the last items corresponding, a similarity which more easily can lead to confusing the two schemes. The Pāli discourses adopt a different sequence for the five fetters, as they list first the three fetters related to stream-entry, and then the fetters of sensual desire and ill will, cf., e.g., MN 64 at MN I 432,15, a pattern also adopted in the *Dīrgha-āgama*, cf. DĀ 9 at T II 51b10, in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, cf. SĀ 490 at T II 127c17, SĀ 820 at T II 210c4, SĀ 821at T II 211a1, SĀ 822 at T II 211a26, SĀ 823 at T II 211b20, SĀ 918 at T II 233a12, SĀ 928 at T II 236c24, SĀ 934 at T II 239a23, and in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Abhidh-k 5:43 in Pradhan 1967: 310,2, T 1558 at T XXIX 108c29, and T 1559 at T XXIX 262b1.

243 The two versions differ in the sequence of their presentation, as MN 99 at MN II 203,10 first takes up the five types of sensual pleasure and then turns to Pokkharasāti's infatuation with them, while MĀ 152 at T I 668c23 first examines Pokkharasāti's infatuation with sensuality and then takes up the five types of sensual pleasure.

244 According to MĀ 152 at T I 669a7, Subha replied that such a fire without fuel does not exist and would be possible only through an act of supernormal power, to which the Buddha agreed. According to MN 99 at MN II 203,27, however, it was the Buddha who made this point.

245 As in both versions the Buddha next takes up the topic of generosity, the question and answer recorded in MN 99 seem to be required to introduce this change of topic.

246 The otherwise similar exposition in MĀ 152 at T I 669a17 differs in so far as, instead of describing two

compassion and not by the wish to vex their visitors, the Buddha concludes that compassion should be reckoned as a sixth basis for merit, a proposal to which Subha has to agree. In both versions, Subha also has to admit that he sees the five bases for merit more often among those who have gone forth than among householders.

MN II 205 According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, the Buddha reckoned the five bases of merit proposed by the Brahmins as mere "equipment of the mind",[247] in the sense that they support the development of a mind free from ill will. The *Madhyama-āgama* version instead explains that the five bases of merit originate from a mind free from ill will, without qualifying them as an equipment of the mind.[248]

MN II 206 The *Majjhima-nikāya* version reports that Subha asked if the Buddha knew and was willing to teach him the path to union with Brahmā, in reply to which the Buddha described the practice of the *brahmavihāra*s, illustrating their radiation with the example of a vigorous trumpeter. The *Madhyama-āgama* version also records that the Buddha taught Subha the practice of the *brahmavihāra*s as a way to rebirth in the Brahmā world, a practice similarly illustrated with the image of a trumpeter.[249] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version concludes this description by proclaiming that, by developing the *brahmavihāra*s in this way, no limiting action can remain, a statement not found in its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart.[250]

In both versions, the Buddha illustrated his knowledge of the path to Brahmā with the example of a man who has just come from a particular village and will therefore be able to describe the way to that village without any hesitation.[251]

Brahmin visitors to a Brahminical sacrifice, it speaks of a young warrior, a young Brahmin, a young merchant, and a young worker, each of which comes from one of the four directions to a food offering by Brahmins.

[247] MN 99 at MN II 205,32: *cittassāhaṃ ete parikkhāre vadāmi.* The term *cittaparikkhāra* recurs in AN 7:49 at AN IV 62,5 as a motivation for giving gifts.

[248] MĀ 152 at T I 669b24.

[249] MĀ 152 differs from MN 99 in the sequence of its presentation, as it reports that, after describing the practice of the *brahmavihāra*s, the Buddha asked Subha if he thought such practice to lead to Brahmā's heaven, which Subha affirmed. After this, according to MĀ 152 at T I 670a7 Subha asked if the Buddha knew the path to Brahmā. This seems out of sequence, since it would make little sense for Subha to ask if the Buddha knew this path after the Buddha had already described it.

[250] MN 99 at MN II 208,2+6: "no limiting action remains or persists there", *yaṃ pamāṇakataṃ kammaṃ, na taṃ tatrāvasissati, na taṃ tatrāvatiṭṭhati*, a statement the commentary Ps III 450,10 explains to imply that the powerful karmic effect of the *brahmavihāra* practice will be stronger than other karmas of the sensual sphere and thus have a determining effect on the next rebirth. Although this statement is not found in MĀ 152, a similar statement occurs in MĀ 15 at T I 438a14 (translated in Anālayo 2009f: 9), parallel to an occurrence of such a statement in AN 10:208 at AN V 299,25. Aronson 1979: 31 relates this notion to the image of the trumpeter who makes himself heard in all direction, explaining that the trumpet blast "is not a measured performance. Similarly, when one cultivates love and the other attitudes according to the method given ... no measured intentions remain".

[251] A minor difference is that, while according to MN 99 at MN II 206,24 this person is a native of the particular village, MĀ 152 at T I 670a11 speaks of someone who has just gone to this village and come back.

According to both versions, Subha took refuge.[252] The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse continues by describing how, after having left the Buddha, Subha met the Brahmin Jāṇussoṇi. This aftermath to the meeting between Subha and the Buddha is not found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version. MN II 208

Precisely the same meeting between a visitor who comes from the Buddha's presence and the Brahmin Jāṇussoṇi recurs as the introduction to the *Cūḷahatthipadopama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, with the only difference that the person who met Jāṇussoṇi was the wanderer Pilotika instead of the Brahmin Subha.[253] In the case of the *Cūḷahatthipadopama-sutta* and its parallel, it was due to this meeting that Jāṇussoṇi felt inspired to visit the Buddha. The *Cūḷahatthipadopama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel agree that the ensuing discourse inspired Jāṇussoṇi to take refuge and become a lay disciple of the Buddha.[254] This makes it less probable that on another occasion he would again inquire of someone coming from the Buddha's presence about the Buddha's wisdom, as if he had no personal knowledge of the Buddha and his way of teaching.

Whereas in the *Cūḷahatthipadopama-sutta* Jāṇussoṇi's inquiry is an important step leading up to the ensuing discourse, in the *Subha-sutta* the same inquiry does not have such a function. As in the case of the *Subha-sutta* this inquiry by Jāṇussoṇi is absent from the parallel version, it is quite possible that during the course of the transmission of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses Jāṇussoṇi's inquiry, which originally belonged only to the *Cūḷahatthipadopama-sutta*, was, perhaps even accidentally, added to the conclusion of the *Subha-sutta*.

MN 100 *Saṅgārava-sutta*[255]

The *Saṅgārava-sutta*, the "discourse to Saṅgārava", records a discussion between the Buddha and the Brahmin Saṅgārava during which the Buddha declared that his teaching was based on personal realization. This discourse does not have a parallel in the Chinese *Āgama*s.[256] A version of this discourse has, however, been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[257]

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[252] DN 10 at DN I 210,11 reports that Subha took refuge again in the presence of Ānanda after the Buddha had passed away, perhaps by way of confirming his decision taken in the present discourse.

[253] MN 27 at MN I 175,14 and MĀ 146 at T I 656a22.

[254] MN 27 at MN I 184,16 and MĀ 146 at T I 658a24; on Jāṇussoṇi taking refuge cf. also above p. 41.

[255] S^e-MN II 667,1 reads *Sagārava-sutta*, a spelling of the Brahmin's name employed throughout the Siamese edition of the present discourse.

[256] The narration given in the introductory section of MN 100 recurs in similar form in SN 7:1 at SN I 160,6 (or SN^2 187 at SN^2 I 344,5) and in its parallels SĀ 1158 at T II 308b21 and $SĀ^2$ 81 at T II 401c21, which relate how the Brahmin woman Dhanañjānī's praises of the Buddha angered her husband, who thereon decided to confront the Buddha himself. During the ensuing meeting he was converted, after which he decided to go forth and eventually became an arahant.

[257] A full version of the discourse is part of the recently discovered *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript and has been edited and translated by Zhang 2004. Judging from the *uddāna* in Hartmann 2004b: 123, the Sanskrit

MN II 209 The *Saṅgārava-sutta* and its Sanskrit parallel begin by reporting a young Brahmin's irritation at witnessing a Brahmin woman proclaiming her devotion to the Buddha.[258] On being told about the Buddha's qualities, however, the young Brahmin expressed his interest to meet the Buddha.

MN II 210 Once the Buddha had arrived in the vicinity, the Brahmin woman informed Saṅgārava – or Śaṃkaraka in the Sanskrit version – who thereupon approached the Buddha.

MN II 211 According to the Pāli account, Saṅgārava inquired about the grounds on which the Buddha based his claim to knowledge. In reply, the Buddha differentiated between those who claim knowledge based on:

- oral tradition,
- reasoning,
- direct knowledge.

The *Saṅgārava-sutta* reports the Buddha explaining that direct knowledge was the basis for what he taught. The Sanskrit version differs from the Pāli account in as much as its listing of various claims to knowledge also mentions the denial of causality by the Ajīvikas and the affirmation that everything is the outcome of former deeds by the Jains (see table 10.6).[259]

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discourse would agree with MN 100 in taking for its title the name of its Brahmin protagonist, which in most occurrences in the fragment reads Śaṃkaraka (though two instances and the *uddāna* only read Śaṃkara), cf. also Zhang 2004: 5. While MN 100 at MN II 209,20 locates the discourse at Caṇḍalakappa in the Kosala country, the Sanskrit version speaks of Calakalpā in the Videha country, cf. fragment 344v5-6 in Zhang 2004: 9. In addition to this full parallel, sections of MN 100 have counterparts in SHT IV 33 folios 28-29+33 (pp. 171-174, the last identified in SHT IX p. 369, cf. also SHT VII p. 233, SHT VIII p. 162, and SHT IX p. 369), SHT IV 165 folios 24-26+42+58 (pp. 198-200 and 208, on folio 42 cf. also SHT IX p. 379, on folio 58 cf. also SHT X p. 403), SHT IV 180 folios 3-4+6 (pp. 214-215, the last identified in SHT IX p. 392), SHT IX 2063e (p. 80), and Hoernle fragment 149/Add.32, no. 147 in Hartmann 1991: 259-260. SHT IV 33 folios 28-29, SHT IV 165 folios 24-25, and Hoernle fragment 149/Add.32 parallel the introductory narration of the discourse at MN II 209-210. SHT IV 165 folio 26 and SHT IV 180 folios 3-4 parallel the examination of different sources for knowledge found at MN II 211. Hoernle fragment 149/Add.32 parallels part of the discussion on *deva*s found at MN II 212,26. SHT IV folio 28R4 and SHT IV 165 folio 25Vc locate the discourse at Caṃcalakalpa or Cañcalakalpa. SHT IV 165 folio 24R4, SHT IV 180 folio 4Ab+e, and Hoernle fragment 149/Add.32Vc, give the name of the Brahmin as Śaṅkaraka or Śaṃkaraka.

[258] The Sanskrit version indicates that this happened when she was serving the young Brahmin, who apparently was her husband (similar to SN 7:1, mentioned above in note 256), fragment 344v8 in Zhang 2004: 9: *sā svasvāminaṃ śaṃkarakaṃ māṇavakam upatiṣṭhaṃtī*, a reading which, as noted by Zhang 2004: 53, appears to have a counterpart in SHT IV 33 folio 28R6: *patiṣṭaṃtī*.

[259] Fragment 347 in Zhang 2004: 11-12, cf. also SHT IV 165 folio 26Va+c, which has preserved *traivi(dyāḥ) and (a)nanuśruteṣu dha[rm]e(ṣu svaya)[m]-anuprāptaḥ*. Regarding the reference in MN 100 at MN II 211,14 to those who are "entirely based on mere faith ... namely thinkers and investigators", *kevalaṃ saddhāmattakena ... seyyathāpi takkī vīmaṃsī*, Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1304 note 919 comments that "it is puzzling that the reasoners and investigators (*takkī, vīmaṃsī*) are here said to rely on the basis of mere faith (*saddhāmattakena*). Elsewhere faith and reasoning are contrasted as two different grounds of conviction ... and 'mere faith' seems more closely allied with reliance on oral tradition than with reasoning and investigation". In fact, "faith", *saddhā*, and "examination-and-reasoning",

Table 10.6: Survey of Claims to Knowledge in MN 100 and its Parallel

MN 100	DĀ (Skt)
oral tradition (1) reasoning (2) direct knowledge (3)	denial of causality reasoning (→ 2) karmic determinism oral tradition (→ 1) direct knowledge (→ 3)

By way of illustrating how such direct knowledge is acquired, the *Saṅgārava-sutta* MN II 212
presents an autobiographical account of the Buddha's awakening.[260] At the conclusion of this account, Saṅgārava asked the Buddha about the existence of *deva*s.[261]

The Sanskrit version agrees with the Pāli discourse that the Buddha laid claim to direct knowledge and illustrated this with an autobiographical account of his awakening. The relation between these two sections is particularly evident in the Sanskrit version, as here the young Brahmin inquires in what way the Buddha lays claim to direct knowledge, which then forms the occasion for the autobiographical account.[262]

A significant difference in the Sanskrit version is that the discussion on *deva*s occurs at the outset of the exchange between the Buddha and the young Brahmin,[263] followed by the sources of knowledge and the autobiographical account (see table 10.7).[264]

ākāraparivitakka, are listed in MN 95 at MN II 170,27, MN 101 at MN II 218,16, and MN 102 at MN I 234,7 as two out of five sources of knowledge, a way of presentation that suggests them to differ from each other. A reference to faith occurs also in the Sanskrit version, where this forms part of a proclamation made by each of the claimants to knowledge, cf., e.g., fragment 347r5 in Zhang 2004: 12 for the case of the reasoners: *śraddhāvādina smā iti pratijānate śīlavādinaḥ tyāgavādinaḥ śrutavādinaḥ prajñāvādina sma iti pratijānate.*

[260] E^{e}-MN II 212,14 mentions only the first three *jhāna*s in its account of the Buddha's awakening, so that, on following its presentation, he would not have developed the fourth *jhāna* before attaining the three higher knowledges. This is quite obviously a mistake in this edition, in fact the corresponding passage in B^{e}-MN II 437,1, C^{e}-MN II 756,11, and S^{e}-MN II 686,8 mentions the fourth *jhāna*, and other discourses in the *Nikāya* and *Āgama*s regularly present the three higher knowledges as something to be developed based on mastery of the fourth *jhāna*.

[261] MN 100 at MN II 212,25: *atthi devā ti*? The emendation suggested by Norman 1977: 333 to *atthi adhideva* does not receive support from what has been preserved in the corresponding Sanskrit fragments, cf. fragment 346v1-3 in Zhang 2004: 11 and Hoernle fragment 149/Add. 32 Re-f, no. 147 in Hartmann 1991: 260. Zhang 2004: 63 comments that such an emendation would in fact not fit the context too well. Norman 1985: 150 suggests a similar emendation of the question *atthi deva* in MN 90 at MN II 130,13; cf. above p. 523 note 391. This also receives no support from the corresponding passage in MĀ 212 at T I 794c8, which just has the query "are there *deva*s", 有天耶?

[262] Fragment 348r2-3 in Zhang 2004: 13: *yathā kathaṃ bhagavāṃ gautamaḥ pūrvam ananuśruteṣu dharmmeṣu svayaṃ dharmmān abhijñāya svayaṃ dharmmān parijñāya dṛṣṭadharmmābhijñāḥ paramabodhim anuprāptaḥ āyatyāṃ bodhāya brahmacaryaṃ pratijānīte?*

[263] Hartmann 1992: 44 note 87, fragment 346v1-3 in Zhang 2004: 11; cf. also Hoernle fragment 149/Add. 32Re-f, no. 147 in Hartmann 1991: 260.

[264] Fragment 346v7 in Zhang 2004: 11. SHT IV 165 folio 26V has also preserved parts of the discussion on the different sources of knowledge.

Table 10.7: Sequence of Topics in MN 100 and its Parallel

MN 100	DĀ (Skt)
claim to direct knowledge (1) autobiographical account (2) discussion on *deva*s (3)	discussion on *deva*s (→ 3) claim to direct knowledge (→ 1) autobiographical account (→ 2)

Thus the Sanskrit version presents the following pattern:

- the young Brahmin begins his discussion with the Buddha by broaching the topic of the existence of *deva*s,
- in reply to the inquiry about *deva*s, the Buddha affirms his knowledge of their existence,
- this affirmation leads to an inquiry on what sources of knowledge the Buddha bases his response,
- in reply, the Buddha distinguishes different claims to knowledge and then gives an autobiographical account of his awakening as an exemplification of the fact that his knowledge (about such things as the existence of *deva*s) is based on personal realization.

Regarding the young Brahmin's inquiry about *deva*s, other discourses present Saṅgārava as someone who would have believed in their existence.[265] Hence, there seems to be no reason to assume that Saṅgārava wanted to put into question what according to the *Saṅgārava-sutta* was in fact a generally held belief in ancient India,[266] namely the existence of *deva*s. That is, the reason for Saṅgārava to ask after the existence of *deva*s would rather have been to find out the Buddha's position on this topic.

The autobiographical account of the Buddha's awakening mentions the intervention of *deva*s when he had considered completely desisting from food, and describes how Brahmā invited the Buddha to teach. For Saṅgārava to ask his question about the existence of *deva*s only after this account, as it the case in the *Saṅgārava-sutta*, is puzzling, since one might wonder why Saṅgārava should ask if the Buddha accepted the existence of *deva*s when their role in relation to the Buddha's awakening had just been described.[267]

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[265] According to AN 3:60 at AN I 168,13 and its parallel MĀ 143 at T I 650b16, Saṅgārava declared that he was a performer of sacrifices, which presupposes that he believed in the existence of recipients of sacrificial offerings. According to SN 7:21 at SN I 182,28 (or SN^2 207 at SN^{2}I 393,8), Saṅgārava undertook ritual purification through bathing in water; SN 46:55 at SN V 121,14 = AN 5:193 at AN III 230,14 testify to his interest in memorizing Brahminical mantras. These passages indicate that he was involved in traditional Brahminical beliefs and practices, making it improbable that he would doubt the existence of *deva*s.

[266] MN 100 at MN II 213,6: "it is generally agreed in the world that there are *deva*s", *ucce sammataṃ ... lokasmiṃ yadidaṃ atthi devā ti* (B^e-MN II 438,17, C^e-MN II 758,23, and S^e-MN II 688,14: *uccena*), with a probable counterpart in fragment 346v2 in Zhang 2004: 11: *[u]ccai saṃmatā ete*.

[267] Horner 1957/1970: xx comments on the question that precedes this reaction: "it is a little disconcerting to find Saṅgārava, at the end of this tremendous dissertation [i.e. the autobiographical account of the

In contrast, to inquire about what the Buddha had to say regarding the existence of *deva*s would fit as a first question to start the discussion. Other discourses report that some contemporary recluses in ancient Indian – and Saṅgarāva would presumably have been aware of this – denied the existence of supernatural beings and heavenly worlds.[268] Thus, it would be quite natural for Saṅgarāva to start a discussion with a member of the ancient Indian recluse tradition by at first finding out to what extent the Buddha agreed to central aspects of the world view of Brahmins, such as belief in the existence of *deva*s. By inquiring after the existence of *deva*s, Saṅgārava would have been able to ascertain if there was at least this much of common ground between him and the Buddha.

From the Pāli account of the ensuing discussion, it seems as if the Buddha replied to this question in such a way as to make it clear to Saṅgārava that for the Buddha the existence of *deva*s was a matter of personal experience, not a mere belief.[269] Saṅgārava apparently misunderstood this reply and even wondered if the Buddha was speaking a falsehood.[270] The Buddha then clarified this misunderstanding by explaining that his reply was meant as an affirmation of the existence of *deva*s.[271]

Buddha's awakening] ... hurrying on to ask ... if there were *devas* ... I find the sudden introduction of this question about *devas* rather perplexing".

[268] Cf., e.g., the view that in DN 1 at DN I 55,18 is attributed to Ajita Kesakambalī.

[269] MN 100 at MN II 212,26: *ṭhānaso me taṃ ... viditaṃ yadidaṃ atthi devā ti* (S^{e}-MN II 688,7: *ṭhānaso kho pan etaṃ*, B^{e}-MN II 438,11: *adhidevā ti*), a reply Chalmers 1927: 122 translates as "I knew offhand there were gods", Horner 1957/1970: 401 as "certainly ... it is known to me that there are *devas*", and Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 821 as "it is known to me to be the case ... that there are gods", cf. also Ñāṇajivako 1970: 140: "the statement that there are goods ... is for me established by experience". Harvey 1995a: 82 explains this passage to imply that the Buddha on this occasion "clearly distinguished between his 'certain knowledge' that gods existed and the commonly held belief that they did". Marasinghe 1974: 127 discusses this passage and suggests it to mean that "in the above context ... I have found that there are gods"; cf. also Saibaba 2005: 3-4, who reasons that the way the answer is formulated suggests that the Buddha "agreed upon the existence of [the] Buddhist conception of the *deva*s only", which "differs from the Vedic conception of gods". The implications of the ablative *ṭhānaso* in the present passage are not entirely clear, as in other contexts *ṭhānaso* indicates that something happens "immediately" or "on the spot", cf., e.g., Vin III 70,23, SN 8:8 at SN I 193,6 (or SN^{2} 216 at SN^{2} I 416,2), SN 45:156 at SN V 50,7, SN 54:9 at SN V 321,25, SN 55:26 at SN V 381,29, AN 5:194 at AN III 238,6, AN 7:16 at AN III 298,2, AN 8:46 at AN IV 263,4, and AN 10:60 at AN V 108,29. Such a meaning does not fit the present context, as it would make little sense for the Buddha to answer that he "immediately" or "on the spot" knew that there are *deva*s. Perhaps *ṭhānaso* intends to underline the expression *vidita* as a pointer to the Buddha's personal realization, in the sense of "according to fact". The use of *ṭhānaso* (or whatever equivalent may have been found in the earliest Indic version of this passage) in a somewhat unusual manner could then have caused Saṅgārava's misunderstanding, for he might have understood *ṭhānaso* to have a meaning related to *ṭhāna* as "possibility" or "occasion", which would give a sense of ambiguity or evasiveness to the Buddha's reply. Fragment 346v2 in Zhang 2004: 11 reads *yenam ekāṃśena vyākaroṣi santi de[v]ā iti*, and Hoernle fragment 149/Add. 32 Rb+d, no. 147 in Hartmann 1991: 260, has preserved: *[tr]e[dā]nīṃ naikāṃśena vyā* and *yena na ekāṃśe[na] vyākaroṣi saṃt(i)*, suggesting that in these versions a similar misunderstanding would have taken place.

[270] MN 100 at MN II 212,30: "in that case, is [what you are saying] not empty and false", *nanu ... evaṃ sante tucchā musā hotī ti*? According to the commentary, Ps III 454,1, Saṅgarava had spoken like this because he thought the Buddha had made this declaration without knowing the matter, *ajānanto*. This

The first part of this exchange is unfortunately not preserved too well in the Sanskrit version. Nevertheless, from what has been preserved it becomes evident that, unlike the Pāli version, the Sanskrit discourse continues with a simile. This simile contrasts those who recognize a woman as a woman and a man as man with those who confuse these two.[272] Although the context remains unclear, the simile might be another way of underlining the Buddha's affirmation of the existence of *deva*s.

MN II 213 According to the Pāli version, at the end of the discourse Saṅgārava took refuge,[273] whereas according to the Sanskrit version he rejoiced in the discourse and left.[274]

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explanation does not fit the present version of MN 100 too well, as the Buddha had already described his knowledge of the existence of *deva*s in his autobiographical account. On the hypothesis that an earlier version of the discourse may have followed the sequence of events suggested by the Sanskrit fragments, it could be assumed that the Pāli commentarial explanation was taken over unchanged from an ancient Indian commentary on this earlier version of the discourse, in which case the commentarial gloss would fit quite well.

[271] According to MN 100 at MN II 213,2, the Buddha clarified that, on hearing his earlier statement, "a wise man should draw the definite conclusion that there are *deva*s", *atha khv' ettha viññūpurisena ekaṃsena niṭṭhaṃ gantabbaṃ yadidaṃ atthi devā ti* (B^e-MN II 212,15: *vinā purisena*, C^e-MN II 760,20: *viññūnā purisena*, S^e-MN II 688,3: *gantuṃ vā*), thereby indicating that it was Saṅgārava's lack of wisdom that had caused him to misunderstand the Buddha's reply.

[272] Fragment 346v5-6 in Zhang 2004: 11: *yat kaścin māṇava stṛyaṃ dṛṣṭvā puruṣaṃ pratyeti puruṣaṃ dṛṣṭvā striyaṃ pratyeti asty eta jñānadarśanaṃ ta[c c]a na yathāvat ... (stṛ)yaṃ dṛṣṭvā striyaṃ pratyeti puruṣaṃ dṛṣṭvā puruṣaṃ pratyeti asty etad darśanaṃ tac ca [ya]thāvat*.

[273] MN 100 at MN II 213,14. AN 3:60 at AN I 173,7 also concludes with Saṅgārava taking refuge.

[274] Fragment 348r8 in Zhang 2004: 13: *śaṃkarako mā[ṇavo] bhagavato bhāṣitam abhinaṃdyānumodya bhagavato 'ntikāt prakrāntaḥ.*

Chapter 11 *Devadaha-vagga*

MN 101 *Devadaha-sutta*

The *Devadaha-sutta*, the "discourse at Devadaha", examines the fruitlessness of the asceticism undertaken by the Jains. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[1]

The *Devadaha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by depicting the view of the Jains that one's present experience is determined by former deeds, whose effect can be annihilated by ascetic practices. According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, the view held by the Jains was that the destruction of deeds, achieved by annihilating former deeds through asceticism and by avoiding new deeds, leads to the destruction of *dukkha*; the destruction of *dukkha* then leads to the destruction of feelings, whereby all *dukkha* will be overcome.[2] The *Madhyama-āgama* account of the same view does not mention the destruction of feeling, so that its description simply indicates that the destruction of former deeds leads to the destruction of *dukkha*, whereby all *dukkha* will be transcended.[3] MN II 214

The *Devadaha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel describe in similar terms how the Buddha examined the position of the Jains. A minor difference is that, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, the Buddha also inquired if the Jains knew what kind of evil deed they had done in the past.[4]

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[1] The parallel is MĀ 19 at T I 442b-445a and agrees with MN 101 on locating the discourse at Devadaha in the Sakyan country. While MN 101 takes this location as its title, MĀ 19 has the title "discourse on the Nigaṇṭhas", 尼乾經.

[2] MN 101 at MN II 214,10: "from the destruction of action [results] the destruction of *dukkha*, from the destruction of *dukkha* [results] the destruction of feelings, from the destruction of feelings [it results that] all *dukkha* will be exhausted", *kammakkhayā dukkhakkhayo, dukkhakkhayā vedanākkhayo, vedanākkhayā sabbaṃ dukkhaṃ nijjiṇṇaṃ bhavissatī ti*.

[3] MĀ 19 at T I 442c4: "having destroyed [former] deeds, the destruction of *dukkha* is attained; having attained the destruction of *dukkha*, the transcendence of *dukkha* is attained", 諸業盡已, 則得苦盡, 得苦盡已, 則得苦邊. To propose that with the destruction of former deeds all *dukkha* will be destroyed seems straightforward enough and there would perhaps be no need for additionally bringing in the destruction of feelings. Nevertheless, the presentation found in MN 101 recurs in MN 14 at MN I 93,8 and AN 3:74 at AN I 221,1. Counterparts to these two Pāli discourses agree with MĀ 19, in that they do not mention the destruction of feelings; cf. MĀ 100 at T I 587b20, EĀ 41.4 at T II 744b5, T 54 at T I 849a18, and T 55 at T I 850c7 (these four being counterparts to MN 14), and SĀ 563 at T II 147c10 (counterpart to AN 3:74). Thus, a reference to the destruction of feelings in the context of a description of the rationale for the ascetic practices of the Jains appears to be a trait of the Theravāda tradition. The basic principle that karmic retribution has to be expiated in order to be able to reach liberation is indeed a central tenet of Jain thought, cf., e.g., Bronkhorst 2000a: 119, Dundas 1992/2002: 97-102, Halbfass 2000: 75-85, Jain 2005: 248-259, Jaini 1979/1998: 111-127, Johnson 1995, Kalghatgi 1965, Mehta 1957: 13-30, Schubring 1962/2000: 172-175, Tatia 1951: 220-260, and von Glasenapp 1915: 19-20.

[4] MN 101 at MN II 214,29: "do you know: 'we did such and such a type of evil deed in the past'", *jānātha,*

MN II 216 The two versions illustrate the need to know how to overcome *dukkha* with the example of a man struck by a poisoned arrow, who on being properly treated by a physician would in due time become healthy and be able to recollect how the pain experienced during the medical treatment led to his present freedom from pain. The point of this simile appears to be that to undergo pain is reasonable as long as it is part of a verifiable cure that eventually leads to freedom from pain.

MN II 218 According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, the Jains explained that their practice was based on their teacher's instruction. The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse reports the same at a later point, after the Buddha had further examined the premises of the asceticism of the Jains.[5]

In reply to the reliance of the Jains on the indications given by their teacher, according to both versions the Buddha pointed out that the following should not be taken as sufficient bases for knowledge:

- faith,
- liking,
- oral tradition,
- reasoning,
- acceptance of a view.[6]

MN II 219 The two parallel versions disclose the conditional relationship between the intensity of the pain experienced by the Jains and the intensity of their striving, concluding that the Jains were themselves responsible for the pain they experienced. According to the report given in both versions, the Jains had to admit that it was not possible to achieve the following:

- change the time when the fruit of one's former deeds ripen,
- change karmic retribution to be experienced as either pleasant or unpleasant into its opposite,
- change a deed about to ripen, or not about to ripen, into its opposite.

The *Devadaha-sutta* stands alone in also examining the following impossibilities:

- change the intensity with which a deed will be experienced,
- avoid the fruition of a deed completely (see table 11.1).[7]

The present passage thus depicts Jain ascetics as accepting a wholesale refutation of their doctrine by the Buddha, since it is precisely the idea that karmic retribution can be influenced that underlies the undertaking of asceticism in the Jain tradition.

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evarūpaṃ vā evarūpaṃ vā pāpaṃ kammaṃ akaramhā ti (B^e-MN III 2,6 and S^e-MN III 2,13: *pāpakammaṃ*, C^e-MN III 4,4 does not have the second instance of *evarūpaṃ vā*)?

[5] Unlike MN 101 at MN II 218,1, MĀ 19 at T I 443c5 does not record that the Jains claimed their teacher to be omniscient.

[6] MN 101 at MN II 218,16: *saddhā, ruci, anussavo, ākāraparivitakko, diṭṭhinijjhānakhanti* (B^e-MN III 5,15, C^e-MN III 8,29, and S^e-MN III 7,14: *diṭṭhinijjhānakkhanti*), MĀ 19 at T I 443c12: 信, 樂, 聞, 念, 見善觀.

[7] MN 101 at MN II 221,1 contrasts *bahuvedanīya* with *appavedanīya* and *vedanīya* (B^e-MN III 7,21: *savedanīya*) with *avedanīya*.

Table 11.1: Modes of Changing Karmic Retribution in MN 101 and MĀ 19

MN 101	MĀ 19
shift present retribution to later life (1)	convert pleasant fruits to painful (→ 3)
shift later life retribution to present (2)	convert painful fruits to pleasant (→ 4)
convert pleasant fruits to painful (3)	shift present retribution to later life (→ 1)
convert painful fruits to pleasant (4)	shift later life retribution to present (→ 2)
change mature to immature (5)	change immature to mature (→ 6)
change immature to mature (6)	change mature to immature (→ 5)
alter much retribution to become little (7)	
alter little retribution to become much (8)	
exchange retribution for no retribution (9)	
exchange no retribution for retribution (10)	(≠ 7-10)

With some variations in the sequence of their presentation, the *Devadaha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel list five grounds for criticizing the Jains (see table 11.2).[8] According to these five grounds, the experience of pleasure and pain could be attributed to: MN II 222

- one's former deeds,
- a creator god,
- the company one kept,
- the type of one's life-form,
- one's present practice.[9]

In all these cases the Jains are to be blamed, as their present painful experiences will consequently have to be attributed to their former evil deeds, to an evil creator god, to an evil company they kept, to an evil type of life-form, or to an evil type of practice.[10]

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[8] The differences between the two versions in this respect have already been surveyed by Kalupahana 1975: 34-35.

[9] In relation to the last of these five, while MN 101 at MN II 222,16 speaks of the "present exertion" of the Jains, *diṭṭhadhammupakkama* (B[e]-MN III 8,24, C[e]-MN III 14,30, and S[e]-MN III 12,16: *diṭṭhadhammūpakkama*), the corresponding fourth ground for censure in MĀ 19 at T I 443c28 refers to their "view", 見. Although the formulation differs, the implications appear to be the same, as the pain experienced by the Jains is due to their present "exertion", which is at the same time the outcome of their "view" that in this way *dukkha* will be eradicated, hence I consider both versions to intend one's present "practice".

[10] The assumption that the experience of pleasure and pain is due to one's former deeds, to a creator god, or to chance comes up again for discussion in AN 3:61 at AN I 173,16 and its parallel MĀ 13 at T I 435a28. The rejection in MN 101 and MĀ 19 of the karmic fatalism of the Jains reflects the character of the early Buddhist conception of causality, which is not fatalist or pre-deterministic, a characteristic highlighted by several scholars, cf., e.g., de Silva 1991: 273, Federman 2010, Fujita 1982: 151, Gómez 1975: 82, Halbfass 2000: 102, Harvey 2007: 59, Hershock 2005: 6-7, Jayatilleke 1968, id. 1973: 10, Jayawardhana 1988: 408, Ñāṇaponika 1975: 91, Nelson 2005: 4, Pāsādika 2007: 319, Premasiri 2009: 69, Siderits 1987: 153, and Story 1975: 74. The reference to an evil creator god in the present passage exemplifies a tendency in the early discourses, noted by Steinkellner 2006: 24, where "the idea of a creator-god was mainly mocked and ridiculed"; cf. also Bohn 1921: 25-32 for the present and other instances of mockery or criticism aimed at the Jains in particular. On the different premises on which the Jain tradition and early Buddhism based their conceptions of karma and rebirth cf. also de Silva 1990b: 185.

While the *Madhyama-āgama* version presents this treatment as a five-fold criticism,[11] the *Majjhima-nikāya* version reckons the same to be a criticism in ten points.[12]

Table 11.2: Grounds for Censure in MN 101 and MĀ 19

MN 101	MĀ 19
former deeds (1)	former deeds (→ 1)
creator god (2)	company (→ 3)
company (3)	type of life-form (→ 4)
type of life-form (4)	present practice (→ 5)
present practice (5)	creator god (→ 2)

Yet, the actual criticism in both versions covers only five points. After explaining these five one by one, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version recapitulates them and indicates that even in the absence of each of these points the Jains are to be censured.[13] This recapitulation does not yield five additional reasons for criticism, but only a sixth, namely that the Jains are to be censured even in the absence of the five reasons given earlier. Here the *Madhyama-āgama* version seems to offer a more coherent presentation, as it announces and then gives five reasons for censure, while the *Majjhima-nikāya* version announces ten but then does not really provide ten reasons.

MN II 223 According to the *Devadaha-sutta*, after criticizing the fruitless striving of the Jains, the Buddha explained how striving can be undertaken so as to be fruitful. Fruitful striving, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, is to exert oneself on occasions that require exertion, but to exercise equanimity on occasions that require equanimity, and not to give up pleasure that is in accordance with the Dharma.

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse instead highlights that the Buddha's personal knowledge cannot be shaken by anyone in the world.[14] It then indicates that the way to avoid future *dukkha* is to give up unwholesome bodily, verbal, and mental deeds, and to undertake their wholesome counterparts. Like the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse enjoins not to give up the pleasure that accords with the Dharma. While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version recommends exertion or equanimity, depending on what the situation requires, the *Madhyama-āgama* version instead enjoins developing (wholesome) desire or equanimity,[15] a choice that similarly depends on whichever of these two modes of practice will lead to the eradication of *dukkha*.

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[11] MĀ 19 at T I 443c18: "five rebukes", 五詰責.

[12] MN 101 at MN II 222,2: "ten legitimate theses", *dasa sahadhammikā vādānuvādā.*

[13] MN 101 at MN II 222,21.

[14] MĀ 19 at T I 444a8. By providing a contrast between the personal knowledge of the Buddha and the lack of personal knowledge of the Jains in regard to the premises on which their asceticism was based, MĀ 19 links the present exposition to the earlier argument raised against the self-mortifications of the Jains.

[15] MĀ 19 at T I 444a16 contrasts 行欲 with 行捨欲. The character 欲 stands for "desire" and usually has negative connotations. In the present context, however, 欲 would rather seem to stand for a wholesome

To illustrate fruitful exertion followed by equanimity, the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse takes up the example of a man who suffers on seeing the woman he loves conversing and laughing with another man. Once this man overcomes his affection for the woman, her behaviour will no longer affect him. The *Madhyama-āgama* version further develops this image by suggesting that the woman even spent the night with the other man, something that would indeed further aggravate the suffering of the man who is in love with her.[16]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version agrees with the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse on describing how a monk strives in such a way as to diminish what is unwholesome and increase what is wholesome. Once this has been achieved, he will no longer strive, as his goal has been accomplished. The two versions illustrate this with the example of a fletcher who no longer works on an arrow that has already been straightened.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version next comes out with a full account of the gradual path, MN II 226
from the arising of a Tathāgata to the attainment of the three higher knowledges. The *Madhyama-āgama* version does not have such a full account of the gradual path. Instead, it only depicts how a monk approaches a secluded place, overcomes the five hindrances, develops the four *jhāna*s, and reaches the destruction of the influxes through knowledge of the four noble truths.[17]

The two versions agree that, if the experience of pleasure and pain were to be attrib- MN II 227
uted to one's former deeds, to a creator god, to the company one kept, to the type of one's life-form, or to one's present practice, in all cases the Tathāgata should be praised because of his present experience of influx-free happiness.[18]

While the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse concludes at this point, according to the *Madh-* MN II 228
yama-āgama account the Buddha continued by taking up the five hindrances as the five conditions for the arising of *dukkha* and their eradication as the condition for freedom from *dukkha*, followed by recommending the practice of the noble eightfold path as the means to reach supreme freedom from affliction.[19]

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type of desire. An example for 欲 in a wholesome sense can be found, e.g., in Xuánzàng's (玄奘) rendering of the "desire for wholesome things", *kuśaladharmacchandaḥ* (Abhidh-k 5:16 in Pradhan 1967: 289,1) as 善法欲, cf. T 1558 at T XXIX 102b8, a rendering similarly employed in T 1579 at T XXX 397a7, the Chinese counterpart to an occurrence of *kuśalo dharmacchandaḥ* in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in Shukla 1973: 8,15 or ŚSG 1998: 16,3. On the assumption that in the present context 欲 similarly stands for a wholesome type of desire, the implication of the proposition in MĀ 19 could be to contrast "developing desire [for wholesome things]", 行欲, with "developing equanimity [in regard] to that desire [for wholesome things]", 行捨欲.

16 MĀ 19 at T I 444b4. MĀ 19 differs from MN 101 in as much as it has this simile after the simile of the straightening of the arrow, while MN 101 follows the opposite sequence.

17 MĀ 19 at T I 444c8. Regarding the Pāli version's detailed coverage of the gradual path, Gombrich 1994: 1087 considers this section of MN 101 to be "an irrelevant insertion of a stock passage".

18 MN 101 at MN II 227,8: *anāsavā sukhā vedanā* and MĀ 19 at T I 444c17: "noble influx-free happiness ... having reached the happiness of awakening", 聖無漏樂 ... 得樂覺. As earlier, MN 101 counts the bases for praise as ten, while MĀ 19 counts them as five.

19 MĀ 19 at T I 445a5.

MN 102 *Pañcattaya-sutta*[20]

The *Pañcattaya-sutta*, the "discourse on five and three", presents a systematic survey of various views. Parts of this discourse have been preserved in Sanskrit fragments,[21] while a full parallel is extant in Tibetan.[22] A to a considerable extent comparable examination of various views can also be found in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its counterparts.[23]

MN II 228 The *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its parallels begin by distinguishing between five and three types of view. The five types of view cover the assertions:

- after death the self will be percipient,
- after death the self will be non-percipient,
- after death the self will be neither-percipient-nor-non-percipient,
- at death the self will be annihilated,
- Nirvāṇa in the present life.

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[20] B^{e}-MN III 17,29 notes *Pañcāyatana-sutta* as a variant reading for the title, for other title variations cf. Schlingloff 1961: 34 notes 19 and 20.

[21] The fragment parallels are SHT IV 32 folios 1-6 (pp. 109-110), SHT IV 33 folios 1-7 (pp. 155-158, cf. also SHT VII p. 233), Hoernle fragments 149/187, 149/Add.49, 149/Add.154, and two Hoernle fragments without numbering, edited as no. 125, 126, 127, 128, and 131 in Hartmann 1991: 221-227 and 233-234 (no. 125 corresponds to Or. 15009/321 in Fukita 2009: 306, no. 127 corresponds to Or. 15009/148 in Kudo 2009: 196). A detailed correlation of these fragments with the *Pañcattaya-sutta* can be found in Skilling 1997a: 500-504. Another as yet unpublished parallel to MN 102 is fragment 299v3-306r5 of the newly discovered *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscript (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of this fragment). Wille 2005: 8 lists SHT III 882b as another possible parallel (on which cf. also SHT IX p. 403 and SHT X p. 416). The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins allocated their version of the present discourse to their *Dīrgha-āgama* collection, cf. Hartmann 1994: 327 and id. 2000: 367. SHT IV 32 folio 1V1 locates the discourse at Śrāvastī, as does the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 310,4.

[22] The parallel is the *mdo chen po lnga gsum pa zhes bya ba*, translated by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye shes sde, edited in Skilling 1994a: 310-382, with a detailed study in Skilling 1997a: 469-511. As noted by Skilling 1997a: 14, the Tibetan parallel to the *Pañcattaya-sutta* stems from the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda tradition. In what follows, I have greatly benefited from Skilling's exemplary comparative study of the *Pañcattaya-sutta*. Although in a few instances I hope to be able to offer an additional perspective, nevertheless, readers would be well advised if they were to turn to Skilling's original study for a more detailed and complete treatment than I am able to give to the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel within the context of my study of the *Majjhima-nikāya* collection as a whole. The same also holds for my studies of the *Cūḷa-* and *Mahāsuññata-sutta*s (MN 121 and MN 122), where a detailed comparative study can be found in Skilling 1997a: 335-400. For a discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 40.

[23] DN 1 at DN I 12-46, DĀ 21 at T I 89c-94a, T 21 at T I 266a-270c, and the Tibetan discourse (together with a Mongolian translation) in Weller 1934, translations of the *Dīrgha-āgama* and Tibetan discourses can be found in Weller 1971 and Weller 1935. Further parallels, not taken into account in the present context, are a discourse quotation of the exposition on views found in the *Śāriputrābhidharma*, T 1548 at T XXVIII 656b-661a, and a quotation of the entire discourse in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, D (4094) *mnong pa, ju* 141b-153b or Q (5595) *tu* 162b-177b, cf. also Anālayo 2009o. Notably, while the treatment of DĀ 21 at T I 89c24 speaks of "views", 見, DN 1 at DN I 39,14 and the Tibetan version in Weller 1934: 14,33 instead speak of "grounds [for views]", *vatthu* or *gzhi*.

These five types of view are then subsumed under three main categories by speaking of views that propose:

- a self that survives after death,[24]
- a self that is annihilated,
- Nirvāṇa in the present life.[25]

The analysis in terms of "five and three" thus provides two complementary perspectives on these views. The first of these perspectives singles out five main modes of asserting a self. The second perspective then takes up the same five types from the viewpoint of three different future time periods, distinguishing between views concerned with what will happen after death, at death, or before death (see table 11.3).[26]

Table 11.3: Analysis of Views in MN 102 and its Parallels

survival of percipient self survival of non-percipient self survival of neither-percipient-nor-non-percipient self	after death after death after death
annihilation of self	at death
Nirvāṇa here and now	before death

The *Pañcattaya-sutta* takes up the first of the five types of view, concerned with a self that is percipient after death, by listing altogether eight variations of such a self. Its Tibetan counterpart does not have two out of these eight variations, as it does not mention the material-and-immaterial self and the neither-material-nor-immaterial self.[27] MN II 229

The *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan counterparts agree in this respect with the *Pañcattaya-sutta*, as they include a percipient self that is material-and-immaterial and a percipient self that is neither-material-nor-immaterial in their examination of various types of self that are percipient after death.[28]

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[24] Skilling 1997a: 480 highlights a principal difference between the Pāli and Tibetan versions in regard to the various types of self that survive after death, which MN 102 at MN II 228,14 qualifies as "unimpaired", *aroga* (literally "healthy"), a qualification not found in its Tibetan counterpart. Schrader 1902: 9 note 2 draws attention to a similar qualification used in the Jain *Sūyagaḍa* 1.1.3.15, cf. Vaidya 1928: 9,17: *siddhā ya te arogā ya.*

[25] MN 102 at MN II 228,23: *pañca hutvā tīṇi honti*, *tīṇi hutvā pañca honti* and its Tibetan counterpart in Skilling 1994a: 314,3: *lnga po de dag yod na gsum du 'gyur la, gsum yod na lngar 'gyur te*, a way of subsuming the five as three also recorded in fragment SHT IV 32 folio 1V6: *(paṃca saṃti trī)[ṇ]i bhavanti trī[ṇ]i saṃti paṃca [bh](avanti)*; cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 299v7.

[26] Hecker 1972: 217.

[27] MN 102 at MN II 229,4: *rūpiñ ca arūpiñ ca ... n' eva rūpiṃ nārūpiṃ*. These two categories appear to be also absent from the Sanskrit version, as, after listing material and immaterial types of self, DĀ (Skt) fragments 299v8 and 300v3 continue with a type of self that has a unitary perception, a category that in MN 102 comes after the neither-material-nor-immaterial type of self, cf. MN II 229,8.

[28] DN 1 at DN I 31,8: *rūpī ca arūpī ca ... n' eva rūpī nārūpī*, DĀ 21 at T I 92b23: 有色無色 ... 非有色非無色, T 21 at T I 268b9: 有色無色 ... 不有色亦不無色, Weller 1934: 48,16: *gzugs dang ldan pa yang ma yin la, gzugs dang mi ldan pa yang ma yin pa'i.*

The *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels agree in mentioning selves that have "limited" or "immeasurable" perceptions.[29] To this the Tibetan version adds a self whose perceptions have "become great".[30]

The Pāli version's list of percipient selves next mentions the consciousness *kasiṇa*.[31] The Tibetan version speaks instead of the "sphere" of infinite consciousness.[32] According to the Pāli commentary, the reference to the consciousness *kasiṇa* in the present context indeed intends the sphere of infinite consciousness.[33]

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[29] MN 102 at MN II 229,11: *parittasaññiṃ ... appamāṇasaññiṃ*. SHT IV 33 folio 1B2: *apramāṇasaṃ(jñī)*, Hoernle fragment 149/Add. 154V1, no. 126 in Hartmann 1991: 222: *[ap]r(amā)ṇa[sa](ṃ)[j]ñ[i]* (ibid. corrects to °*saṃjñī*), and another Hoernle fragment (photo 173) R7, no. 131 in Hartmann 1991: 234: *[pa]rit[t]asaṃj[ñ]ī (a)p[ramāṇa]sa(mjñī)*; cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 300v1+3. Skilling 1994a: 314,16: *'du shes chung ba ... 'du shes tshad med pa*.

[30] Skilling 1994a: 314,17: *'du shes chen por gyur pa* which, as Skilling 1997a: 484 notes, would correspond to *mahāggatasaññī* or *mahadgatasaṃjñī*. In the discourses, the qualifications "immeasurable" and "become great" often function as near synonyms, cf., e.g., the standard description of the meditative radiation of the *brahmavihāra*s, e.g., in MN 7 at MN I 38,23: *mahaggatena appamāṇena* and in its parallel MĀ 93 at T I 575c13: "very great, boundless", 甚大, 無量; cf. also a description of such radiation in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, fragment 362 folio 167V5 in Waldschmidt 1950: 59: *mahadgaten-āpra*(*māṇena*). For an examination of how these two terms differ when applied to "liberation of the mind", *cetovimutti*, cf. MN 127 at MN III 146,13 and its parallel MĀ 79 at T I 550a9. As MN 102 and its Tibetan parallel describe views on a percipient self by working through pairs of opposites, once a contrast to "limited" has been provided by "immeasurable", it seems redundant to bring in additionally a self whose perceptions have "become great". The reference to *mahāggatasaññī* or *mahadgatasaṃjñī* precedes *appamāṇasaññī* or *apramāṇasaṃjñī* and thus conforms to the sequence found when these two terms are listed together in contexts like the *brahmavihāra* meditation. Perhaps *mahāggatasaññī* or *mahadgatasaṃjñī* originally stood merely in apposition to *appamāṇasaññī* or *apramāṇasaṃjñī* and only later came to be a separate item.

[31] MN 102 at MN II 229,15: *viññāṇakasiṇam eke abhivadanti* (C^{e}-MN III 30,31: *viññāṇakasiṇaṃ*).

[32] Skilling 1994a: 316,1: *rnam shes mtha' yas skye mched*; cf. also SHT IV 32 folio 1R4, which reads *v[i]jñān[ā]naṃ[t]ya*.

[33] Ps IV 18,7. Mp II 77,4 explains that the expression *viññāṇakasiṇa* is used in relation to the object, not in relation to the attainment itself, since the development of the consciousness *kasiṇa* takes infinite consciousness as the object and thereby reaches the sphere of infinite consciousness. It is perhaps noteworthy that the detailed treatment of the *kasiṇa*s in Vism 118-177 does not cover the consciousness *kasiṇa*, although the same term occurs at Vism 609,15 as part of a list of objects for insight, *abhiññā* (being a quote from Paṭis I 6,30). As 186,16 explains that the consciousness *kasiṇa* is not included in the exposition of *kasiṇa*s because it belongs to the development of the immaterial attainments. Nett 89,26 associates the space *kasiṇa* and the consciousness *kasiṇa* with the realm of insight, *vipassanā*, while the other eight *kasiṇa*s are *samatha* meditation objects. Yet, the reason for the absence of the consciousness *kasiṇa* in the *Visuddhimagga*'s treatment may rather be that, once the expression *kasiṇa* is taken to stand for a particular meditation device, it becomes difficult to imagine what a consciousness *kasiṇa* might be. The consciousness *kasiṇa* occurs regularly in the Pāli discourses in a list of ten "*kasiṇa* spheres", *kasiṇāyatana*s, cf., e.g., DN 33 at DN III 268,25, DN 34 at DN III 290,16, MN 77 at MN II 15,1, AN 10:25 at AN V 46,8, and AN 10:29 at AN V 60,21. AN 1:20 at AN I 41,23 also lists the consciousness *kasiṇa*, without, however, introducing it as a *kasiṇāyatana*. AN 10:26 at AN V 47,15 speaks of the *viññāṇakasiṇasamāpatti*. SĀ 549 at T II 143a25 (parallel to AN 10:26) speaks of the "consciousness *kasiṇa* sphere", 識一切入處, corresponding to the expression *vijñānakṛtsnāyatana* mentioned in the *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1538 in Sakaki

Both versions next turn to the "sphere" of nothingness,[34] which they qualify as supreme among perceptions. The *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its parallels agree that the Tathāgata has understood the conditioned nature of these postulations of a percipient self after death and gone beyond them.

The Tibetan version presents the next type of view on a self that is not percipient af- MN II 230
ter death as a single view.[35] The Pāli version takes up the same view in a fourfold mode by distinguishing between material, immaterial, material-and-immaterial, and neither-material-nor-immaterial manifestations of such a self.[36]

The *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan counterparts take their analysis even further, as they present views about a non-percipient self in altogether eight variations, by additionally taking up the four possibilities that such a self could be limited, unlimited, both, or neither.[37]

The same difference recurs in the examination of a self that is neither-percipient-nor- MN II 231
non-percipient, which the Tibetan parallel to the *Pañcattaya-sutta* presents as a single proposal, while the *Pañcattaya-sutta* offers a fourfold presentation.[38] The *Brahmājala-sutta* and its parallels explore eight variations of this type of self.[39]

1926: 123. MĀ 215 at T I 800b7 (parallel to AN 10:29) and the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 447b9, present the "consciousness *kasiṇa*", 識遍, as the tenth of the "*kasiṇa* spheres", 一切處 or 遍處. The alternative expression "consciousness sphere *kr̥tsna*", *vijñānā*(*naṃtyāyatanakr̥tsna*), occurs, e.g., in SHT III 915R3 (p. 171, the restoration is corroborated by the immediately preceding *(ākāśānaṃ)[t]yāyatanakr̥tsnaṃ*), cf. also fragment X 679V4 in Stache-Rosen 1968: 34 and fragment 689R3 in Schlingloff 1962a: 14. Ān Shìgāo's (安世高) translation of the *Daśottara-sūtra* speaks merely of the "consciousness *kasiṇa*", T 13 at T I 241b7: 識普, further qualified as "pervasive above and below, non-dual, and immeasurable", 上下 遍不二無有量. These different renderings throw into relief the close relationship between the all-pervasive nature of the attainment of the sphere of infinite consciousness and the expression *kasiṇa* or *kr̥tsna* in the sense of a "totality"; cf. also Barnes 1981: 248, who highlights the basic meaning of *kasiṇa* or *kr̥tsna* as "'whole' or 'entire'". This not only corroborates the similarity in meaning between the expressions "consciousness *kasiṇa*" and "sphere of infinite consciousness", but also indicates that in the early discourses *kasiṇa* or *kr̥tsna* stood for the all-pervasive totality that characterizes such experiences, for developing of which the meditation devices described in the commentaries are merely the tools. Vetter 1988: 66-67 comments that "in the Visuddhimagga we no longer find that a Kasina sphere is considered as being immeasurable. It is even characteristic of the technique that one first concentrates on a limited" object, wherefore "the Visuddhimagga is consistent in substituting the last two instances of the old Kasina series ... by concentration on (a limited amount of) light and a limited space"; cf. also Anālayo 2009t and Wynne 2007: 31-34.

[34] MN 102 at MN II 230,2: *akiñcaññāyatana* and its counterpart *ci yang med pa'i skye mched* in Skilling 1994a: 318,3; cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 300v4-5. In view of the use of "sphere" at this point in all versions, the Tibetan version's earlier usage of "sphere" in relation to consciousness seems more in conformity with the remainder of the discourse than the Pāli version's reference to the consciousness "*kasiṇa*", cf. above notes 31 and 32.

[35] Skilling 1994a: 318,12: *bdag 'du shes med par 'gyur ro*.

[36] MN 102 at MN II 230,7.

[37] DN 1 at DN I 32,10, DĀ 21 at T I 92c17, T 21 at T I 268c25, and Weller 1934: 50,34.

[38] MN 102 at MN II 230,7 and Skilling 1994a: 324,6.

[39] DN 1 at DN I 33,10, DĀ 21 at T I 93a6, T 21 at T I 269a6, and Weller 1934: 54,1.

The *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel indicate that those who advocate a non-percipient self after death confront those who propose a percipient self after death with the criticism that perception is a disease.[40] Those who advocate a self that is neither-percipient-nor-non-percipient challenge the proponents of a non-percipient self after death with the criticism that the absence of perception is a state of delusion.[41] The two versions agree with the Sanskrit fragments that it is impossible for consciousness to arise apart from the other aggregates.[42]

The Pāli version rejects the belief that the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception can be attained through what is seen, heard, sensed, and cognised, as this sphere can only be attained with a mere residue of formations.[43] The implications of this passage are less clear in the Tibetan version, which in addition to what is seen, heard, sensed, and cognised, also brings in such topics as morality and discipline, celibacy, and ascetic practices.[44]

The Tibetan version qualifies the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception as the pinnacle of existence.[45] Although the *Pañcattaya-sutta* does not make this point, a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* similarly classifies the realm that corre-

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[40] A discourse quotation paralleling the present discussion in MN 102 at MN II 230,17 can be found in Abhidh-k 8:4 in Pradhan 1967: 436,9, cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 146b11, T 1559 at T XXIX 297c17, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 71b5 or Q (5595) *thu* 116a7; a quote of the present statement on perception being a disease occurs also in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, cf. Deleanu 2006a: 343,6 or Shukla 1973: 460,1 and T 1579 at T XXX 469a12.

[41] MN 102 at MN II 231,17: *asaññā sammoho*, with its Tibetan counterpart *'du shes med pa yang kun tu rmongs pa'o* in Skilling 1994a: 326,11. Here the Tibetan version uses again the qualification "sphere", *'du shes med 'du shes med min skye mched*, absent at this point from MN 102. Further on, however, MN 102 at MN II 231,30 does use "sphere" to refer to the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, *etassa āyatanassa*, so that here, again, the Tibetan version is more consistent in its terminology.

[42] Hoernle fragment 149/Add. 154R3, no. 126 in Hartmann 1991: 223: *(upapa)[t]t(iṃ) vā vairūḍhiṃ vṛ(d-dhiṃ vā)*, R4: *(anya)tra saṃjñāyāḥ anyatra saṃskā(rebhyaḥ)*, and R5: *(prajñāpa)[y](i)ṣyāmi*; cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 300r4. Hata 2006: 1164 notes that a similar statement can also be found in SN 22:54 at SN III 55,10.

[43] MN 102 at MN II 232,2.

[44] Skilling 1994a: 330,7: *tshul khrims dang, brtul zhugs dang ... tshangs par spyod pa dang, dka' thub dang*. This listing brings to mind stanzas in the *Sutta-nipāta*, which in a similar vein associate what is seen, heard, and sensed with morality and observances, e.g., Sn 4:4 at Sn 790, Sn 4:5 at Sn 797 and Sn 798, and Sn 4:12 at Sn 887, which combine *diṭṭha, suta*, and *muta* with *sīlavata*; cf. also Sn 4:9 at Sn 839 and Sn 840, which combines *diṭṭha, suta*, and *ñāṇa* with *sīlavata*. The **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 63c17 (in a quote of a version of Sn 839) also combines what is "seen, heard, and known," 見, 聞, 知覺 (with a 元 and 明 variant reading as 見, 聞, 覺知), which according to Lamotte 1944/1981: 66 corresponds to *dṛṣṭi, śruti*, and *jñāna*, with "keeping the precepts", 持戒. Jayawickrama 1978: 50 comments that such instances are "a curious combination of functions of the senses on the one hand and external practices on the other"; cf. also Premasiri 1972: 27-28.

[45] Skilling 1994a: 330,11: *srid pa'i rtse mo*. Skilling 1997a: 489 note 54 draws attention to a statement in Abhidh-k 1:23, which similarly indicates that the pinnacle of existence is attainable by mere formations, *saṃskāramātraprabhāvitaṃ bhavāgram*, cf. Pradhan 1967: 15,15; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 5c14: 第一有中思最為勝, 行相顯了 and T 1559 at T XXIX 166a16: 有頂唯行所顯).

sponds to the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception as the pinnacle of existence.[46]

The *Pañcattaya-sutta* next turns to annihilationism. While the Pāli version presents annihilationism as a single proposal, the Tibetan version offers a more detailed analysis, as it distinguishes between seven possible instances of this view.[47] The *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels similarly distinguish between seven variations of annihilationism.[48] MN II 232

According to the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel, the annihilationists employ the image of a merchant in their criticism of the various proposals on a self that survives after death. The two versions reveal that the fear of personality of the annihilationists is their very bondage,[49] a predicament the Pāli version illustrates with the image of a dog that moves in circles around a post to which it is bound.[50]

The Pāli and Tibetan versions next take up sixteen types of view in relation to the past.[51] The Pāli version precedes this examination by stating that at this point the five types of proposal about the future have been examined.[52] Although this statement corresponds to the introductory proclamation at the beginning of the discourse, in which the *Pañcattaya-sutta* announces five modes of positing a self in relation to the future,[53] both versions have so far covered only four modes: MN II 233

- a percipient self,
- a non-percipient self,
- a self that is neither-percipient-nor-non-percipient,
- annihilationism.

This point deserves further exploration, as it is of relevance to the overall structure of the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel.

The Pāli commentary explains that views on "Nirvāṇa in the present life" should be understood to be the missing fifth, as such views have been implicitly covered by examining views on a self that is percipient of unity or diversity after death.[54] This expla-

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46 AN 5:170 at AN III 202,17.

47 MN 102 at MN II 232,7 and Skilling 1994a: 338,7.

48 DN 1 at DN I 34,6, DĀ 21 at T I 93a24, T 21 at T I 269b7, and Weller 1934: 56,6; cf. also a Sanskrit fragment parallel to this passage in Hartmann 1989: 54-55. These seven modes take up a self that corresponds to the physical body, to a divine material self, to a mind-made self, and to a self that corresponds to one of the four immaterial attainments.

49 Ñāṇavīra 1987/2001: 81 explains: "Any attempt I make to abolish my existence tacitly confirms it, for it is *my* existence that I am seeking to abolish".

50 The same image recurs in SN 22:99 at SN III 150,7 and in SN 22:100 at SN III 151,6 to illustrate the predicament of identifying with the five aggregates.

51 MN 102 at MN II 233,11: *pubbantakappikā pubbantānudiṭṭhino* and its Tibetan counterpart *sngon gyi mthar rtog pa dag, sngon gyi mtha' dang ldan pa'i lta ba'i rnam pa dag* in Skilling 1994a: 346,11.

52 MN 102 at MN II 233,10: *ye hi keci ... aparantakappikā aparantānudiṭṭhino ... sabbe te imān' eva pañc' āyatanāni abhivadanti, etesaṃ vā aññataraṃ.*

53 MN 102 at MN II 228,23.

54 Ps IV 23,1.

nation is questionable, as there seems to be no reason why these two views should be identified with "Nirvāṇa in the present life".

The *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels take up views on "Nirvāṇa in the present life" as a topic on its own, without relating it in any way to views on a self that is percipient of unity or diversity after death.[55] This suggests that views on "Nirvāṇa in the present life" would require a separate treatment and have not been implicitly covered by views on a self that is percipient of unity or diversity after death.

After surveying the sixteen types of view in relation to the past, the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel do take up the *jhāna*s and misconceptions about having attained Nirvāṇa. The *Pañcattaya-sutta*'s examination of the *jhāna*s and of misconceptions about having attained Nirvāṇa might correspond to the fifth of the types of view announced in the introduction to the same discourse, to views on "Nirvāṇa in the present life".[56] In fact, views in relation to the *jhāna*s make up four out of the five views on "Nirvāṇa in the present life" in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its parallels.[57] The same heading would all the more fit mistaken notions of Nirvāṇa, the last item examined in the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel. Moreover, the Tibetan version and the Sanskrit fragments agree in explicitly introducing this section as an examination of views on "Nirvāṇa in the present life".[58]

A problem with this classification is that the Pāli and the Tibetan versions introduce their examination of the *jhāna*s and mistaken notions about Nirvāṇa by mentioning that views about past and future have been relinquished.[59] How could views on "Nirvāṇa in the present life", classified in the *Pañcattaya-sutta*'s introductory section as types of view that are related to the future, correspond to what both versions of the present passage introduce as something based on having overcome views about the future?

A solution to this problem might be found in a minor change in terminology in the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its parallel. When presenting the five and three modes of views, the Pāli and Tibetan versions speak of "views" and "thoughts" in relation to the future.[60]

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[55] DN 1 at DN I 36,17, DĀ 21 at T I 93b15, T 21 at T I 269c17, and Weller 1934: 57,36.

[56] MN 102 at MN II 228,19: *diṭṭhadhammanibbānaṃ* and its Tibetan counterpart *tshe 'di nyid la mya ngan las 'da* in Skilling 1994a: 314,1.

[57] DN 1 at DN I 37,1, DĀ 21 at T I 93b20, T 21 at T I 269c20, and Weller 1934: 58,3. Bodhi 1978/1992: 31 explains the inclusion of the *jhāna*s in this section to be concerned with those "attainers of the four *jhānas* who mistake the rapture, bliss, and peacefulness of their attainments for the supreme good".

[58] Hoernle fragment 149/187R4, no. 127 in Hartmann 1991: 224: *(dṛ)ṣṭ(e dha)rme nirv(ā)[ṇ]aṃ abhivada-[mā]nā abhiva[da](nti)*, followed right away in the next line by a reference to the relinquishing of views about the past and the future. The Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 356,5 introduces its treatment as a comprehensive presentation of the possibilities of affirming "Nirvāṇa in the present life", *tshe 'di nyid la mya ngan las 'da' bar smra ba dag tshe 'di nyid la mya ngan las 'da'o zhes mngon par brjod pa mngon par brjod par byed pa ji snyed yod ce na*.

[59] MN 102 at MN II 235,8 and Skilling 1994a: 356,8.

[60] In its introduction and again at the end of its examination of the five and three types of view, MN 102 at MN II 228,12 and MN II 233,7 speaks of "thinking about the future, having views about the future", *aparantakappikā aparantānudiṭṭhino*. Although the Tibetan version does not have this specification in its introductory section (cf. Skilling 1994a: 312,1 and also the discussion in Skilling 1997a: 476), it does

When introducing their treatment of *jhāna* and mistaken notions of Nirvāṇa, the same versions speak only of overcoming "views" about past and future, without mentioning "thoughts".[61]

Although one would think that "views" and "thoughts" are simply used as near equivalents, the absence of a reference to "thoughts" in the present passage could perhaps indicate that whereas the first four modes – concerned with a percipient self, a non-percipient self, a self that is neither-percipient-nor-non-percipient, and a self that will be annihilated – can be reckoned as full-fledged "views", the two versions of the present discourse no longer consider the fifth mode of "Nirvāṇa in the present life" as a full fledged instance of "views", but only as "thoughts" or ways of "reasoning" concerned with the future. That is, although at the present junction "views" in relation to the future have been overcome, the same may not yet be the case for "thoughts" about the future.

The assumption that "Nirvāṇa in the present life" should indeed be assigned to the future finds support in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and in its Chinese and Tibetan parallels, all of which place their examination of "Nirvāṇa in the present life" under the category of thoughts and views related to the future.[62]

Moreover, the sequence of the treatment found in the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels suggest that an examination of views about the past should precede views about the future.[63] Taking a lead from the *Brahmajāla-sutta*'s sequence, perhaps the section on views about the past in the *Pañcattaya-sutta* should also precede the exposition of views about the future. On the assumption that the section on views about the past originally could have stood right at the beginning of the discourse and might then accidentally have been shifted to the wrong place during the course of the discourse's transmission, much of the difficulties noted so far could be resolved.

This would, however, imply that the statement on the "five and three" was not an introduction to the discourse as a whole, but only to its examination of views and thoughts related to the future. This is indeed the case in the Pāli version, which specifies the five and three to be concerned with the future.[64] As an introduction to the discourse as a

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make the same point at the end of its examination of the five and three types of view, *phyi ma'i mthar rtog pa dag, phyi ma'i mtha' dang ldan pa'i lta ba'i rnam pa dag* in Skilling 1994a: 346,6.

[61] MN 102 at MN II 235,9: "having relinquished views about the future", *aparantānudiṭṭhīnaṃ paṭinissaggā* (B^{e}-MN III 24,2, C^{e}-MN III 38,33, and S^{e}-MIII 36,11: *aparantānudiṭṭhīnañ ca*) and its counterpart *phyi ma'i mtha' dang ldan pa'i lta ba'i rnam pa dag kyang rab tu spangs nas* in Skilling 1994a: 356,9.

[62] DN 1 at DN I 38,25: *aparantakappikā aparantānudiṭṭhino*, DĀ 21 at T I 93c9: 末劫末見, T 21 at T I 270b28: 於當來劫中, 見當來事, and Weller 1934: 58,7: *phyi ma'i mtha' la rtog cing*. The Tibetan parallel to the *Brahmajāla-sutta* thus only takes account of the first of the two terms found in the Pāli version, the "thoughts related to the future" (*rtog pa* corresponds to *kappana* or *kalpana*). The Chinese rendering indicates that its Indic original had both terms, although the translator(s) seems to have mistaken *kappika* for *kappa* or *kalpa*, resulting in a reference to "aeons".

[63] As Skilling 1997a: 483 note 39 indicates, the order found in the *Pañcattaya-sutta*, where views on the future precede views on the past, "is unusual, the established tradition in Buddhist literature being past, future, present".

[64] MN 102 at MN II 228,12.

whole this would not fit, as it does not take the sixteen types of view concerned with the past into account.

While the general treatment of views in the two *Pañcattaya-sutta*s is relatively similar to the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its parallels, the analysis of views about the future into "five and three" is a peculiarity of the present discourse.[65] This peculiarity has led to the discourse's title in the Pāli and Tibetan versions. References in other works also regularly employ the same title.[66] Sanskrit fragments suggest, however, that the present discourse might also have been known under a different title.[67] As discourse titles can at times be late,[68] the title "five and three" could have come into being after the analysis into "five and three" had come to stand at the beginning part of the discourse.

In sum, on the assumption that the sequence in the *Pañcattaya-sutta*'s treatment may have been affected during the process of transmission, the discourse could have originally started with an examination of various views about the past,[69] followed by views about the future. The topic of views about the future would have begun by analysing them into "five and three",[70] without, however, identifying this analysis as a summary to the whole discourse.[71] After views on a self that survives after death and views on

[65] The fivefold presentation of views recurs in Vibh 378,16.

[66] Skilling 1997a: 471 notes several references to the present discourse, all of which revolve around the idea of "five and three", such as *lnga gsum pa*, *lnga dang gsum*, and *lnga pa dang gsum pa*. References in Chinese works (noted by Skilling 1997a: 471 and by Yìnshùn 1971/1983: 578) similarly reflect the idea of "five and three", cf. the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 662a29 and T 1443 at T XXIII 925c6: 增五增三經, the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 660a28: 五三經, and the 大悲經, T 380 at T XII 971b18: 五三法. The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 174b19, opts for a transcription as 般闍提利劍, incorrectly glossed as "*Samādhi-sūtra*", 三昧經.

[67] Cf. the discussion in SHT IV p. 7 and Schlingloff 1961: 34.

[68] Cf. above pp. 106, 123, and 468.

[69] This is the section that begins with MN 102 at MN II 233,10: "monks, there are some recluses and Brahmins who think about the past and hold views about the past", *santi, bhikkhave, eke samaṇabrāhmaṇa pubbantakappikā pubbantānudiṭṭhino*, until MN II 235,7: "the Tathāgata has gone beyond that", *tathāgato tad upātivatto*, corresponding to §§ 14 to 16 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 842-844.

[70] This would be the part from the beginning of the actual discourse in MN 102 at MN II 228,12: "monks, there are some recluses and Brahmins who think about the future and hold views about the future", *santi, bhikkhave, eke samaṇabrāhmaṇa aparantakappikā aparantānudiṭṭhino*, until the conclusion of the examination of the annihilationist views at MN II 233,6 with: "the Tathāgata has gone beyond that", *tathāgato tad upātivatto*, corresponding to §§ 1 to 12 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 839-842.

[71] That is, for my reconstruction to work, I need to assume that the identification of the introduction to views on the future as the "summary" to the discourse as a whole (MN 102 at MN II 228,23: *ayam uddeso pañcattayassa*, with its Tibetan counterpart *lnga gsum pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs mdor bstan pa yin no* in Skilling 1994a: 314,4) does not belong to the original discourse, but was added by the reciters. A similar statement can also be found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* in discourses MN 137 at MN III 216,7, MN 139 at MN III 230,21, and MN 140 at MN III 239,15. In each of these three instances, the expression *ayaṃ uddeso* is preceded by *iti*, which indicates that the part spoken by the Buddha ends before this remark. That is, the identification of the Buddha's brief explanation as an *uddesa* to the discourse is a reciter's remark. The Chinese parallels to these three discourses, MĀ 163 at T I 692c4, MĀ 169 at T I 701c6, and MĀ 162 at T I 690b27, do not conclude their corresponding introductory section by identify-

annihilationism, the discourse would then have continued by examining the *jhāna*s and mistaken notions of Nirvāṇa.

In this way, the treatment would have covered the item mentioned as fifth among the "five and three", which is "Nirvāṇa in the present life".[72] Once this fifth item has been covered, the exposition of views or thoughts related to the future would be concluded, so that at this point the concluding statement to this exposition would come in its right place,[73] followed by the conclusion to the discourse as a whole.[74]

Returning to the content of the exposition given in the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel, regarding the sixteen views about the past, the two versions agree in presenting the possibility that the self and the world may be eternal or not eternal in altogether four modes, based on the tetralemma scheme.

The Pāli version applies the same tetralemma scheme to the theme of the finiteness of the self and the world, and to the proposition that the self and the world experience only pleasure. In addition to the eight views that result from applying the tetralemma to

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ing it as a summary. This would support the impression that in the case of the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel the remark *ayaṃ uddeso* or *mdor bstan pa yin no* could also be a reciter's remark added to the discourse at some point during its transmission. Such a remark could only have been added to the *Pañcattaya-sutta* at a time when what I assume to be the original sequence had already changed and the introduction to views about the future had come to the beginning of the whole discourse. If, on the other hand, one were to take the *uddesa* statement as part of the original version, then the *Pañcattaya-sutta* should only be concerned with the "five and three" and not cover views related to the past at all. That is, on following the *uddesa* statement one would need to conclude that the whole exposition on views concerned with the past has been added later. Skilling 1997a: 483 explores this possibility, suggesting that perhaps "the list of views pertaining to the foretime belonged to an oral commentary on this passage, and that at some point the list was absorbed into the text, whether unconsciously or through the action of a zealous and methodical editor", cf. also Pérez-remón 1978: 82 note 46 for a similar suggestion. Although this fits better with the *uddesa* found in both versions, a problem with his suggestion would be that the Pāli and Tibetan versions introduce their examination of the *jhāna*s and of mistaken notions of Nirvāṇa by speaking of relinquishing views about past and about the future. This suggests views about the past to be an integral part of the *Pañcattaya-sutta*'s examination. Moreover, the *Pañcattaya-sutta* culminates in presenting unsurpassable liberation as the transcendence of all views. As such transcendence goes beyond views related to past and future, the theme of the discourse receives a comprehensive treatment only when views concerned with the past are also taken into account.

[72] This is the section that begins in MN 102 at MN II 235,8: "here, monks, some recluse or Brahmin, having relinquished views about the past and having relinquished views about the future", *idha, bhikkhave, ekacco samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo pubbantānudiṭṭhīnañ ca paṭinissagga aparantānudiṭṭhīnañ ca paṭinissagga*, corresponding to §§17 to 24 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 844-846.

[73] This would be the concluding statement about views and thoughts related to the future, found in MN 102 at MN II 233,7-10: "monks, whatever recluses or Brahmins who think about the future or have views about the future ... they all assert these five ways [lit.: spheres] or any one out of them", *ye hi keci, bhikkhave, samaṇā vā brāhmaṇa vā aparantakappikā aparantānudiṭṭhino ... sabbe te imān' eva pañc' āyatanāni abhivadanti, etesaṃ vā aññataraṃ*, corresponding to § 13 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 842.

[74] This would be the section from MN 102 at MN II 237,28: "monks, this supreme state of peace has been realized by the Tathāgata", *idaṃ kho pana, bhikkhave, tathāgatena anuttaraṃ santivarapadaṃ abhisambuddhaṃ* (S^e-MIII 40,11: *santaṃ varaṃ padaṃ*), until the delighted reaction of the monks at MN II 238,5, corresponding to § 25 in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 846.

these two topics, it also presents the two views that the self and the world could be percipient of unity or diversity, and the two views that they could be of limited or immeasurable perception.

None of these altogether twelve views occurs in the Tibetan version. The Pāli version's presentation of these views in the present context is in fact puzzling, since a self with a unitary or a diverse perception, as well as a self with a limited or an immeasurable perception, have already been covered under views related to the future. Although the formulation is slightly different in as much as the present instance includes not only the "self" but also the "world" in its treatment, this difference would not seem sufficient for assigning such views to the past instead of the future.

The *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels assign views on a self with a unitary or a diverse perception and views on a self with a limited or an immeasurable perception to views related to the future. The same is the case for the four views on a self that is finite or infinite and for the four views on a self that experiences pleasure or pain.[75] That is, the twelve views in the Pāli *Pañcattaya-sutta* that are not found in its Tibetan counterpart should according to the Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan versions of the *Brahmajāla-sutta* indeed not be reckoned as views about the past, but rather as views concerned with the future.

In addition to the four views on the past found in common in the *Pañcattaya-sutta* and in its parallel, the Tibetan discourse applies the tetralemma scheme to the views that the self and the world are due to one's own deeds or another's, that self and *dukkha* are eternal or not eternal, and that self and *dukkha* are caused by one's own or another's deeds.[76] The Sanskrit fragments have preserved part of a similar exposition.[77] The *Pāsādika-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya* takes up the same set of views, confirming that they are indeed to be reckoned as related to the past.[78]

MN II 234 The *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its Tibetan parallel point out that such statements about the past are not the outcome of personal realization, but merely depend on faith, liking, oral tradition, reasoning, or acceptance of a view.[79]

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[75] DN 1 at DN I 31,9, DĀ 21 at T I 92b25, T 21 at T I 268a27, and Weller 1934: 48,18; parts of this treatment have also been preserved in SHT III 803 V8-12 (p. 6).

[76] Skilling 1994a: 348,3.

[77] Hoernle fragment 149/187V6, no. 127 in Hartmann 1991: 224 has preserved: *(duḥ)khaṃ ca svayaṃkṛ[t](a) ātmā ca lokaś [c]a* and V7: *sva[ya]ṃ[kṛ]ta (ātmā ca duḥ)khaṃ ca*; cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 303r4-5.

[78] Skilling 1997a: 491 draws attention to the recurrence of these views in DN 29 at DN III 137,24 and in Ud 6:5 at Ud 69,26. DN 29 at DN III 137,15 explicitly relates these views to the past. This suggests that the exposition given to views about the past in the Tibetan parallel to the *Pañcattaya-sutta* fits the context better than the Pāli version.

[79] MN 102 at MN II 234,7 lists *saddhā, ruci, anussava, ākāraparivitakka*, and *diṭṭhinijjhānakkhanti*, with its Tibetan counterparts in *dad pa, 'dod pa, thos pa brgyud pa, rnam pa la yongs su rtog pa*, and *mthong bas nges par rtogs pa'i bzod pa* in Skilling 1994a: 350,6; cf. also Hoernle fragment 149/187V2, no. 127 in Hartmann 1991: 224: *(a)nya(trānu)[śr]aveṇa anyatrākāraparivitarki* and DĀ (Skt) fragment 303r6. Skilling 1997a: 492 draws attention to a difference in formulation, as MN 102 at MN II 234,14 identifies

Both versions next turn to *jhāna* experiences, which they present in a threefold manner by distinguishing between the "bliss of seclusion", "unworldly pleasure", and "neutral feeling", a threefold presentation found also in the Sanskrit fragments.[80] The Pāli commentary explains that "bliss of seclusion" stands for the first and the second *jhāna*, "unworldly pleasure" for the third *jhāna*, and "neutral feeling" for the fourth *jhāna*.[81] MN II 235

The Pāli and Tibetan discourses examine what takes place when such experiences cease, at which point they will be replaced by a coarser state of mind. Thus, when the bliss of seclusion ceases, sadness will take its place, a situation both versions illustrate with the alteration between sunshine and shadow.[82]

While the Pāli version continues to use the same image, the Tibetan discourse offers different similes for the other two cases, comparing the fluctuation between unworldly pleasure and the bliss of seclusion to the fluctuations of water, which rises and descends, followed by illustrating the shift from neutral feeling to unworldly pleasure to a stick thrown up into space, which may fall on its side or on its tip.[83] MN II 236

The two versions next examine a recluse or Brahmin who assumes he has attained Nirvāṇa. According to both versions, this recluse believes himself to be free from attachment, to which the Tibetan version adds that he claims to be without craving, a claim also preserved in the Sanskrit fragment parallel.[84] MN II 237

According to the Tibetan version, this recluse thinks he no longer has the self he had earlier.[85] This last specification involves a thorough misunderstanding on the side of this recluse. Such a misunderstanding would not be possible for a disciple in higher

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the holding of such views to be an instance of "clinging", *upādāna*, while its Tibetan counterpart in Skilling 1994a: 350,13 instead indicates the holding of such views to be a manifestation of "lack of knowledge", *mi shes pa*, a reading supported by the Sanskrit fragment Hoernle 149/187V4, no. 127 in Hartmann 1991: 224: *(a)j[ñ]ānam* and R2: *ā[jñ](ā)nam*.

[80] MN 102 at MN II 235,13: *pavivekā pīti* and *rab tu dben pa'i dga' ba* in Skilling 1994a: 358,2; MN 102 at MN II 235,32: *nirāmisaṃ sukhaṃ* and *zang zing med pa'i bde ba* in Skilling 1994a: 362,6; MN 102 at MN II 236,23: *adukkhamasukhā vedanā* and *sdug bsngal yang ma yin bde ba yang ma yin pa'i tshor ba* in Skilling 1994a: 368,3. SHT IV 33 folio 3V1 and R2 reads *pravivekāṃ prīti*(*ṃ*) and *nirāmiṣa* (*sukha*), cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 303v4+6+8 and fragment 304v?4+6+8. SHT IV 33 folio 7V1 has preserved *aduḥkhāsu(kha)* and Hoernle fragment 149/Add.49V4, no. 128 in Hartmann 1991: 226 has preserved *(a)[du]ḥ[khā]sukh(āṃ)*, cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 304r1+7+8 and fragment 305r2 (although the last occurs in a later passage, it refers to the experience of neutral feeling described in the present context).

[81] Ps IV 26,4+20+21.

[82] MN 102 at MN II 235,13: *pavivekāya pītiyā nirodhā uppajjati domanassaṃ* and its counterpart *rab tu dben pa'i bde ba 'gags pa las yid mi bde ba 'byung bar 'gyur la* in Skilling 1994a: 360,2; cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 304v?1.

[83] Skilling 1994a: 366,1 and 372,7; cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 305r6. Skilling 1994a: 373 notes that the second simile has a Pāli counterpart in SN 15:9 at SN II 184,29 and in SN 56:33 at SN V 439,22, where it illustrates the ups and downs of rebirth in saṃsāra.

[84] SHT IV 33 folio 7V2: (*ni*)*str̥ṣṇo-ham-asmi nirupādāno-ham-asmi*, Hoernle fragment 149/Add. 49V1, no. 128 in Hartmann 1991: 226: *[n]istr̥ṣṇ(o) '[h](a)[m] (asmi)*, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 376,8: *nga ni sred pa med pa'o*.

[85] Skilling 1994a: 376,9: *nga la sngon bdag yod par gyur pa de ni da ltar nga la med do*, rendered by Skilling 1997a: 493 as "the self which I formerly had is now not", cf. also DĀ (Skt) fragment 305v5+7.

training (*sekha*), who by dint of realizing stream-entry would know that there has never been a self in the first place. In this way, in the Tibetan version it is self-evident why this recluse's claim to realization can be dismissed as thoroughly mistaken.

In the Pāli version, the problem with this recluse seems to be rather the self-centeredness inherent in his claim formulated in terms of 'I' have attained peace, 'I' have attained Nirvāṇa. The commentary explains this claim to be a manifestation of conceit, the presence of which would indeed contradict a claim to full awakening.[86]

Thus, whereas in the Tibetan version the claim to have attained Nirvāṇa is made by someone who has not yet arrived at any insight into the absence of a self, the Pāli version only indicates that the claim to having attained Nirvāṇa is made by someone who has not yet reached full awakening, with which even the last trace of conceit will be left behind.

The Tibetan version highlights that this recluse is on the path of attachment and grasping.[87] According to the Pāli version, however, this recluse asserts the path that leads to Nirvāṇa.[88] These different statements reflect the basic difference in perspective on the level of development of the recluse in the two versions.

According to the Tibetan version, this recluse thought that he had been able to get rid of a self he had earlier. That is, he is still holding the view of a self, a view that indeed constitutes the path of attachment and grasping.

From the viewpoint of the Pāli discourse, however, the recluse only affirms to be at peace, to have attained Nirvāṇa, and to be without attachment. The attainment of peace and freedom from attachment recur right away in the next paragraph in the Pāli version in the Buddha's proclamation to have reached unsurpassable liberation.[89]

The same qualities also form part of a recurrent maxim in the discourses, which qualifies the attainment of Nirvāṇa as peaceful and associates it with a series of epithets that stand for the eradication of all attachment.[90] According to the *Mahāmāluṅkya-sutta*, this maxim is in fact part of the 'path' to the overcoming of the five lover

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[86] Ps IV 27,4 suggests that this recluse's claim is made with *abhimāna*, "excessive conceit"; cf. also Collins 1982: 122, who comments that the passage reveals the presence of "a form of attachment ... because the claim is still phrased in terms of 'I'".

[87] Skilling 1994a: 376,12: *nye bar len pa dang 'thun par 'gro ba'i lam*, Hoernle fragment 149/Add. 49V2, no. 128 in Hartmann 1991: 226: *(upā)[d]āna[sa]ṃpreyag(ā)m[i](nī)*.

[88] MN 102 at MN II 237,15: *addhā ayam āyasmā nibbānaṃ sappāyam eva paṭipadaṃ abhivadati* (B^{e}-MN III 26,5: *nibbānasappāyaṃ yeva*, C^{e}-MN III 42,12: *nibbānasappāyaññeva*, and S^{e}-MIII 39,20: *nibbānasappāyam eva*).

[89] According to MN 102 at MN II 237,28, the Buddha spoke of having reached the "unsurpassable state of peace", *anuttaraṃ santivarapadaṃ* (S^{e}-MIII 40,11: *santaṃ varaṃ padaṃ*), and the "liberation through absence of attachment", *anupādā vimokkho*, terminology similar to the "peace" and the "absence of attachment" claimed by the recluse in MN 102 at MN II 237,12.

[90] MN 64 at MN I 436,1: "this is peaceful, this is sublime, namely the stilling of all formations, the relinquishment of all attachment, the destruction of craving, dispassion, cessation, Nirvāṇa", *etaṃ santaṃ, etaṃ paṇītaṃ, yadidaṃ sabbasaṅkhārasamatho sabbūpadhipaṭinissaggo taṇhakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānan ti*.

fetters and thus to non-return or full awakening.[91] As the same discourse indicates, this maxim stands for inclining the mind toward the deathless element.[92] A discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* in fact refers to the same as a form of concentration.[93]

Hence, the proposal made by the recluse in the *Pañcattaya-sutta*, even though based on an overestimation, in itself would indeed be a path conducive to Nirvāṇa, all the more as it is based on the ability to attain the four *jhāna*s.[94]

The *Pañcattaya-sutta* and its parallels conclude by describing the Buddha's attainment of total liberation, thereby highlighting what goes beyond any of the views and positions examined in this discourse.

MN 103 *Kinti-sutta*

The *Kinti-sutta*, the "discourse on 'what then?'", sets out ways to settle disagreements about the teachings and how to handle another monk's misbehaviour. Of this discourse, so far no parallel appears to have been identified.

MN 104 *Sāmagāma-sutta*

The *Sāmagāma-sutta*, the "discourse at Sāmagāma", explains how the monks can avoid quarrels among each other after the Buddha's demise. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and another parallel in an individual translation.[95]

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[91] MN 64 at MN I 435,26: *maggo ... paṭipadā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ pahānāya* (Ce-MN II 168,27 and Se-MII 159,10: *saññyojanānaṃ*).

[92] MN 64 at MN I 435,36: *amatāya dhātuyā cittaṃ upasaṃharati*. A similar type of practice is described in Vism 293,6 under the heading "recollection of peace", *upasamānussati*.

[93] AN 3:32 at AN I 133,4: *samādhipaṭilābho*.

[94] With this suggestion I venture to differ from Skilling 1997a: 495, who comments: "can a statement made by someone who is attached - a statement itself described as a manifestation of attachment - refer to the 'practice conducive to nibbāna' ... when the statement itself does not *describe* any practice, but only a deluded *assertion* of attainment?".

[95] The parallels are MĀ 196 at T I 752c-755c and T 85 at T I 904c-907a. MĀ 196 has the title "discourse to Cunda", 周那經, while T 85 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on the conditions for appeasing quarrels", 佛說息諍因緣經. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 85 was translated by Dānapāla (施護). MĀ 196 and T 85 agree with MN 104 on locating the discourse at the village Sāmagāma (舍彌村 or 舍摩迦子聚落). While MN 104 at MN II 243,16 places Sāmagāma among the Sakyans, according to MĀ 196 at T I 752c12 Sāmagāma was rather among the Vajjians, 跋耆. Anesaki 1908: 58 reasons that as "Pāvā, where Jina died, gave the occasion to this discourse ... it seems more probable that Sāmagāma was near Pāvā", thereby taking MĀ 196 to be correct in locating Sāmagāma in the Vajjian country. Yet, with Pāvā in the Malla country as the starting point, it seems equally possible for Cunda to depart in the direction of the Vajjian country or in the opposite direction of the Sakyan country to deliver the news of the death of the Nigaṇṭha leader. Thus, the fact that Cunda came from Pāvā does not imply that Sāmagāma should be located among the Vajjians. Sāmagāma recurs in DN 29 at DN III 118,7 and in AN 6:21 at AN III 309,1. AN 6:21 explicitly locates Sāmagāma in the Sakyan country, while DN 29 does the same implicitly, since its reports that Cunda met Ānanda at

MN II 244 The *Sāmagāma-sutta* and its parallels record in similar terms that Cunda had approached Ānanda to report a quarrel that had broken out among the Jains,[96] after their leader had passed away.[97] On hearing Cunda's account, Ānanda decided to convey this news to the Buddha.[98]

MN II 245 According to the *Sāmagāma-sutta*, the Buddha told Ānanda that a dispute about the path to awakening would indeed be a serious matter.[99] In contrast, a dispute about matters of conduct would be of less significance.[100]

Sāmagāma, after which the two monks approached the Buddha, who according to DN 29 at DN III 117,2 was living among the Sakyans. The parallel to DN 29, DĀ 17 at T I 72c13+16, does not mention Sāmagāma, although it reports that Ānanda and the Buddha were staying in the park of the Vedhaññas near Kapilavatthu, thereby confirming that the whole event took place in the Sakyan country (AN 6:21 does not appear to have a parallel). These discourses would support the indication given in MN 104 that Sāmagāma should be located in the Sakyan country. For remarks on MĀ 196 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 87 and 176-180.

96 DN 29 at DN III 118,11 and DĀ 17 at T I 72c17 also record that the novice Cunda approached Ānanda to report the quarrel that had broke out among the Jains after the death of their leader; cf. also Gethin 1992a: 232-234. The same quarrel among the Jains stands at the background of DN 33 at DN III 210,18 and its parallel DĀ 9 at DN I 49c6 (translated in Behrsing 1930: 1-2 and Watanabe 1993: 180), with a Sanskrit counterpart in fragment K 484 (11)Rc in Stache-Rosen 1968: 17 (cf. also Schmidt 1997: 304) and in Waldschmidt 1955: 311-314, which indicate that the rationale for the delivery of this discourse was to prevent the arising of such a quarrel in the Buddhist community. Tilakaratne 2000a: 189 notes that the underlying purpose of the *Saṅgīti-sutta* as a communal recitation is to function as an expression of harmony within the monastic community, expressed in DN 33 at DN III 211,3 with the injunction that "all should recite together and not dispute, so that this holy life may endure and remain for a long time", *sabbeh' eva saṅgāyitabbaṃ na vivaditabbaṃ yathayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ addhaniyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhitikaṃ*, a purpose mentioned in similar terms also in DĀ 9 at T I 49c18. Keith 1932: 864 notes that during the lifetime of Mahāvīra quarrels had broken out in the Jain community already (cf. the surveys in Deo 1956: 78-84 and von Glasenapp 1925/1999: 383-384), making it not improbable that a dispute could have happened again after his death. According to Jaini 1980: 84, during subsequent periods of Indian history "the divisiveness associated with sectarianism was much more severe among Jainas than among the Buddhists". In T 85, however, the theme of a quarrel among the Jains seems to shade over into Jains challenging Buddhist monks.

97 Ps IV 34,17 reports that Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta had been so affected by the conversion of his disciple Upāli to Buddhism that he vomited blood (Upāli's conversion is described in MN 56 at MN I 378,30 and its parallel MĀ 133 at T I 630a22, on its effect on Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta cf. also above p. 333). He had come to Pāvā to recover from this affliction, where he passed away.

98 A minor difference is that MĀ 196 at T I 753b11 records Ānanda's worries in detail, relating that he told the Buddha how on hearing such news he had been terrified and had wondered if a monk, who now behaved respectfully in front of the Buddha, may not on a later occasion, once the Buddha had passed away, create a similar quarrel in the Buddhist monastic community.

99 Willemen 1998: 169 notes that the summary of the constituents of the path to awakening, given at the present junction, foreshadows the tendency of employing listings as summaries of teachings, prominent in Abhidharma literature.

100 MN 104 at MN II 245,19: "a dispute about livelihood or about the higher rules would be insignificant. If in the community a dispute were to arise about the path and the way, such a dispute would be of harm to many", *appamattako so ... vivādo yadidaṃ ajjhājīve vā adhipātimokkhe vā. magge vā ... paṭipadāya vā saṅghe vivādo upajjamāno uppajjeyya, so 'ssa vivādo bahujanāhitāya* (B^e-MN III 33,7 and

The parallel versions take up different causes for disputation. While the *Sāmagāma-sutta* directly broaches this subject, the *Madhyama-āgama* account provides a lead over to this topic by highlighting that the teacher of the Jains could not have been all-knowing and all-seeing, for if that had been the case he would have taught his disciples these causes for disputation (and thereby forestalled the arising of quarrels after his death).[101]

While the three versions agree in mentioning such states as anger, envy, and being deceitful as potential causes for dispute, their listings show some variations (see table 11.4). The Pāli version stands alone in including a contemptuous and domineering attitude as a potential cause for disputation.[102] The two Chinese accounts additionally reckon the absence of shame and recklessness as qualities that can cause disputation.[103]

The *Sāmagāma-sutta* and its parallels indicate that, due to the presence of such unwholesome states, a monk will be disrespectful towards the teacher. The individual translation explains that a monk without respect towards the teacher will not undertake proper insight contemplation when being in the midst of the assembly, as a result of which he can easily become disputatious.[104]

S^e^-MIII 51,15: *svāssa*, S^e^ also reads *yo* instead of *so*). Dhirasekera 1982/2007: 227 comments that this statement shows "the relatively secondary importance which the Buddha attached to discipline in its mere outward form in contrast to the more fundamental teachings of the doctrine and their practice in the religious life"; cf. also Guruge 1970: 11. According to MĀ 196 at T I 753b27, however, "such disputation would be very small, namely [a disputation] related to the higher morality, the higher mind, the higher insight", 此鬪諍甚少, 謂因增上戒, 增上心, 增上觀, which MĀ 196 then contrasts with the gravity of a dispute related to the path. According to AN 3:88 at AN I 235,19+23 and its parallel SĀ 817 at T II 210a28+b1, the training in the higher mind, *adhicitta*/增上意, stands for the four *jhāna*s, while the training in higher wisdom, *adhipaññā*/增上慧, stands for penetrative insight into the four noble truths. Although MĀ 196 speaks of "higher insight", 增上觀, instead of "higher wisdom", 增上慧, the two terms are sufficiently similar to allow the conclusion that the higher virtue, higher mind, and higher insight mentioned in MĀ 196 stand for the three higher trainings. Whether the point at stake is higher wisdom or higher insight, the present passage in MĀ 196 seems self-contradictory, since it would be difficult to think of anything apart from the three items it has already mentioned that could be assembled under the heading "related to the path", 因道. Judging from the formulation in MN 104, perhaps the occurrence of higher virtue misled a reciter into adding the other two higher trainings. Regarding the reference in both versions to "higher" morality or rules, *adhi-*/增上, it may be pertinent to note that, according to Eimer 1976: 40 note 26, the prefix *adhi-* in *adhisīla* (etc.) originally just meant that such a training was undertaken "concerning" or "in regard to" morality (etc.), and it was only later that *adhi-* was understood to mean "higher".

[101] MĀ 196 at T I 753c8.

[102] MN 104 at MN II 246,13.

[103] MĀ 196 at T I 754a3 and T 85 at T I 905b25: 無慚 and 無愧, corresponding to the absence of *hiri* and *ottappa*.

[104] T 85 at T I 905b16: "because of being disrespectful to the teacher, he does not see the Dharma; because of not seeing the Dharma, this monk will not properly contemplate [when] being in the midst of the assembly; because of not properly contemplating, he will enjoy quarrelling", 由不恭敬彼師長故, 即不見法, 以不見法故, 於苾芻眾中不正觀察, 由不正觀察故, 乃興鬪諍. MĀ 196 at T I 753c16 also refers to "not seeing the Dharma", 不見法, as one of the reasons for the arising of quarrels in the community, although it does not draw out the dynamics of its consequences in as detailed a manner as T 85.

Table 11.4: Causes for Disputation According to MN 104 and its Parallels

MN 104	MĀ 196
anger & resentment (1) contempt & domineering (2) envy & avarice (3) fraud & deceit (4) evil wishes & wrong views (5) dogmatic grasp of own view (6)	anger & vexation (→ 1) silent sulking[105] avarice & envy (→ 3) flattery & deceit (→ 4) shamelessness & recklessness evil wishes & wrong views (→ 5)[106] (≠ 2, 6)

T 85
anger & resentment (→ 1) hypocrisy & deceit & flattery (→ 4) envy & avarice (→ 3) shamelessness & recklessness lack of clear comprehension dogmatic grasp of [own] view (→ 6)[107] (≠ 2, 5)

MN II 246 The three versions agree in highlighting the need to energetically take action against such causes for disputation, whether these be found internally or externally, a specification the Pāli commentary explains to stand for oneself and others.[108]

The Chinese versions additionally highlight the need for mindfulness and clear comprehension when taking action against these causes for disputation. The individual translation points out that a dispute will not be overcome as long as mindfulness and clear comprehension are lacking.[109]

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse illustrates the sense of urgency with which these causes for dispute should be overcome with a simile. This simile describes a person whose head or clothes are on fire, a predicament that indeed requires swift action.[110] Elsewhere this image illustrates the need to overcome unwholesome states of mind.[111]

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105 Cf. above p. 51 note 125.

106 MĀ 196 at T I 754a4 adds that such a person is also of an evil nature and unable to restrain himself.

107 T 85 at T I 905b25 speaks of "grasping at views", 見取 , followed by mentioning dogmatic adherence, 執著, together with erroneous and deluded recollections and thoughts (MĀ 196 does not mention this particular cause for disputation at all).

108 Ps IV 42,3.

109 T 85 at T I 905b21 explains that as long as "in this way loss of mindfulness and lack of clear comprehension arises ... it will be impossible to eradicate and extinguish the cause of the disputation", 如是妄念不正知起 ... 於鬪諍緣不能斷滅. MĀ 196 at T I 753c22 similarly recommends the development of "right mindfulness and right knowledge", 正念正智, which it additionally associates with the need to maintain unremitting patience, 忍莫令退, without, however, drawing out the implications of the absence of mindfulness in the way done in T 85.

110 MĀ 196 at T I 753c23.

111 AN 6:20 at AN III 307,11, AN 8:74 at AN IV 320,25, AN 10:51 at AN V 93,23, AN 10:52 at AN V 95,19, AN 10:53 at AN V 98,3, and AN 10:55 at AN V 104,22. Alternatively, AN 4:93 at AN II 93,17

The *Sāmagāma-sutta* and its parallels next take up ways to settle litigations.[112] The Pāli discourse precedes this exposition by distinguishing between four types of litigation, a classification not found in its Chinese parallels.[113] MN II 247

In the *Sāmagāma-sutta*, the first two ways to settle litigations are to set out what are the proper teachings,[114] followed by bringing about a decision by the majority.[115] These two ways of settling litigations are similarly mentioned in the two Chinese versions, which vary, however, in the sequence of their presentation (see table 11.5).

In relation to each of these two ways of settling a litigation, the Pāli version recommends to "draw out the guidelines of the Dharma" as a reference point.[116] A similar reference is made in the two Chinese versions in relation to the case where a decision is taken by the majority. According to the two Chinese discourses, the point of reference in such a case should be the discourses, the *Vinaya*, and the summaries (*mātikā*).[117]

The three versions describe in similar terms how a monk can clear himself by declaring that he does not remember having committed the breach of conduct of which he is accused.[118] He can also be cleared by others of an offence if it is found out that, although

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and AN 10:54 at AN V 99,27 use this image to highlight the need to develop tranquillity of the mind and higher wisdom.

[112] The sequence of these seven ways in MN 104 is to some degree inconsistent, as its exposition works through the following order: confrontation with the teachings, etc. (1st), decision by majority (2nd), declaration of innocence (3rd), past insanity (4th), confession (5th), prevarication by a monk of bad character (6th), and covering over a communal litigation (7th). In the introduction to this exposition in MN 104 at MN II 247,8, however, the sequence is 1, 3, 4, 5, 2, 6, 7, a pattern found similarly in Be-MN III 35,4, Ce-MN III 56,23, and Se-MIII 53,15. The sequence of listing in this introductory statement recurs at Vin IV 207,3, DN 33 at DN III 254,11, and AN 7:80 at AN IV 144,4 (cf. also Vin II 93,32, which examines confrontation with the teachings, etc., followed at Vin II 97,22 by taking up decision by majority). Horner 1959: 33 note 7 comments that in the main exposition in MN 104 "the usual order is altered". For a survey of these seven ways cf., e.g., Abeynayake 2009a: 84-85, Barua 1968: 76-80, Dhirasekera 1982/2007: 232-238, Dutt 1924/1996: 129-136, Grero 1996: 117-121, Hazra 1988: 110-115, Hecker 1977: 111-113, Nolot 1996: 99-115, Prasad 1972a: 219-222, Prebish 1980: 228-229, Ratnapala 1993: 150-160, and (on the same for nuns) Talim 1965: 133; for the parallel versions cf. Frauwallner 1956: 114-116; for a survey of their counterparts in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* cf. Beal 1871: 238 and Heirman 2002: 162-165; for a comparison of the seven ways in MN 104 and MĀ 196 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 176-180; and on the seven ways in MĀ 196 and the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* cf. Chung 2008: 13 note 20.

[113] MN 104 at MN II 247,3, a presentation found also in Vin II 88,17, followed by a detailed explanation.

[114] MN 104 at MN II 247,10: *sammukhāvinayo*, with its counterparts in MĀ 196 at T I 754a21: 面前止諍律 and in T 85 at T I 905c4: 現前毘尼. The implications of this procedure are set out in detail at Vin II 93,32. MĀ 196 at T I 754a26 and T 85 at T I 905c7 present this procedure by describing that those who set out the proper teachings to others could be a single person who teaches a single person, a single person teaching a group, etc., or even a whole community that teaches a whole community.

[115] MN 104 at MN II 247,19: *yebhuyyasikā*, with its counterparts in MĀ 196 at T I 755a9: 展轉 and T 85 at T I 906a10: 多人語.

[116] MN 104 at MN II 247,14+23: *dhammanetti samanumajjitabbā.*

[117] MĀ 196 at T I 755a17 lists 經, 律, and 母者, T 85 at T I 906a17 lists 經, 律, and 摩怛里迦, on the *mātikā* cf. above p. 217.

[118] MN 104 at MN II 247,28: *sativinayo*, MĀ 196 at T I 754b11: 憶止諍律, and T 85 at T I 905c16: 憶念毘尼. Judging from the case of Dabba Mallaputta in Vin II 79,12 (on Dabba cf. also Anālayo 2012b),

he did commit a breach of conduct, at the time when this happened he was out of his mind.[119]

Table 11.5: Sequence of Ways to Settle Disputes in MN 104 and its Parallels

MN 104 (actual exposition)	MĀ 196	T 85[120]
confrontation (1)	confrontation (→ 1)	confrontation (→ 1)
majority opinion (2)	not remembering (→ 3)	not remembering (→ 3)
not remembering (3)	past insanity (→ 4)	past insanity (→ 4)
past insanity (4)	acknowledgement (→ 5)	acknowledgement (→ 5)
acknowledgement (5)	bad character (→ 6)	majority opinion (→ 2)
bad character (6)	majority opinion (→ 2)	acknowledgement (→ 5)
covering with grass (7)	covering with grass (→ 7)	covering with grass (→ 7) (≠ 6)

MN II 248 In the second case, while the Pāli version describes how this monk is taken up for cross-questioning,[121] in the Chinese versions he is just informed by other monks of what took place while he was out of his mind.[122]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions describe in related ways how someone who has confessed an offence can be cleared.[123]

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the point of this rule would be that innocent monks can in this way clear themselves of wrong accusations. In the Chinese versions, however, this procedure is concerned with a monk who has committed an offence but does not remember it, cf. MĀ 196 at T I 754b12: "if there is a person who has violated the precepts and does not remember", 若有一人犯戒而不憶 and T 85 at T I 905c16: "there is a monk who has committed an offence but does not remember it himself", 有苾芻隨犯罪已不自憶念 (MĀ 196 and T 85 take up the case of someone who does not remember due to having been out of his mind as a separate case). On the corresponding regulation in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* cf. Clarke 2008: 118.

[119] MN 104 at MN II 248,5: *amūḷhavinayo*, MĀ 196 at T I 754b23: 不癡止諍律, and T 85 at T I 905c22: 不癡毘尼. MN 104 stands alone in indicating that this and the preceding case involve *pārājika* offences or offences bordering on *pārājika*. On this form of acquittal cf. also Koike 2010.

[120] T 85 takes up the acknowledgement of an offence (5) twice, from complementary perspectives (cf. below note 123), and does not cover the pronouncement of bad character (6) at all.

[121] MN 104 at MN II 248,11.

[122] MĀ 196 at T I 754b27 and T 85 at T I 905c17. Here the Chinese versions present a more suitable manner of dealing with such a situation, since if someone has committed an offence while being out of his mind, there would be little point in trying to make him later admit to it by continued cross-questioning, a procedure appropriate in the case of a monk who tries to conceal an offence. In fact, according to Vin II 81,12 some monks had adopted cross-questioning in the case of the monk Gagga, who had misbehaved while being out of his mind, a way of dealing with this case that according to the *Vinaya* report met with the Buddha's explicit disapproval. In the *Karmavācanā* fragment 260V4 in Härtel 1956: 46, the monk's confession explicitly notes that he should not be reproved or reminded of this offence, *nāhaṃ kenacit tena vastunā saṃghena saṃbahulaiḥ dvābhyām ekena codayita[vya sm](ārayitavyaḥ).*

[123] MN 104 at MN II 248,21: *patiññātakaraṇaṃ* and MĀ 196 at T I 754c12: 自發露. T 85 at T I 906a22+3 differs in so far as it examines clearance through confession by distinguishing between two possible cases, where either the culprit knows he has committed an offence and confesses it, or else the culprit was not aware of the fact that what he did constituted an offence.

The *Sāmagāma-sutta* takes up the possibility that a monk may try to conceal what he did. After continued cross-questioning, the monks finally get the wrongdoer to admit his deed.[124] The *Sāmagāma-sutta* indicates that such a type of litigation will be settled when the monks come to the conclusion that this monk is of evil character.[125] MN II 249

The *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions agree that, in order to settle a quarrel between two factions of monks, the various offences committed among them should be considered as settled through an act of public announcement and a summary confession.[126] According to the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse, during such a public announcement the monk who is to address the other monks should remind them of the fact that they had gone forth from the household life into homelessness out of faith and in order to undertake the path, yet, instead of pursuing the path they are now engaging in quarrel and dispute.[127] MN II 250

The parallels next take up six qualities conducive to concord and harmony, which are:

- acting with loving kindness,
- speaking with loving kindness,
- thinking with loving kindness,
- willingness to share one's material gains,
- maintaining virtuous conduct,
- possessing the type of view that leads to the eradication of *dukkha*.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version adds that the ultimate purpose of these six qualities is to lead to Nirvāṇa.[128]

The final part of the three versions highlight the benefits of these six qualities in complementary ways. The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse concludes by proclaiming that a monk possessed of these six qualities will be able to bear any type of speech.[129] MN II 251

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[124] MN 104 at MN II 249,25. MĀ 196 at T I 754c24 only describes his prevarications, without reporting that he finally admits his fault. MN 104 stands alone in designating the deed to be a *pārājika* offence or an offence bordering on *pārājika*. T 85 does not consider the possibility that a monk may try to conceal what he did.

[125] A more detailed description of the procedure to be adopted in such a case can be found at Vin II 85,25. According to AN 8:90 at AN IV 347,6, a monk whose evil character has been determined in this way will be divested of all possible privileges, such as having a novice as his attendant, giving teachings to the nuns, being given a place of honour, or benefiting from a community decision. This shows that speaking falsehood when interrogated in the midst of the monastic order was seen as a grave wrongdoing, an act whereby a monk had thoroughly dishonoured himself. On the role of speaking falsehood in relation to the Buddhist training schemes for monastics and laity cf. also Caillat 1984a. Von Hinüber 1995a: 11 highlights "one of the basic principles of early Buddhist law as laid down in the Pātimokkha: that the monk involved has to admit his intention to commit an offense ... speaking the truth is taken more or less for granted here as in Brahmanical tradition, where it is thought that brahmins speak the truth by their very nature".

[126] MN 104 at MN II 250,1: *tiṇavatthārako*, MĀ 196 at T I 755a25: 如棄糞掃, and T 85 at T I 906b2: 如草覆地.

[127] MĀ 196 at T I 755b11, a meaningful reminder in such a situation.

[128] MĀ 196 at T I 755b25: 得涅槃.

[129] MN 104 at MN II 251,22, a proposition found also in MN 21 at MN I 129,26.

The concluding section of the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse proclaims that, if the monks practise these six qualities after the Buddha's demise, they will live together in harmony and without dispute, being of one mind and blending like water and milk,[130] just as if he were still among them.

The individual translation concludes by explaining that those, who practise these six qualities conducive to communal harmony, will be at ease and free from quarrels even after the Buddha has passed away, just as they are at ease now while he is still living among them.

MN 105 *Sunakkhatta-sutta*

The *Sunakkhatta-sutta*, the "discourse to Sunakkhatta", takes up the problem of overestimating one's attainment. This discourse does not have a parallel in the Chinese *Āgama*s. Parts of this discourse have, however, been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[131] Although the fragments do not suffice for a full comparative study of the *Sunakkhatta-sutta*, a few points can nevertheless be made.

MN II 252 The *Sunakkhatta-sutta* and its Sanskrit fragment counterparts describe in similar ways how Sunakkhatta approached the Buddha to find out if the claims made by other monks to have reached full awakening had been true.

A minor difference between the two versions is that the Sanskrit fragments qualify Sunakkhatta as the "attendant" of the Buddha.[132] The *Sunakkhatta-sutta* does not explicitly attribute this role to him. The Pāli commentaries, however, record that Sunakkhatta had indeed been one of the Buddha's attendants before Ānanda took on this

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[130] MĀ 196 at T I 755c13: 同一一心 ... 合一水乳. The same image recurs in a description of communal harmony in MN 31 at MN I 206,18+29 and its parallel MĀ 185 at T I 730a28, according to which Anuruddha and his companions lived together "blending like milk and water", *khīrodakībhūta*, 合一水乳, and were "of one mind", *ekañ ca pana maññe cittan ti*, 一心.

[131] The fragments are SHT I 32 (pp. 24-25), SHT IV 32 folios 25-33 (pp. 124-128, which includes also the parts already published in SHT I 32), SHT IV 165 folios 6-14 (pp. 182-189, cf. also SHT VII p. 240), SHT IV 500 folios 3-4 (pp. 220-221, cf. also SHT VII p. 255), SHT IX 2578 (p. 239), SHT X 3274 (p. 23), and the so far unpublished fragment no. 2378/7 of the Schøyen collection, identified by Klaus Wille (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of these fragments). SHT I 32 = SHT IV 32 folio 25, SHT IV 165 folio 6, and SHT IX 2578 correspond to the beginning of the discourse at MN II 252. Schøyen fragment 2378/7 sets in with the simile found at MN II 253,24. SHT IV 32 folios 26-27 and SHT IV 165 folios 7-8, 10, 12a, and 13-14 parallel the description of how, due to a particular interest, someone will listen to talk concerned with the same topic, found at MN II 253-258. SHT IV 32 folio 28, SHT IV 165 folio 12a, SHT IV 500 folio 3, and SHT X 3274 parallel the simile of the arrow at MN II 256-257. SHT IV 32 folios 29 and 33 and SHT IV 500 folio 4 parallel the concluding part found at MN II 260-261. In addition to these, according to Hartmann 1997: 169 the so far unedited fragments vert 26 + 27 of the Pelliot collection parallel MN 105, cf. also Hartmann 2004b: 126 for yet another unpublished Sanskrit fragment parallel to MN 105. SHT I 32V2-3 = SHT IV 32 folio 25V2-3 agree with MN 105 on locating the discourse in the Gabled Hall by Vaiśālī.

[132] SHT I 32 V 3 = SHT IV 32 folio 25V3: *suna(kṣa)trena lecchaviputtreṇ-opasthāya[kena].*

role.[133] Notably, although the Pāli commentary to the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* specifies that the information on the role of Sunakkhatta as one of the Buddha's attendants has been handed down in the canonical texts,[134] a survey of the Pāli discourses in which Sunakkhatta takes part brings to light that none of them explicitly introduces him as the Buddha's attendant.[135]

Another difference between the *Sunakkhatta-sutta* and the Sanskrit fragments occurs in regard to the interpretation of the simile of the poisoned arrow, found towards the end of the discourse.[136] While in the Pāli version the "wound" caused by the arrow represents the six internal sense-bases,[137] in the Sanskrit version the wound appears to stand for the physical body.[138] MN II 260

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[133] Sv II 418,32, Spk I 258,24, Mp I 292,27, Ud-a 217,15, and Th-a III 111,24; a role also accorded to him in T 1463 at T XXIV 827c14, noted by Lamotte 1966: 145, cf. also Eimer 1987: 104 and 110.

[134] Spk I 258,24: *nāgasamālo upavāno sunakkhatto ... ime pana pāḷiyaṃ āgat' upaṭṭhākā*. Von Hinüber 1977: 243 explains that the expression *pāḷiyaṃ āgata* refers to a text "handed down in the canon".

[135] DN 24 at DN III 6,7 indicates that on one occasion the Buddha went on alms round followed by Sunakkhatta as the junior monk, *pacchā samaṇena*. This expression only indicates that the junior monk follows the senior monk and does not necessarily entail that the junior monk acts as the elder monk's attendant, *upaṭṭhāka*. The Chinese parallel to DN 24, DĀ 15 at T I 67a18, also reports that Sunakkhatta followed the Buddha on his alms round, 時善宿比丘隨我後行. His personal relationship with the Buddha by serving as the Buddha's attendant stands in contrast to his later behaviour, since Sunakkhatta left the order and even publicly proclaimed that the Buddha had not reached any higher realization, cf. MN 12 at MN I 68,8. According to DN 24 at DN III 3,10, he had decided to disrobe because the Buddha had not shown him any supernormal feat. Regarding his own development, according to DN 6 at DN I 152,21 Sunakkhatta had attained the divine eye after being ordained for three years, suggesting that, once gone forth, he must have been practicing earnestly for some time.

[136] In this simile, according to the PTS and Siamese editions the doctor thinks that he has completely removed the poison even though in reality some of the poison is still left in the wound, MN 105 at MN II 257,1: *sa-upādisesaṃ anupādiseso ti maññamāno* and S^{e}-MN III 67,14: *sa-upādisesaṃ anupādiseso ti jānamāno*. According to the Burmese and Ceylonese editions, however, the doctor knows that some poison is still left in the wound, B^{e}-MN III 44,11: *sa-upādisesaṃ sa-upādiseso ti jānamāno* and C^{e}-MN III 72,35: *sa-upādisesaṃ sa-upādiseso ti maññamāno*, a reading also favoured by Neumann 1896/1995: 1124 note 339, while Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1314 note 1003 prefers *anupādiseso*. The Sanskrit fragments support E^{e} and S^{e}, as SHT IV 500 folio 3V3 reads *[sā]va[ś]eṣaṃ nira[va](śe)ṣaṃ (iti manyamānaḥ)*; cf. also SHT X 3274V3. Again, while according to E^{e} the doctor tells the patient that the wound can still cause him harm, MN 105 at MN II 257,4: *alañ ca te antarāyāya*, according to the other editions the doctor tells the patient that the wound will not be able to cause him harm, B^{e}-MN III 44,14 and C^{e}-MN III 74,2: *analañ ca te antarāyāya* and S^{e}-MN III 67,16: *alañ ca te anantarāyāya*. In E^{e} the patient then reflects that the wound will not harm him, MN 105 at MN II 257,13: *analañ ca me antarāyāya*, while in the other editions his reflection is the same as the indication made by the doctor. According to SHT IV 500 folio 3V4, however, the doctor told the patient that the wound can still cause harm, *ala[ṃ]te-t(r)-ānta[r](ā)yāya*; cf. also SHT X 3274 V4. According to SHT IV 500 folio 3R3, the patient in his reflections knew that it was still capable of causing him harm, *niravaśeṣaḥ a[pa](nī)[t](o) viṣadoṣaḥ alaṃ [me-tr]-ān(ta)rā[y](āya)*; cf. also SHT X 3274R3. For occurrences of the arrow image in Jain texts cf. Caillat 1965: 107-108.

[137] MN 105 at MN II 260,14: *vaṇo ti ... chann' etaṃ ajjhattikānaṃ āyatanānaṃ adhivacanaṃ*.

[138] SHT IV 165 folio 13R8: *kāyasy-ādhivacanaṃ* and R9: *(o)danakunmā[s]o*. This brings to mind a stan-

The Pāli version concludes the simile of the poisoned arrow by highlighting that a liberated monk will not get involved with objects of attachment. The corresponding passage in the Sanskrit fragment mentions sensually enticing objects, which could be understood to draw out in more detail the implication of the "objects of attachment" that should better be avoided.[139]

Another difference is that, while the Pāli version takes the name of the monk Sunakkhatta as its title, judging from the Sanskrit fragments the title of the Sanskrit discourse is "discourse [on the] arrow", *Śalya-sūtra*.[140] This title thus draws attention to the simile of the poisoned arrow, which in a way does indeed sum up the gist of the whole discourse.

MN II 261 The Pāli version employs the image of a poisonous snake in order to illustrate an arahant's aloofness from objects of attachment, after which it ends. The Sanskrit version appears to have had a different conclusion. Although the remains of this conclusion are too fragmentary to allow a reconstruction, they could be recording an instruction by the Buddha to meditate.[141] Such an instruction would be a fitting conclusion to

dard description of the nature of the human body in the Pāli discourses as "made up of rice and porridge", *odanakummāsūpacaya*. In several Pāli discourses this qualification occurs in the context of a simile, such as in MN 23 at MN I 144,2, where the body "made up of rice and porridge" corresponds to the image of a termite mound; in SN 35:103 at SN IV 83,25 and in AN 9:15 at AN IV 386,20, which identify the body "made up of rice and porridge" with a boil; in SN 35:204 at SN IV 194,26, where the body "made up of rice and porridge" corresponds to a city; and in SN 41:5 at SN IV 292,7, where the body "made up of rice and porridge" is represented by a chariot. Although in the present instance the Sanskrit fragment does not indicate with which aspect of the simile the body should be identified, the context suggests the image of the wound, as the other parts of the simile would not fit such an identification. SHT IV p. 220 note 12 notes another minor difference, as in the Pāli version the physician instructs his patient to take only suitable food and avoid unsuitable food, to wash the wound, and to avoid that the wound gets covered by pus, etc., thereby taking up the positive and the negative aspect of each task together. In the Sanskrit version, the physician first lists all the positive actions to be undertaken and then only describes all the negative effects that should be avoided.

[139] SHT IV 165 folio 14Bc: *(pri)[ya]rūpāḥ kāmopasaṃ[h](itā)*, Bd: *(ma)[n]āpāḥ priyarūpāḥ kāmo[pa]*, and Be: *(sukha)llikānuyoga anuyuktāḥ*. The commentary, Ps IV 56,5, explains that the reference in MN 105 to *upadhi* stands for *kāmupadhi*, "attachment to sensuality". From this viewpoint, the Sanskrit version's reference to sensual pleasures could be seen as indeed drawing out the implications of the Pāli version's reference to attachment.

[140] Cf. the discussion in SHT IV p. 7 of the *uddāna* published in Schlingloff 1961: 33.

[141] References to places suitable for meditation can be found in SHT IV 32 folio 33R3: *[mū]laṃ*, paralleling the "root of a tree", *rukkhamūla*, and in SHT IV 500 folio 4V4: *(girigu)[h]ā-palālapu*, paralleling the "mountain cave", *giriguha*, and the "heap of straw", *palālapuñja*, mention ed in the standard description of places suitable for meditation in the Pāli discourses, e.g., in MN 27 at MN I 181,12 (the root of a tree and the mountain cave, together with an empty place, are also included in Jain descriptions of appropriate places for monks, cf., e.g., the *Āyāraṅga* 1.8.2.1 (or 1.7.2.1) in Jacobi 1882: 33,8 or Schubring 1910/1966: 34,7: *sunnāgāraṃsi vā giriguhaṃsi vā rukkhamūlaṃsi vā*, cf. also Bollée 2004: 257 add. to note 117). SHT IV 32 folio 33R5 and SHT IV 500 folio 4V5 can be combined to yield the concluding sentence *(a)smāka(m anuśā)[sa]na*, similar to the concluding sentence found at the end of an emphatic exhortation to practise meditation: "this is my teaching to you", *ayaṃ vo amhākaṃ anusāsanī ti*, e.g., in MN 19 at MN I 118,24. Although in the Pāli discourses the listing of places suitable

an exposition on the dangers of overestimating one's level of attainment, thereby encouraging the monks to undertake the practice required in order to attain what some of them mistakenly thought to have already accomplished.

MN 106 *Āneñjasappāya-sutta*

The *Āneñjasappāya-sutta*, the "discourse on [what] is suitable for [the attainment of] imperturbability", describes approaches to the attainment of high levels of concentration and of Nirvāṇa. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[142]

The basic pattern of the discourse proceeds through the following themes: MN II 261

- three ways to imperturbability,
- three ways to nothingness,
- one way to neither-perception-nor-non-perception,
- the attainment of Nirvāṇa.

The *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel describe in similar terms how imperturbability can be developed based on insight into the true nature of sensual pleasures (the beginning part of the discourse is not covered in the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary). A difference in formulation is that the *Majjhima-nikāya* version examines the true nature of sensual pleasures and of perceptions of sensuality, while the *Madhyama-āgama* version mentions sensual pleasures and material forms, without bringing in perceptions.[143] In regard to each of the paths to imperturbability examined in the discourse, the *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its parallels indi-

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for meditation occurs usually in the context of an exposition of the gradual path, perhaps the Sanskrit version of the present discourse made use of a similar listing in the context of an injunction to meditate in such places, an injunction which might then have found its conclusion in the Buddha's proclamation that this was his way of teaching.

[142] The parallels are MĀ 75 at T I 542b-543b, which agrees with MN 106 on locating the discourse in Kammāsadhamma in the Kuru country and has the title "discourse on the path [to] pure imperturbability", 淨不動道經, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 227b7-230b2 or Q (5595) *tu* 260a4-263a6, which sets in with the second way to imperturbability; cf. also Abhidh-k 4:46 in Pradhan 1967: 227,16, with its Chinese parallels in T 1558 at T XXIX 81a10 and T 1559 at T XXIX 237a28. MĀ 75 has been translated in Anālayo 2009a; cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 149.

[143] The presentation in MN 106 at MN II 261,25 lists "present sensual pleasures", *diṭṭhadhammikā kāmā*, "future sensual pleasures", *samparāyikā kāmā*, "present sensual perceptions", *diṭṭhadhammikā kāmasaññā*, and "future sensual perceptions", *samparāyikā kāmasaññā*. MĀ 75 at T I 542b13 instead speaks of "present sensual pleasures as well as future sensual pleasures ... present forms as well as future forms", 現世欲及後世 欲 ... 現世色及後世色. A similarly worded passage in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* speaks only of sensual pleasures (celestial and human), cf. Deleanu 2006a: 321,2 or Shukla 1973: 441,16 and T 1579 at T XXX 466a13. Another difference is that MN 106 at MN II 262,13 describes how, through the removal of covetousness and aversion, the mind will become boundless and immeasurable, *aparittañ ca me cittaṃ bhavissati appamāṇaṃ*. Although MĀ 75 does not explicitly make this point, the same would be implicit in the circumstance that both versions refer to the mind that has become "great", *mahaggata*/大.

cate that, after having attained imperturbability, rebirth in the corresponding realm becomes possible.[144]

The three versions also take up the possibility of developing wisdom based on the attainment of imperturbability.[145] The theme of wisdom is in fact central throughout each version of the discourse, as most of the ways of developing the mind described in the *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its parallels involve approaches to the development of insight.

MN II 262 The *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its parallels describe an alternative way to reach the imperturbable based on insight into the nature of material form. The Pāli version states that all material form consists of the four elements. The Chinese presentation additionally explains that the four elements should be contemplated as impermanent, unsatisfactory, and subject to cessation, while the Tibetan version considers them as impermanent and conditioned.[146]

Another difference in regard to this second of altogether three ways to imperturbability is that the Pāli version begins its treatment by taking up the same sensual pleasures and perceptions of sensuality it had already mentioned in relation to the first way to imperturbability.[147] The description of the second way to imperturbability in the Chinese and Tibetan versions does not mention sensual pleasures or perceptions of sensuality, but only speaks of material form.

MN II 263 The third way to imperturbability involves insight into perceptions. In their examination of the third way to imperturbability, the three versions draw attention to the impermanent nature of perceptions. While the Pāli version enjoins detachment from what is impermanent,[148] the Chinese version highlights that perceptions are impermanent, unsatisfactory, and subject to cessation, and the Tibetan version notes that perceptions are impermanent and conditioned.[149]

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[144] MN 106 at MN II 262,17 speaks in this context of the "evolving consciousness", *saṃvattanikam viññāṇaṃ*, that reaches imperturbability, which Ps IV 61,20 identifies as the karmically resultant consciousness, *vipākaviññāṇa*, on the term cf. also Collins 1982: 215. MĀ 75 at T I 542b23 does not use such an expression, instead explaining that "because of that former state of mind, he will certainly reach imperturbability", 因本意故, 必至不動. The discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary agrees in this respect with MN 106, cf. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 228a2 or Q (5595) *tu* 260a7 which, in relation to the second path to imperturbability (the quoted section does not cover the first way to imperturbability) speaks of the *bsgrubs pas rnam par shes pa* that reaches imperturbability.

[145] MN 106 at MN II 262,16: *paññāya vā adhimuccati*, MĀ 75 at T I 542b23: 或以慧為解, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 228a2 or Q (5595) *tu* 260a7: *shes rab rnam par grol bar 'gyur ro*. The commentary relates this development of wisdom to developing the path to full awakening, Ps IV 60,11: *paññāya vā adhimuccatī ti arahattamaggaṃ bhāveti*.

[146] MĀ 75 at T I 542b26: 四大者是無常法, 是苦, 是滅 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 227b7 or Q (5595) *tu* 260a5: *'byung ba chen po bzhi gang yin pa de yang mi rtag pa 'dus byas pa*.

[147] MN 106 at MN II 262 note 9 refers to a Sinhalese manuscript that omits this section.

[148] MN 106 at MN II 263,7: "what is impermanent is not worth delighting in, approving of, or attaching to", *yad aniccaṃ taṃ nālaṃ abhinandituṃ, nālaṃ abhivadituṃ, nālaṃ ajjhositun ti*.

[149] MĀ 75 at T I 542c5: 一切想是無常法, 是苦, 是滅 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 228a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 260b2: *'du shes 'di dag ni mi rtag pa 'dus byas pa*.

The Chinese version concludes that in this way perception of imperturbability will be reached.[150] The Pāli and Tibetan versions do not refer to perception of imperturbability at this point. All three versions, however, mention the need to transcend perceptions of imperturbability when describing the next stage of practice.[151]

The *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its parallels continue by taking up three ways of attaining the sphere of nothingness. In the Pāli version, the first way to the attainment of nothingness takes place by contemplating the cessation of perceptions – related to sensuality, material form, and imperturbability – as peaceful and sublime.[152] In the Chinese version, the first way to attaining the sphere of nothingness takes place by directing awareness to these perceptions as being impermanent, unsatisfactory, and subject to cessation. The Tibetan version again mentions impermanence and conditionality. In this way, the Chinese and Tibetan accounts continue with the same insight development already practised earlier, which then leads to a higher stage by broadening the scope of its application, as in the present case it covers also perception of imperturbability.

The second approach to nothingness, described in the Pāli and Chinese versions, is based on contemplating emptiness in terms of the absence of a self, a contemplation that in the Tibetan version constitutes the third approach to nothingness.[153] In the Chi-

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[150] MĀ 75 at T I 542c6: "he reaches perception of imperturbability", 得不動想.

[151] MN 106 at MN II 263,17, MĀ 75 at T I 542c12, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 228b1 or Q (5595) *tu* 260b7. This fits well with the presentation in MĀ 75, according to which the attainment of the perception of imperturbability is part of the third way to imperturbability and then needs to be overcome in order to progress to the next stage of meditation.

[152] MN 106 at MN II 263,17: "that is peaceful, that is sublime, namely the sphere of nothingness", *etaṃ santaṃ etaṃ paṇītaṃ, yadidaṃ ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ*. The qualification "peaceful and sublime", which MN 106 at MN II 264,11 also applies to the sphere of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, recurs in other discourses in relation to Nirvāṇa, cf. MN 64 at MN I 436,1, AN 3:32 at AN I 133,1, AN 9:36 at AN IV 423,3, AN 10:6 at AN V 8,6, AN 10:60 at AN V 110,22, AN 11:7 at AN V 319,14, AN 11:9 at AN V 322,14, AN 11:19 at AN V 354,9, AN 11:20 at AN V 355,27, AN 11:21 at AN V 357,1, and AN 11:22 at AN V 358,13. MN 152 at MN III 299,12 uses these two qualifications to recommend equanimity in relation to pleasant and unpleasant experiences. The same two qualifications occur also in descriptions of the views of outsiders. MN 102 at MN II 230,18, MN II 231,17, MN II 235,11+33, and at MN II 236,21 depicts recluses and Brahmins who qualify the attainment of unconsciousness, *asaññā*, the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception, and the happiness and equanimity of the *jhāna*s as "peaceful" and "sublime". It 2:12 at It 44,1 records the annihilationist view that "when this self ... is annihilated and destroyed ... this is peaceful, this is sublime", *yata kira ... ayaṃ attā ... ucchijjati vinassati ... etaṃ santaṃ etaṃ paṇītaṃ* (C^{e}-It 376,3: *yato*). This usage suggests these two qualifications to stand for an experience or attainment that forms the goal of practice. The same does not apply to the present instance, however, since from a Buddhist perspective the spheres of nothingness and of neither-perception-nor-non-perception are not the final goal of practice.

[153] MN 106 at MN II 263,26: "this is empty of a self and of what belongs to a self", *suññam idaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā*, following B^{e}-MN III 50,13, C^{e}-MN III 84,34, S^{e}-MN III 77,3, and Horner 1959: 48 note 6 on reading *suññam idaṃ* instead of E^{e}: *saññam idaṃ*. The reading in the Burmese, Ceylonese, and Siamese editions is supported by the occurrence of 空 in the corresponding passage in MĀ 75 at T I 542c18 and *stong pa* in D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 228b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 261a6; cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 329. The same statement recurs in MN 43 at MN I 297,37 and SN 41:7 at SN IV 296,33, where to

nese and Tibetan versions, such contemplation of emptiness also covers the absence of permanence.[154]

MN II 264 The third way to nothingness in the Pāli version is to contemplate that one does not belong to anyone else nor does anything belong to oneself. The parallel versions could reflect a similar mode of practice, expressed somewhat differently.[155] A discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* presents this form of contemplation as a practice undertaken by the Jains,[156] while another *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourse, together with its Chinese parallels and a Sanskrit fragment, attribute this type of contemplation to Brahmins.[157]

The *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its parallels next turn to the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception in similar ways.[158] Once the examination of the attainment

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contemplate *suññam idaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā* leads to "liberation of the mind by emptiness", *suññatā cetovimutti*. SN 35:85 at SN IV 54,4 employs the same statement to explain why the world of experience is reckoned as "empty". The parallel SĀ 232 at T II 56b25 additionally mentions 常, 恒, 不變易法空, which Lamotte 1973/1993: 18 translates as being "empty of perpetuity and changelessness"; cf. also Choong 2000: 93.

[154] MĀ 75 at T I 542c18: "this world is empty, empty of a self, empty of what belongs to a self, empty of being permanent, empty of being everlasting, empty of existing continuously, and empty of being unchanging", 此世空, 空於神, 神所有, 空有常, 空有恒, 空長存, 空不變易 (following the gloss in the 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition p. 633 note 4 of the later part of this passage as: 無有常的, 無有恒的, 無長存的, 無不變易的), D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 228b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 261a6: "the world is empty ... being empty of permanence, of stability, of changelessness, of an immutable nature, devoid of a self and what belongs to a self", *'jig rten ni stong pa'o ... rtag pa dang brtan pa dang g.yung drung dang mi 'gyur ba'i chos can gyis stong zhing bdag dang bdag gi dang bral ba'o* (with the difference that here this forms the third approach to nothingness). Baba 2004: 944 explains that this type of treatment (found also in SĀ 232 at T II 56b25, quoted above in note 153) makes use of "expressions of emptiness that are more recent than those in the first four Pāli Nikāyas", as a similar treatment can be found in historically later Pāli works such as the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, cf. Paṭis I 109,10: *suññaṃ attena vā attaniyena vā niccena vā dhuvena vā sassatena vā avipariṇāmadhammena vā*. De Jong 2000: 177 notes a similar instance of such later development, where in *Āgama* texts a reference to emptiness is added to listings of impermanence, unsatisfactoriness, and not-self.

[155] MN 106 at MN II 263,34: "I am not anything belonging to anyone anywhere, nor is there anything belonging to me in anyone anywhere", *nāhaṃ kvacani kassaci kiñcanatasmiṃ, na ca mama kvacani kismiñci kiñcanaṃ n' atthī ti* (C[e]-MN III 86,1: *kassacī* and *kismici kiñcanatatthi*, S[e]-MN III 77,10: *kvacini na* and again *kvacini*). MĀ 75 at T I 542c25: "I am not another's possession and I do not have possessions myself", or perhaps more literally: "I do not act for another, nor do I act for myself", 我非為他而有所為, 亦非自為而有所為. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 228b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 261a3: "there is no I in any way at all, there is no mine in any way at all", *bdag 'ga' zhig tu 'ga' yang cung zad med do, bdag gi 'ga'* (Q: without *'ga'*) *zhig tu 'ga' yang cung zad med do* (which here constitutes the second approach to nothingness). On a Gāndhārī version of this contemplation cf. Baums 2009: 434.

[156] AN 3:70 at AN I 206,18. A somewhat similar reflection can be indeed found in the *Āyāraṅga* 1.7.6.1 (or 1.8.6.1) of the Jain tradition, which runs: "I am alone, nobody belongs to me and I do not belong to anyone", Schubring 1910/1966: 37,7: *ego aham aṃsi, na me atthi koi na yāham avi kassai* (Jacobi 1882: 36,22 reads *no me*), cf. also Bollée 2004: 126 note 68 and Caillat 1977: 58 note 59.

[157] AN 4:185 at AN II 177,11, SĀ 972 at T II 251b12, SĀ[2] 206 at T II 450c24, and Sanskrit fragment folio 173b4 in Pischel 1904: 818; cf. also Lévi 1904: 304.

[158] MĀ 75 at T I 543a5 speaks of the attainment of "no perception", 無想. In several other instances, dis-

of neither-perception-nor-non-perception had been completed, according to all versions Ānanda described a contemplation that revolves around the cessation of what is and what will be, querying whether a monk would attain Nirvāṇa through such contemplation. The three versions report the Buddha explaining that this depends on whether the monk has attachment to the equanimity achieved through this contemplation, as Nirvāṇa will be attained only if such attachment is avoided.

According to the *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its parallels, to be attached to the equanimity reached through this contemplation is to be attached to neither-perception-nor-non-perception, which is supreme among objects of attachment. According to the Pāli version, Ānanda concluded that the Buddha had taught how to cross the flood in dependence on one support after the other, a statement not found in the other versions.[159]

The *Āneñjasappāya-sutta* and its parallels report that Ānanda also inquired about noble liberation. In all versions, such liberation transcends all the types of perception mentioned so far, which are mere constituents of personality. The Chinese and Tibetan versions draw out the implications of this statement by bringing in the theme of birth, old age, disease, and death.[160]

The three versions conclude with the Buddha's emphatic recommendation to retire to secluded spots and meditate, lest one later regret it.[161] MN II 266

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cussed above p. 274 note 54, 無想 appears to stand for signlessness, 無相, corresponding to *animitta*. In the present context, however, 無想 rather seems to stand for the fourth immaterial attainment, 有想無想, mentioned later in the same discourse at T I 543a24. The *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 1579 at T XXX 858a22, in what appears to be a commentary on the present discourse, does speak of the fourth immaterial attainment, to which it refers as 非想非非想. The expression 有想無想 recurs in MĀ 120 at T I 609c15 to render the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. The more usual rendering of this attainment in *Madhyama-āgama* discourses is 非有想非無想, cf. MĀ 85 at T I 562a6, MĀ 86 at T I 563b24, MĀ 91 at T I 573c2, MĀ 97 at T I 581b29, MĀ 106 at T I 596b18, MĀ 114 at T I 603a12, MĀ 141 at T I 647c27, MĀ 162 at T I 691c9, MĀ 163 at T I 693b28, MĀ 164 at T I 695b16, MĀ 168 at T I 701b2, MĀ 176 at T I 714b19, MĀ 177 at T I 718b2, MĀ 178 at T I 720a19, MĀ 185 at T I 730b21, MĀ 192 at T I 743c9, MĀ 204 at T I 776c11, MĀ 215 at T I 800b13, MĀ 217 at T I 802b27, and MĀ 219 at T I 803b22. In contrast, the expression 有想無想 can be found frequently in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, cf. EĀ 19.8 at T II 595a23, EĀ 21.1 at T I 602a2, EĀ 24.8 at T I 629b3, EĀ 25.1 at T II 631a26, EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a21, EĀ 29.4 at T II 656c21, EĀ 30.3 at T II 661b19, EĀ 44.1 at T II 764c29, EĀ 44.6 at T II 766a21, EĀ 46.8 at T II 779c5, and EĀ 52.1 at T II 822a15. The rendering 非有想非無想 is not found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* at all. Lü 1963: 242 remarks, in regard to Gautama Saṅghadeva's translation of the *Madhyama-āgama*, that "some of the newly coined terms of this re-translation were afterwards again replaced by those used in the old version" (cf. also above p. 374 note 178 and below p. 785 note 143). This could also be the case for the occurrence of 有想無想 in MĀ 75 and in MĀ 120, which might be a remnant of the earlier *Madhyama-āgama* translation by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念).

[159] MN 106 at MN II 265,21: *nissāya nissāya ... oghassa nittharaṇā akkhātā* (Se-MN III 79,14: *oghanittharaṇā*). The same expression *nissāya nissāya* recurs in DN 14 at DN II 130,14, where it describes a row of chariots that follow each other "one after the other". Chalmers 1927: 154 renders *nissāya nissāya* as "stage by stage", Horner 1959: 50 as "by means of this and that", and Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 873 as "in dependence upon one support or another".

[160] MĀ 75 at T I 543b14 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 230a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 263a1.

[161] While MĀ 75 at T I 543b27 reports that Ānanda and the other monks rejoiced in the discourse, MN 106

MN 107 *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta*

The *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta*, the "discourse to the accountant Moggallāna", takes as its main theme the gradual path. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and another parallel in an individual translation.[162]

MN III 1 According to the *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* and its parallels, the accountant Moggallāna wanted to know if the training in the Dharma could be compared to the gradual training seen in other crafts. The three versions agree that he illustrated his inquiry with the example of the gradual nature of the steps of the staircase leading up to the Hall of Migāra's Mother,[163] as well as with the examples of the gradual training required for the study of the Brahminical scriptures, for archery, and for accounting. According to the two Chinese versions, he also mentioned the gradual training given to elephants and horses.[164] In the Pāli version, however, it is the Buddha who comes out with the image of training a horse, which he employs as an introduction to his exposition of the gradual training of his disciples.[165]

MN III 2 The *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* begins its account of the gradual path with observance of the monastic rules.[166] The two parallels speak instead of developing bodily, verbal, and mental purity (see table 11.6).[167]

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at MN II 266,5 only records Ānanda rejoicing. As mentioned above p. 66, it is a stylistic device in the early discourses that by mentioning the most important member of a group, anyone else present is implicitly included. The presence of other monks can in fact be seen in the recurrent address *bhikkhave* used by the Buddha throughout the discourse, and also in MN 106 at MN II 266,1, where the Buddha addresses Ānanda with the plural personal pronoun *vo*, making it clear that his final injunction was addressed to Ānanda and to whatever other monks were present during the delivery of the discourse.

[162] The parallels are MĀ 144 at T I 652a-653c and T 70 at T I 875a-876b, both of which agree with MN 107 on locating the discourse in the Hall of Migāra's Mother by Sāvatthī. MĀ 144 also agrees with MN 107 on the title "discourse to the accountant Moggallāna", 算數目揵連經, while the title of T 70 is simply "discourse spoken by the Buddha to an accountant", 佛說數經. Skilling 2000b: 341 notes that the *Vyākhyāyukti-ṭīkā*, D (4069) *sems tsam, si* 284a4 or Q (5570) *i* 171a8, similarly refers to the present discourse by the title "the accountant", *rtsis mkhan*. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 70 was translated by Fǎjù (法炬). For a remark on MĀ 144 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 32.

[163] The reference in MN 107 at MN III 1,10 to a *pacchima sopānakaḷevara* (C^{e}-MN III 90,9: *sopānakaḷebara*) recurs in MN 85 at MN II 92,22, where it also refers to the "last step of a staircase" that leads up to a building, in this case the staircase to Prince Bodhi's Kokanada Palace. MĀ 144 at T I 652a15 and T 70 at T I 875a20 additionally specify that the staircase to the Hall of Migāra's Mother had four steps.

[164] MĀ 144 at T I 652a16 and T 70 at at T I 875a21.

[165] MN 107 at MN III 2,3.

[166] MN 107 at MN III 2,7. Although a reference to the monastic rules is absent from the parallels to MN 107, a similar description can be found in MĀ 145 at T I 654c16, paralleling an occurrence of such a description in MN 108 at MN III 11,17.

[167] MĀ 144 at T I 652b1 and T 70 at T I 875b6. While the basic import of this passage in the parallel versions is the same, in as much as they present virtuous conduct as the basis for the gradual path, their formulations set a different emphasis. MN 107 highlights in particular the importance of closely adhering to the rules, whereas MĀ 144 and T 70 give more emphasis to the purpose of the rules in form of bodily, verbal, and mental purification. This to some extent parallels a difference in emphasis noted above p. 47.

The *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* next takes up restraint at the sense-doors, a practice described in similar terms in its parallels. A minor but noteworthy difference is that the Chinese versions explicitly refer to the role of mindfulness in relation to sense-restraint.[168]

Table 11.6: Gradual Path in MN 107 and its Parallels

MN 107	MĀ 144
observing rules (1) sense-restraint (2) moderation with food (3) wakefulness (4) mindfulness of activities (5) removal of 5 hindrances (6) attainment of 4 *jhāna*s (7)	purify body, speech, mind (→ 1) *satipaṭṭhāna* *satipaṭṭhāna* without thoughts sense-restraint (→ 2) mindfulness of activities (→ 5) removal of 5 hindrances (→ 6) attainment of 4 *jhāna*s (→ 7) (≠ 3-4)

T 70
purify body, speech, mind (→ 1) *satipaṭṭhāna* sense-restraint (→ 2) mindfulness of activities (→ 5) removal of 5 hindrances (→ 6) attainment of 4 *jhāna*s (→ 7) (≠ 3-4)

Other discourses illustrate the role of mindfulness in relation to sense-restraint with various similes, indicating among others that mindfulness keeps the streams (of desire) in check,[169] so that its function can be compared to the gatekeeper of a town,[170] or to a strong post to which wild animals (representing the senses) are bound.[171] The relevance

[168] MĀ 144 at T I 652b11 instructs to "guard and protect the mind with mindfulness and become accomplished [in such protection]", 守護念心而得成就. T 70 at T I 875b12 similarly recommends that one should "protect one's own mind [by] protecting the mind [through] mindfulness", 自護其意護意念. Yit 2004a: 185 relates this additional specification to AN 5:114 at AN III 138,20, which associates sense-restraint with "protective mindfulness", *ārakkhasatino*, and also speaks of being "endowed with a mind protected by mindfulness", *satārakkhena cetasā samannāgata*. The idea of protection through mindfulness is also found in relation to sense-restraint in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 31,30 or in Senart 1897: 52,4: *ārakṣāsmṛti ... araktena cetasā samanvāgataḥ*. Similar nuances occur in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1978a: 240,20, which speaks of *guptasmṛtimānasaḥ*; cf. also the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla 1973: 64,6, 65,9, and 66,4 or ŚSG 1998: 100,8+18 and 101,2, with the Chinese version in T 1579 at T XXX 406b24 and T XXX 406c3+10, which under the heading of *indriyasaṃvara* gives a detailed exposition of the implications of *ārakṣitasmṛti*/防守正念, *nipakasmṛti*/委正念, and *smṛtyārakṣitamānasa*/念防護意. On mindfulness as a form of protection cf. also Anālayo 2011e.

[169] Sn 5:2 at Sn 1035.

[170] AN 7:63 at AN IV 110,28 and its parallel MĀ 3 at T I 423c14 (another parallel, EĀ 39.4 at T II 730b26, uses instead the image of a firm door at a city gate to illustrate mindfulness).

[171] SN 35:206 at SN IV 198,26 and its parallels SĀ 1171 at T II 313b8 and EĀ 38.8 at T II 723c29.

of mindfulness to sense-restraint is thus a recurrent theme in other discourses, yet the same is not explicitly taken into account in the standard description of sense-restraint in the Pāli discourses.

The emphasis on mindfulness in the two Chinese versions continues to be prominent, as even before turning to sense-restraint they take up the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s,[172] a practice not mentioned explicitly in the gradual path scheme in the *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* or in the standard exposition of the gradual path in other Pāli discourses.[173]

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse indicates that *satipaṭṭhāna* should be developed in such a way that it leads to leaving behind sensual and unwholesome thoughts.[174] This then leads over to the practice of mindfulness in regard to restraint at the sense-doors, where the task is to avoid the arising of states of covetousness or dejection.[175]

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[172] MĀ 144 at T I 652b4 and T 70 at T I 875b9.

[173] The four *satipaṭṭhāna*s are also not explicitly mentioned in the account of the gradual path given in MĀ 146 (parallel to MN 27) and in MĀ 187 (parallel to MN 112). An account of the gradual path of training in MN 125 at MN III 136,4 and in its parallel MĀ 198 at T I 758b3, however, does take up the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s, cf. also below p. 718. The four *satipaṭṭhāna*s also occur in two consecutive versions of the gradual path in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, where in one case, SĀ 636 at T II 176b15, they occur after the removal of the hindrances (i.e., in the position where normally the four absorptions are found), while in the other, SĀ 637 at T II 176b26, they instead come right after contentment. The four *satipaṭṭhāna*s occur also in an account of the gradual path in DĀ 20 at T I 85a6, in which case they are not found in the corresponding Pāli discourse, DN 3 at DN I 100,9. The absence of any explicit reference to *satipaṭṭhāna* in the standard accounts of the gradual path of training in the Pāli discourses is noteworthy. According to the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and its parallels, the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* constitutes the path to the realization of Nirvāṇa, cf. above p. 75. Thus, to undertake *satipaṭṭhāna* would be a necessary step for reaching the goal of the gradual path, in fact, according to AN 10:95 at AN V 195,11, all those who realize awakening (here expressed in terms of "escaping from the world") do so by way of overcoming the hindrances, being well established in *satipaṭṭhāna*, and having developed the awakening factors. In view of this, *satipaṭṭhāna* would merit explicit treatment in an account of the gradual path to awakening. In a way, *satipaṭṭhāna* may be implicitly included in those parts of the gradual path that mention the practice of mindfulness and clear comprehension in regard to a set of physical activities. This exercise is also part of the scheme of contemplating the body in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*s, cf. MN 10 at MN I 57,5 (or DN 22 at DN II 292,24) and MĀ 98 at T I 582b25. In the context of the gradual path, such mindfulness and clear comprehension in regard to physical activities then leads up to more formal meditation in a secluded place, where the abandoning of the hindrances paves the way for the development of the four *jhāna*s. Yet, the same practice of mindfulness and clear comprehension is already taken into account in MN 107 and its parallels MĀ 144 and T 70, which similarly present mindfulness and clear comprehension in regard to physical activities as the basis for approaching a secluded place, removing the hindrances, and developing the four *jhāna*s. As MĀ 144 and T 70 nevertheless refer to the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s separately, it becomes evident that, from their perspective, the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s are not implicitly covered by mindfulness and clear comprehension in regard to physical activities.

[174] MĀ 144 at T I 652b7 instructs: "do not think a thought related to sensuality", 莫念欲相應念, and "do not think a thought related to what is unrightful", 莫念非法相應念. A similar instruction can be found in MN 125 at MN III 136,22 and its parallel MĀ 198 at T I 758b15, cf. below p. 719 notes 167 and 168.

[175] MN 107 at MN III 2,16: *abhijjhādomanassā ... dhammā*, MĀ 144 at T I 652b14: 貪伺, 憂慼 ... 法, and T 70 at T I 875b14: 貪憂慼意 ... 法. The removal of covetousness and dejection is in fact a central task of mindfulness, mentioned as such also in the introductory sections of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, MN 10 at

Thus from the perspective of the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta*, it seems that mindfulness by way of the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s builds up a mental condition aloof from sensual and unwholesome thoughts. This mental condition will then be further developed by maintaining mindfulness at the sense-doors in order to avoid a re-arising of sensual and unwholesome thoughts.

Based on such mindful sense-restraint, the practice of mindfulness can then be combined with clear comprehension in relation to any type of bodily activity. The continuity of mindfulness that has been developed in this way would in turn form the basis for overcoming the hindrances and developing the *jhāna*s, where mindfulness again plays a central role.[176]

While the two Chinese versions give additional emphasis to the practice of mindfulness, they do not take into account moderation with food and the practice of wakefulness, two steps of the gradual path covered in the Pāli version (see above table 11.6).[177]

The *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* and its parallels depict the remainder of the gradual MN III 3
path in similar terms, from mindfulness and clear comprehension via the abandoning of the hindrances to the four *jhāna*s.[178]

MN I 56,5 (or DN 22 at DN II 290,13): *vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ*. Ps I 243,35 explains *vineyya* to be a gerund, *vinayitvā.* Although gerund forms usually indicate that an action is completed, in Sanskrit usage the gerund can also express simultaneousness, cf., e.g., Geiger 1923: 86 and Macdonnel 1927/1990: 202. In the present context, *vineyya* may similarly refer to an action that takes place concurrently with the main action of the sentence, i. e., concurrently with *anupassī viharati*, so that *vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ* can be understood to refer to "removing covetousness and dejection", thereby highlighting what takes place while undertaking *satipaṭṭhāna*. That to overcome unwholesome states is a task of *satipaṭṭhāna*, instead of being a precondition for its practice, is in fact reflected in other discourses, as according to AN 9:64 at AN IV 458,4 *satipaṭṭhāna* is the tool to overcome the five hindrances, while according to AN 9:65 at AN IV 458,21 through *satipaṭṭhāna* one overcomes the attraction of sensual pleasures.

176 That *satipaṭṭhāna* may be relevant already to initial stages of the practice of the gradual path can also be seen in SN 47:4 at SN V 144,15 and its parallel SĀ 621 at T II 173c16, according to which the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s should be taught right away to newly ordained monks.

177 MN 107 at MN III 2,29: *bhojane mattaññū hohi* and MN 107 at MN III 3,2: *jāgariyaṃ anuyutto vihārāhi*. Even within the *Majjhima-nikāya* collection descriptions of the gradual path can be found that do not mention moderation with food or the practice of wakefulness, cf. MN 27 at MN I 181, MN 38 at MN I 269, MN 51 at MN I 346, MN 94 at MN II 162, MN 101 at MN II 226, and MN 112 at MN III 35. The same two practices are also absent from accounts of the gradual path in the *Dīgha-nikāya*, but are taken into account, as noted by Meisig 1984: 130, in the gradual path scheme found in the *Dīrgha-āgama*, cf., e.g., DĀ 10 at T I 84c20.

178 A minor difference is that MĀ 144 at T I 652c5 and T 70 at T I 875b30 explicitly mention the sitting mat used for meditation (cf. above p. 20). In relation to abandoning the hindrances, MĀ 144 and T 70 take up the implications of covetousness in additional detail, explaining it to be a state of mind that desires to possess what belongs to others, cf. MĀ 144 at T I 652c7: "seeing another's wealth ... don't [let] covetousness arise, wishing: 'may I get it'", 見他財物 ... 莫起貪伺, 欲令我得, and T 70 at T I 875c2: "don't develop covetousness for the wealth of others, thinking: 'may the possessions of others be mine'", 莫於他財發於貪, 謂他物令我有. A Pāli counterpart to this explanation can be found, e.g., in MN 41 at MN I 287,8.

MN III 4 The Pāli version explains that these instructions are meant for monks who have not yet reached the final goal, adding that monks who have reached the final goal nevertheless continue to undertake the same practices. The Chinese versions point out that these instructions are particularly beneficial for newly ordained monks, while in the case of senior monks the Buddha will continue to teach them the way to the total eradication of the influxes.[179] This presentation is in accord with the way the Chinese versions approached the subject of the gradual path, as in these two accounts the gradual path is concerned with a newly ordained monk,[180] paralleling the accountant Moggallāna's description of how a newcomer to accountancy will be instructed gradually.

MN III 5 The *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* and its parallels continue in similar ways by employing the example of the path to Rājagaha to illustrate why, in spite of the Buddha's instructions, some monks do not reach the goal. According to all versions, the accountant Moggallāna came to the conclusion that the Buddha did not associate with persons possessed of bad qualities, but only with persons who are endowed with good qualities.[181] The Chinese versions illustrate this conclusion by describing how someone looks after a grove of *sāla* trees in various ways, providing water and taking out weeds, thereby ensuring the growth and welfare of the trees.[182]

Applied to the present context, this comparison suggests that persons possessed of bad qualities, with whom the Buddha does not associate, are comparable to weeds taken out by those who care for the *sāla* grove, while good persons, with whom the Buddha associates, would correspond to the *sāla* trees.

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[179] MĀ 144 at T I 652c13 explains that by giving these instructions "the Tathāgata is of much benefit for young monks", 如來為諸年少比丘多有所益, after which it indicates that "if there are senior monks, elders who have trained in the holy life during the past, the Tathāgata teaches them further, namely the ultimate and complete destruction of the influxes", 若有比丘長老, 上尊, 舊學梵行, 如來復上教, 謂究竟訖一切漏盡. T 70 at T I 875c7 similarly indicates that "the Tathāgata is of much benefit to monks who have started to train", 如來為初學比丘多有所益, and then explains that "in regard to elder monks ... who are established in diligent practice of the holy life, the Tathāgata ... [leads them] to attaining the cessation of existence and the destruction of the influxes", 彼諸比丘上尊 ... 無懈怠住行於梵行, 如來 ... 至竟盡有漏盡.

[180] In MĀ 144 at T I 652a29 the disciple who is taught the gradual path is a "young monk who has just come to train in the path and started to enter this Dharma and discipline", 年少比丘初來學道, 始入法律者, and in T 70 at T I 875b5 a "monk who has just started to train and recently come to this Dharma and discipline", 比丘初學不久至此法律. MN 107 at MN III 2,6 is less explicit, as it indicates that when the Tathāgata "has obtained a person to be tamed, he at first trains him thus", *purisadammaṃ labhitvā, paṭhamaṃ evaṃ vineti*, which, however, also gives the impression that the disciple would be a beginner.

[181] Ps IV 70,15 explains that the accountant Moggallāna made this proclamation because he had understood why some disciples do not reach the goal.

[182] MĀ 144 at T I 653b12 and T 70 at T I 876a21. The image of looking after a grove of *sāla* trees recurs in MN 21 at MN I 124,28 and its parallel MĀ 193 at T I 744b20. The contrast highlighted in MN 107 at MN III 6,10 between those who have bad qualities and those who have the corresponding good qualities recurs in the same terms in MN 5 at MN I 32,7. Similar to MĀ 144 and T 70, MN 5 introduces this exposition with a simile, although it makes use of a different image, not employing the simile of the grove of *sāla* trees.

The parallel versions record that the accountant Moggallāna compared the superiority of the Buddha's teaching to exquisite fragrance.[183] While the Pāli version only indicates that the advice given by the Buddha is supreme among things of today,[184] according to the Chinese versions his teaching is able to subdue all heterodox teachings.[185] The three versions conclude with the accountant Moggallāna taking refuge.[186] MN III 6

MN 108 *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta*

The *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta*, the "discourse to Gopakamoggallāna", examines the causes due to which harmony prevailed in the Buddhist monastic community after the Buddha's demise. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[187] In addition to this parallel, the final part of the *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta* has a counterpart in a partial discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[188]

The *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by narrating that King Ajātasattu was getting Rājagaha fortified. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version explains that he was apprehensive of an attack by King Pajjota of Avanti, whereas according to the *Madhyama-āgama* account he was apprehensive of the Vajjians.[189] Other discourses also report that King Ajātasattu was at odds with the Vajjians,[190] but there MN III 7

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[183] While MN 107 at MN III 6,27 takes up two types of incense and one type of flower to illustrate the Buddha's superiority, MĀ 144 at T I 653b26 and T 70 at T I 876b7 take up two types of incense and two types of flower, namely the supreme fragrance among flowers that grow in water and the supreme fragrance among flowers that grow on land.

[184] MN 107 at MN III 7,2: *bhoto gotamassa ovādo paramajjadhammesu.*

[185] MĀ 144 at T I 653c7: 能伏一切外道異學 and T 70 at T I 876b15: 能攝一切異學. The Pāli commentary in a similar vein explains that the reference in MN 107 to "things of today" should be understood to intend the six heterodox teachers (i.e. Pūraṇa Kassapa, etc.), Ps IV 70,18: *ajjadhammā nāma cha satthāradhammā*.

[186] Before expressing his going for refuge, according to MN 107 at MN III 7,2 the accountant Moggallāna praised the Buddha's exposition by using the image of setting something upright, revealing something hidden, showing the path, and holding up a lamp in the dark, a set of images not mentioned in MĀ 144 or T 70.

[187] The parallel is MĀ 145 at T I 653c-656a, which agrees with MN 108 on locating the discourse at Rājagaha and on taking the name of Ānanda's visitor for its title, 瞿默目揵連經. For counterparts to MN 108 at MN III 13,26-32 in *Vyākhyāyukti* literature cf. Skilling 2000b: 341. For a remark on MĀ 145 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 147.

[188] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 67b3-68a6 or Q (5595) *thu* 111b2-112a7, which has preserved a counterpart to the discussion on *jhāna* found in MN 108 at MN III 13,23 to MN III 15,3; cf. also Abhidh-k 8:2 in Pradhan 1967: 433,12, paralleling MN III 14,1, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 145b21 and T 1559 at T XXIX 296c13 (for the actual quotes cf. below p. 628 note 207).

[189] MN 108 at MN III 7,15: *rañño pajjotassa āsaṅkamāno* and MĀ 145 at T I 653c24: 為防跋耆故. The rendering 跋耆, corresponding to *bat gji* in Early Middle Chinese (cf. Pulleyblank 1991: 27 and 245), would point to a Prākrit original instead of the Sanskrit form Vṛji (cf. also Karashima 1994: 185 on the alternative rendering 跋闍 found in DĀ 15 at T I 66b24).

[190] Ajātasattu's wish to conquer the Vajjians is recorded in DN 16 at DN II 72,5 and in its Chinese, San-

appears to be no record elsewhere in the Pāli canon of a conflict between him and King Pajjota of Avanti.[191]

The two discourses report that Ānanda visited the Brahmin Gopakamoggallāna, who asked Ānanda if any of the monks was equal in qualities to their recently deceased teacher. The Brahmin minister Vassakāra joined the ensuing discussion,[192] during which Ānanda clarified that there was not a single monk equal to the Buddha, nor had the Buddha appointed any monk as his successor,[193] nor had the monastic community chosen a successor to the Buddha.

MN III 8 According to the Pāli version, Ānanda further explained that no monk was equal to the Buddha, because the Buddha was the one who had discovered the path.[194] The *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta* in this way highlights what, from the perspective of the early

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skrit, and Tibetan counterparts DĀ 2 at T I 11a10, T 5 at T I 160b9, T 6 at T I 176a6, fragment S 360 folio 151V5-6 in Waldschmidt 1950: 7, and the Tibetan version in Waldschmidt 1951: 103; cf. also MĀ 142 at T I 648a26. That the Vajjians were under threat of being attacked by Ajātasattu is also reflected in SN 20:8 at SN II 268,2 and its parallel SĀ 1252 at T II 344b9, in SHT V 1290 V6 (p. 205), and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1978a: 218,17 (the last two also in Sander 1985: 152). On the reasons for Ajātasattu's wish to conquer the Vajjians cf. also Choudhary 1963.

[191] Ps IV 71,1 explains that, after his patricide, Ajātasattu was afraid that King Pajjota might want to punish him, as King Bimbisāra had been a friend of King Pajjota; cf. also Rhys Davids 1903/1997: 13. Elsewhere in the discourses there seems to be no mention made of a close friendship between these two kings, in fact according to Vin I 278,21 on one occasion Bimbisāra approved of a ruse played on Pajjota, to whom he referred to as a "violent" person, *caṇḍo*. This passage does not give the impression that, from the perspective of the Pāli tradition, the two had been such close friends that Pajjota would want to attack Ajātasattu in order to revenge the killing of Bimbisāra.

[192] Gokhale 1980a: 71 notes that for Vassakāra to be "involved in erecting fortifications" indicates that being a "*purohita* involved functions well beyond the performance of Brahmanical rituals for the king"; on the role and functions of the *purohita* according to the *Jātaka*s cf. also Fick 1897: 107-117.

[193] An 1999: 74 explains that "the Buddha's fundamental position is emphasis on self-discipline based on Dhamma, not on any authority ... which might serve as a crutch". Misra 1972: 109 comments that "the cause of [the] Buddha's preference for the abstract guidance of *dharma* to the tangible control by a leader ... is to be seen in his close acquaintance with and admiration for ... the republican states around him (from one of which he himself came)". Thapar 1976/1978: 87-88 points out that in monastic organization "there is an attempt at imitating the structure of the tribal and oligarchic systems", "it may be argued that the form adopted was ... in deliberate opposition to the monarchical system and its centralized power"; on this theme cf. also Bechert 1997: 62, Dutt 1957: 13, Ling 1973/1976: 157-163, and id. 1983: 62.

[194] MN 108 at MN III 8,11: "the Blessed One was the one to show the path not shown [before] ... and the disciples now live following this path", *bhagavā ... anakkhātassa maggassa akkhātā ... maggānugā ca pana etarahi sāvakā viharanti*. Horner 1959: 59 note 1 draws attention to the absence of any gloss on this reference to the Buddha's role as a teacher of the path in the commentary on the *Majjhima-nikāya*, which stands in contrast to two other occurrences of the same passage in SN 8:7 at SN I 191,2 (or SN^2 215 at SN^2 I 411,7) and in SN 22:58 at SN III 66,16, where each time the commentary offers a gloss, cf. Spk I 277,26 and Spk II 278,2. If the commentators thought it worthwhile to comment on two occurrences of this passage in the same *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, one would expect also a comment on an occurrence of the same passage in the *Majjhima-nikāya*. Although this is not conclusive, perhaps this passage originally did not form part of MN 108, as suggested by its absence in MĀ 145.

discourses, constitutes the crucial difference between the Buddha and his arahant disciples, namely the Buddha's discovery and teaching of the path.[195]

According to both versions, Vassakāra wondered how the Buddhist monks were able to live in harmony, if they had no leader.[196] In reply to Vassakāra's inquiry, Ānanda explained that the monks relied on the Dharma instead of relying on a human leader.[197] MN III 10

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, Ānanda explained his statement by describing how on observance days the monks would come together to recite the code of conduct (*pātimokkha*) and confess any transgression.[198] The *Madhyama-āgama* version adds to this description that on such an occasion one of the monks would give a talk on the Dharma, to which the other monks would listen with respect and joy.[199]

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[195] At a later point of its presentation, MĀ 145 at T I 655c27 records a related explanation by Ānanda, in which he clarified that the liberation of the Buddha and the liberation of an arahant are not different from each other.

[196] According to the commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, Sv II 522,19, Vassakāra had been instrumental in sowing discord among the Vajjians in order to enable King Ajātasattu to conquer the Vajjian republic. This tale would explain why Vassakāra would be interested in the reasons for the concord that prevailed in the leaderless Buddhist monastic community, a community whose administration appears to have been modelled by its founder on republican principles similar to those of the Vajjian republic. Warder 1956: 45 explains that, from the viewpoint of organization, "the Saṅgha ... preserved the ancient democratic institutions of tribes such as the Buddha himself was born among, and which the kings of Kosala and Magadha were busily extirpating and subjecting to their growing states".

[197] MN 108 at MN III 9,23: "we are not without refuge ... we are with refuge ... with the Dharma as refuge", *na kho mayaṃ ... appaṭisaraṇā, sappaṭisaraṇā mayaṃ ... dhammapaṭisaraṇā ti* (B^{e}-MN III 60,11: *dhammappaṭisaraṇā*) and MĀ 145 at T I 654b23: "we do not rely on a person but rely on the Dharma", 我等不依於人而依於法; cf. also the *Mahāvyutpatti* 1547 in Sakaki 1926: 124: *dharma-pratisaraṇena bhavitavyaṃ na pudgala-pratisaraṇena.* Dutt 1924/1996: 118 comments on the inquiry preceding this explanation that "evidently the republican organization of the Buddhist Sangha was somewhat incomprehensible to outsiders".

[198] Notably, MN 108 at MN III 10,13 speaks of dealing according to the Dharma with a monk who recalls having transgressed while the *pātimokkha* is being recited, *tasmiṃ ce bhaññamāne*. MĀ 145 at T I 654b27 is less explicit, reading: "if an impure person is in the assembly, we undertake to instruct him in accordance with what is set forth in the Dharma", 若彼眾不清淨者, 隨法所說, 我等教作是. Dhirasekera 1982/2007: 196 remarks that the description in MN 108 points to an early stage in the recital of the *pātimokkha*, when offences were revealed during the actual recitation, instead of being summarily confessed beforehand. The same early stage he also sees reflected in the injunction given as part of the instruction on the formal recitation of the *pātimokkha* at Vin I 103,2, according to which an offence should be revealed, *yassa siyā āpatti so āvikareyya, asantiyā āpattiyā tuṇhī bhavitabbaṃ*. Gombrich 1991: 35 explains that although "originally ... the rules were simply recited by the senior monk present and anyone who had violated any of them was to say so ... but then the monks could not endure the shame of public confession, so the procedure was changed: monks paired off and confessed to each other before the public recitation"; cf. also, e.g., Bhagvat 1939: 120, Dutt 1924/1996: 84, Oberlies 1997: 179 note 53, and Vetter 1999: 213.

[199] MĀ 145 at T I 654b25: "if there is a monk who is knowledgeable in the Dharma, we will invite that monk to teach us the Dharma ... all of us together will delight in what this monk says and received it respectfully", 若有比丘知法者, 我等請彼比丘為我等說法 ... 我等一切歡喜奉行彼比丘所說. This additional stipulation indicates that the purpose of the fortnightly meeting of the monks is not only to en-

MN III 11 The *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta* and its parallel continue by pointing out that, although no monk was set up as a leader, an individual monk will be respected by other monks if he is endowed with ten qualities.[200] The two versions agree in listing the following qualities:

- proper observance of the rules,
- learning,
- contentment.[201]

Both versions, moreover, present the destruction of the influxes as the culmination point of their list of praiseworthy qualities. Qualities that according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* presentation make a monk worthy of respect are the ability to attain:

- the four *jhāna*s,
- the supernormal powers,
- the divine ear,
- knowledge of the mind of others,
- recollection of past lives,
- the divine eye.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version instead reckons as qualities that make a monk worthy of respect if he:

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sure their purity in matters of conduct, but also to provide a platform for exchange on the teachings. This brings to mind an injunction given the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* and its parallels, according to which the Dharma and the *Vinaya* should become the teacher once the Buddha is no longer alive, cf. DN 16 at DN II 154,5: "the Dharma and the discipline taught and set out by me to you, that shall be your teacher after my passing away", *yo vo ... mayā dhammo ca vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mam' accayena satthā*. Its Tibetan counterpart in Waldschmidt 1951: 387,22 begins by recommending recitation of the various types of Buddhist scripture and then presents the code of rules, *so sor thar pa'i mdo*, as the teacher after the Buddha's passing away. One of the Chinese parallels to DN 16 similarly takes up the rules, together with morality and the Dharma as the teacher, T 7 at T I 204b29: "morality, the *pātimokkha* and the other various teachings on the sublime true Dharma, these will then be your great teacher", 戒波羅提木叉, 及餘所說種種妙法, 此即便是汝等大師. Two other Chinese parallels to DN 16 simply recommend "the discourses and morality" as the refuge after the Buddha's demise, DĀ 2 at T I 26a27 and T 5 at T I 172b22: 經戒. Another parallel, T 6 at T I 188a24, only speaks of the "Dharma teachings", 法教, as the refuge. T 6 continues by instructing that when the monks meet for recitation of the rules, they should also recite the discourses and take refuge in them, 誦經, 歸心於經. A quotation of this injunction in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932a: 158,4, also speaks only of the discourses: *sūtrāntaḥ śāstā.*

[200] While according to E^e^-MN III 10,21 and S^e^-MN III 93,13 Ānanda affirmed that such a monk exists, *atthi*, according to B^e^-III 61,6 and C^e^-MN III 104,28 he denied the existence of such a monk, *n' atthi*. The parallel passage in MĀ 145 at T I 654c5 affirms the existences of such a monk, 有, supporting the reading found in E^e^ and S^e^.

[201] While MN 108 at MN III 11,25 has only a brief reference to contentment (which comes as its third quality), MĀ 145 at T I 655a6 illustrates contentment (which is its sixth quality) with the image of a bird that takes along its two wings wherever it goes, an image used regularly in other *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses to illustrate contentment, cf., e.g., MN 27 at MN I 180,22, MN 38 at MN I 268,34, MN 51 at MN I 346,5, MN 94 at MN II 162,8, MN 101 at MN II 226,8, and MN 112 at MN III 34,26. A counterpart to this image can be found in Jain texts, cf., e.g., the *Uttarājjhayaṇa* 6.15 in Charpentier 1922: 89,14.

- acts as a spiritual friend (*kalyānamitta*),[202]
- delights in mental and physical seclusion,
- delights in meditation,[203]
- is mindful,
- is energetic,
- is wise.

Thus, while the Pāli version presents a listing of attainments, the emphasis in the Chinese parallel is more on a several recommendable qualities (see table 11.7).[204]

After asking Ānanda where he was staying,[205] according to both versions Vassakāra proposed that the Buddha had spoken in praise of all types of meditation. The two versions differ in the word they use to refer to "meditation", as the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse speaks of *jhāna*,[206] while the *Madhyama-āgama* version speaks of "application MN III 13

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[202] MĀ 145 at T I 654c25: 作善知識. To convey the idea of frequenting spiritual friends, other discourses in the *Madhyama-āgama* use the expressions "to approach spiritual friends", 親近善知識, e.g., MĀ 153 at T I 672c28, or "to see spiritual friends", 見善知識, e.g., MĀ 204 at T I 778a26.

[203] MĀ 145 at T I 655a3 describes how someone "internally properly practices tranquillity, is not separated from mental investigation and puts into operation insight, increasingly practising emptiness", 內行正止, 亦不離伺, 成就於觀, 增長空行, expressions that bring to mind the injunction in MN 6 at MN I 33,10, "practising internal tranquillity of mind, not neglecting meditation (*jhāna*), being endowed with insight, and being a frequenter of empty places", *ajjhattaṃ cetosamatham anuyutto anirākatajjhāno vipassanāya samannāgato brūhetā suññāgārānaṃ* (S^e-MN I 58,9: *ajjhattañ*), where the parallel MĀ 105 at T I 595c19 refers to this mode of practice as "not neglecting *jhāna*, putting into operation insight and practising in empty and secluded places", 不廢禪, 成就觀行於空靜處.

[204] The presentation in MĀ 145 thereby closely resembles a list of ten praiseworthy qualities of a monk found in DN 33 at DN III 266,26, DN 34 at DN III 290,13, AN 10:17 at AN V 23,12, and AN 10:50 at AN V 89,19. This list mentions observance of the rules (1st), learning (2nd), spiritual friends (3rd), gentle speech (4th), skill at carrying out duties for fellow monks (5th), delight in the Dharma (6th), contentment (7th in the *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses, 8th in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourses), being energetic (8th in the *Dīgha-nikāya* discourses, 7th in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourses), mindfulness (9th), and wisdom (10th). MĀ 145 has almost the same sequence and differs only in respect to qualities 4, 5, and 6, where instead of delight in the Dharma MĀ 145 speaks of delight in seclusion and in meditation, and instead of gentle speech and skill at tasks MĀ 145 has the destruction of the influxes as a quality that makes a monk worthy of respect. Gentle speech and skill at tasks are found also in a listing of these ten qualities in the *Daśottara-sūtra*, cf. fragment 679 folio 23V5+7 in Schlingloff 1962a: 12.

[205] A few minor differences are that while according to MN 108 at MN III 13,3 Vassakāra expressed his appreciation of Ānanda's presentation, according to MĀ 145 at T I 655b1 the whole assembly expressed their approval. In addition to asking if the Bamboo Grove was quiet, according to MĀ 145 at T I 665b8 Vassakāra also inquired if it was free from insects and flies, a condition that would indeed facilitate the practice of meditation in this grove. According to MN 108 at MN III 13,20, Ānanda remarked that the conducive conditions in the Bamboo Grove were due to the protection given by Vassakāra. Ps IV 73,3 explains that Vassakāra cared for the Bamboo Grove, as according to a prediction he was going to be reborn in his next life as a monkey in this grove, a rebirth prospective also referred to in the *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 72,5 and 73,4 or in Lévi 1932a: 44,22. The reason for the conducive conditions in the Bamboo Grove given in MĀ 145 at T I 655b14, however, is "because it formerly served as a shelter for the Blessed One", 以世尊擁護故.

[206] MN 108 at MN II 13,32: "the venerable Gotama was one who meditated and had the habit of a meditator,

of the mind", employing a Chinese character used elsewhere to render the first *jhāna* factor *vicāra*.[207] This part of the discourse has also been preserved in the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, which employs the standard Tibetan counterpart for *jhāna* or *dhyāna*.[208]

Table 11.7: Qualities of a Monk Worthy of Respect in MN 108 and MĀ 145

MN 108	MĀ 145
observes rules (1)	observes rules (→ 1)
learned (2)	learned (→ 2)
contented (3)	acts as spiritual friend
attains 4 *jhānas* (4)	delights in seclusion
has supernormal powers (5)	delights in meditation
has divine ear (6)	contented (→ 3)
knows minds of others (7)	mindful
recollects past lives (8)	energetic
has divine eye (9)	wise
has destroyed influxes (10)	has destroyed influxes (10) (≠ 4-9)

In all versions, Ānanda was quick to point out that Vassakāra's statement was a misunderstanding. He clarified that the Buddha only spoke in praise of types of "medita-

the venerable Gotama spoke in praise of all [kinds of] meditation", *jhāyī c' eva so bhavaṃ gotamo ahosi jhānasīlī ca, sabbañ ca pana so bhavaṃ gotamo jhānaṃ vaṇṇesī ti* (S^e-MN III 98,10: *jhānasīlo*).

207 MĀ 145 at T I 655b23: "the recluse Gotama was one who practised application of the mind, who delighted in application of the mind, who praised all application of the mind", 沙門瞿曇行伺, 樂伺, 稱歎一切伺. The character 伺 used in the present instance is the standard rendering for *vicāra* in the *Madhyama-āgama,* whereas the standard way of rendering *jhāna* in the same collection is 禪, and the verb *jhāyati*, "to meditate", could easily have been rendered as 禪作, or 禪行, or even 禪坐. MĀ 145 at T I 655a3 refers to not neglecting meditation as 不離伺. This seems rather similar to the expression *anirākatajjhāna* in MN 6 at MN I 33,10, which its parallel MĀ 105 at T I 595c19, however, refers to as 不廢禪. At a later point, when MĀ 145 at T I 655c15 turns to the four *jhāna*s, it uses the expression 禪, explaining that the four *jhāna*s are the four types of 'meditation' (伺), approved of by the Buddha. Although the use of both renderings side by side could indicate that the Indic original on which the translator(s) based their rendering did not use an equivalent to *jhāna* or *jhāyati* in the passage concerned with the five hindrances, it is also possible that the translator(s) deliberately chose 伺 instead of 禪 in order to better convey the implications of the present passage, where the point at stake is indeed not *jhāna*/禪 in its proper sense. In fact, from the perspective of transmission the second hypothesis seems more probable, since it is difficult to imagine that the reciters of what came to be the Pāli version of the present discourse would have replaced another term with *jhāna* in a context that does not fit the use of the expression *jhāna* in other discourses. This assumption finds further support in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Abhidh-k 8:2 in Pradhan 1967: 433,12, which in a quote related to the present discourse (cf. also above note 188) speaks of "unwholesome *dhyāna*s taught by the Blessed One", *uktāni cākuśalāni dhyānānyapi bhagavatā* (cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 145b21: 世尊亦說有惡靜慮 and T 1559 at T XXIX 296c13: 世尊亦說惡法為持訶那).

208 D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 67b5 or Q (5595) *thu* 111b5: *bsam gtan.*

tion" during which the mind was not overwhelmed by the five hindrances.[209] The use of different terminology to render the same basic idea of "meditation" in the parallel versions is interesting in so far as the *Gopakamoggallāna-sutta* seems to be the only Pāli discourse in which the term *jhāna* stands for a mental condition in which the hindrances are present.[210] The three versions agree that Ānanda described the mind being overwhelmed by the hindrances without knowing an escape from this condition, a mental condition far from being anywhere near the complete absence of the hindrances experienced during real *jhāna*.[211]

In both versions Vassakāra approved of Ānanda's explanation and left. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version concludes with Ānanda repeating the reply he had already earlier given to Gopakamoggallāna's initial question and then ends without the standard conclusion to a discourse (which usually reports the delight of the listeners). MN III 15

According to the *Madhyama-āgama* version, however, the discussion continued, as Gopakamoggallāna inquired if there was a difference between the liberation of the Buddha and the liberation of an arahant, which Ānanda denied.[212] Gopakamoggallāna

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[209] MĀ 145 at T I 655c7 actually omits restlessness-and-worry, thereby mentioning only four hindrances. As the whole point of the passage is to set a contrast to the *jhāna*s, which require the removal of all five hindrances, the absence of restless-and-worry may be the result of an oversight during the transmission, translation, or copying of the discourse. D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 67b7 or Q (5595) *thu* 111b8 mentions in fact all five hindrances.

[210] In addition to its standard occurrence in relation to the four levels of mental absorption, the word *jhāna* occasionally has the more general sense of "meditation". This is the case, e.g., in the expression *arittajjhāna*, "not lacking '*jhāna*'", which AN 1:20 at AN I 38-43 applies among others also to meditation practices such as *satipaṭṭhāna* and the six recollections, practices that tradition does not consider as leading to *jhāna* attainment on their own. A more general sense of *jhāna* seems to underlie also the expression *anirākatajjhāna*, "not neglecting '*jhāna*'", found in MN 6 at MN I 33,10, cf. also It 2:8 at It 39,11, in between the two qualities of *cetosamatha* and *vipassanā*. MN 36 at MN I 243,5 refers to breath control as *appānaka jhāna* (B^{e}-MN I 309,16, C^{e}-MN I 576,28, and S^{e}-MN I 451,12: *appāṇaka*), where again the more general sense of "meditation" appears to fit the context best. Yet, none of these instances associates the term *jhāna* with the presence of the hindrances. Such an instance can be found, however, in a tale in the *Mahāvastu* in Senart 1897: 149,2. This tale describes how the son of a hermit, fallen in love at his first encounter with a beautiful girl, keeps thinking of her instead of doing his duties in the hermitage. This causes his father to ask him what occupies his mind with the words *kin tuvaṃ dhyānaṃ dhyāyasi* (Basak 1968/2004: 92,6: *kiṃ*), "what '*dhyāna*' are your meditating on?" Notably, the Pāli counterpart in Jā 526 at Jā V 201,26 reads rather *kin nu mando va jhāyasi*? For a detailed study of the different versions of this tale cf. Lüders 1940b.

[211] A similar description of a state of mind overwhelmed by the hindrances can be found in AN 11:10 at AN V 323,14, which makes use of the same verb "to meditate", *jhāyati*, without, however, bringing in the noun *jhāna*. Its parallel SĀ 926 at T II 236a2 also does not use the equivalent term 禪 in relation to the hindrances. Only when it comes to describing meditation free from the hindrances does SĀ 926 at T II 236a11 employ the term 禪. Thus MN 108 stands out for using the noun *jhāna* in a way that appears to be unique in the early discourses.

[212] MĀ 145 at T I 655c28: the "complete and full liberation and liberation by wisdom [of a Buddha], and the liberation of an arahant, what is the difference between these two liberations", 等正覺解脫及慧解脫, 阿羅訶解脫, 此二解脫有何差別 (adopting the 聖 variant reading 二 instead of 三)? On following the alternative reading 三, the passage could also be interpreted to intend three types of liberation: com-

then invited Ānanda to partake of a meal. At the end of the meal, Ānanda gave Gopakamoggallāna a talk on the Dharma. The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse concludes with Gopakamoggallāna's delighted reaction.[213]

MN 109 *Mahāpuṇṇama-sutta*

The *Mahāpuṇṇama-sutta*, the "greater discourse on a full moon [night]", offers a detailed examination of the five aggregates. This discourse recurs in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*,[214] in addition to which a quotation of the present discourse has been preserved in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[215]

MN III 16 The *Mahāpuṇṇama-sutta* and its parallels record in closely similar terms a question and answer exchange between a monk and the Buddha,[216] which clarifies that the five

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plete and full liberation, liberation by wisdom, and liberation of an arahant. However, whereas it would make sense to inquire after the difference between the liberation of a Buddha and the liberation of an arahant, to take the passage to inquire about the differences between three types of liberation would make less sense. "Liberation by wisdom" is one mode of arriving at arahant-ship and would thus need to be contrasted with the alternative mode of arriving at arahant-ship that leads to being liberated "bothways", but would not provide a contrast to the "liberation of an arahant".

[213] Although this last exchange is not found in the Pāli version, it would fit the sequence of events quite well. According to both discourses, Ānanda had originally set out to collect alms, but on realizing that it was yet too early he had approached the workplace of Gopakamoggallāna. Due to the arrival of Vassakāra the discussion had been prolonged and by the time of Vassakāra's departure it could well have become high time for Ānanda to approach the town in order to beg his alms so as to be able to partake of food before noon. In view of this situation, it would be a thoughtful gesture by Gopakamoggallāna to invite Ānanda to take a meal right where he was. The fact that the Pāli version ends rather abruptly, without the standard ending for a discourse, leaves open the possibility that a similar concluding narration earlier formed part of the discourse and was lost during the process of transmission.

[214] SN 22:82 at SN III 100-104 and SĀ 58 at T II 14b-15b, which agrees with the Pāli versions on locating the discourse in the Hall of Migāra's Mother. SN 22:82 has the title *Puṇṇama*, thereby agreeing with MN 109 on the title except for the specification "greater". SĀ 58 (or at least the first part of SĀ 58) has the title 陰即受, given in the *uddāna* at T II 15b2. 陰即受 renders "aggregate(s) [affected by] clinging", cf., e.g., SĀ 58 at T II 14b23. For SĀ 58 to differ from the Pāli versions in regard to the title is not surprising, since while the Pāli versions take place on a full-moon night, SĀ 58 at T II 14b13 specifies that the discourse took place in the afternoon, 晡時, so that it is only natural that SĀ 58 does not refer to a full-moon night in its title.

[215] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 54a1-57a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 95a3-99a1; cf. also Abhidh-k 7:13 in Pradhan 1967: 400,16, paralleling MN 109 at MN III 16,12, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 137a26 and T 1559 at T XXIX 288b20 (cf. the full quote below in note 217). Abhidh-k-ṭ agrees with the other versions on the location.

[216] Ps IV 77,1 explains that this monk was an arahant who did not ask these questions out of personal ignorance. While in MN 109 at MN III 15,29 and SN 22:82 at SN III 100,16 the first question he asks is whether the five aggregates are material form, feeling, perception, volitional formations, and consciousness, which the Buddha confirms, SĀ 58 at T II 14b14 and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 54a3 or Q (5595) *thu* 95a5 follow the opposite sequence, with the Buddha at first making this statement on his own, after which the monk stands up and formulates the same as a question.

aggregates [affected by] clinging are rooted in desire,[217] followed by pointing out that clinging is neither identical with the five aggregates nor something apart from them, but consists in desire in regard to them.

The *Mahāpuṇṇama-sutta* and its parallels indicate that such desire could be directed towards future manifestations of any of the five aggregates. They continue by defining the term aggregate in the same way, followed by offering the same type of definition for each of the five aggregates.

The Pāli versions next take up the arising of a sense of identity (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*) in regard to the aggregates [affected by] clinging, after which they examine the gratification, danger, and release in regard to them. The Chinese and Tibetan versions take up the same two topics, although they tackle them in the opposite sequence. MN III 17

The Pāli and Tibetan versions explain that in regard to each aggregate a sense of identity can arise, which can take place by:

- taking the aggregate to be the self,
- postulating the self as the owner of the aggregate,
- assuming the aggregate to exist within the self,
- locating the self within the aggregate.

The Chinese version makes the same point, although its presentation adopts a somewhat abbreviated manner of presentation.[218]

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[217] While MN 109 at MN III 16,12 and SN 22:82 at SN III 100,26 simply indicate that the five aggregates are "rooted in desire", *chandamūlaka*, SĀ 58 at T II 14b22 draws out the same in more detail by explaining that they are "rooted in desire, arisen from desire, born from desire, contacted by desire", 欲為根, 欲集, 欲生, 欲觸; cf. also its counterpart in D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 54b1 or Q (5595) *thu* 95b6: "rooted in desire, completely arisen from desire, akin to desire, and produced by desire",*'dun pa'i rtsa ba can, 'dun pa las kun 'byung ba, 'dun pa dang 'dra ba, dun pa las rab tu skye ba dag yin no*. Abhidh-k 7:13 in Pradhan 1967: 400,16 qualifies the five aggregates to be *chandamūlakāś chandasamudayāś chandajātīyāś chandaprabhavā*; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 137a26: 以欲為根, 以欲為集, 以欲為類, 以欲為生, and T 1559 at T XXIX 288b20: 依欲為根, 依欲為集, 依欲為生, 依欲為有.

[218] The Tibetan version has a reading that closely correspond to the Pāli versions, D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 55b5 or Q (5595) *thu* 97a7: *gzugs la bdag go ... bdag gzugs dang ldan pa dang, bdag la gzugs yod, gzugs la bdag yod*. SĀ 58 at T II 14c29 differs, in as much as it speaks just of 見我, 異我, 相在, "seeing [as] self, [as] other [than] self, [as] existing [in relation] to each other". Choong 2000: 59 draws attention to two *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourses that help to clarify this expression. SĀ 45 at T II 11b5 describes the viewing of self in regard to the aggregate of form as 見色是我, 色異我, 我在色, 色在我. SĀ 109 at T II 34b13 refers to the same in a slightly more abbreviated manner as 見色是我, 異我, 我在色, 色在我. Thus 見我 and 異我 refer to identifying the aggregate as self and to taking the aggregate to be owned by the self, corresponding to *rūpam attato samanupassati* and *rūpavantaṃ vā attānaṃ* (in the case of the aggregate of form) in MN 109 at MN III 17,27. The expression 相在, "existing [in relation] to each other", appears to be an abbreviated representation of 我在色, 色在我 (in the case of the aggregate of form) and corresponds to *attani vā rūpaṃ, rūpasmiṃ vā attānaṃ* in MN 109 at MN III 17,28. This understanding is also found in a gloss in the 佛光 *Saṃyukta-āgama* edition p. 33 note 2, which explains that 見我, 異我, 相在 stands for 我, 我所, 五蘊在我中, 我在五蘊中. The *Madhyama-āgama* presentation of the same type of contemplation, found, e.g., in MĀ 210 at T I 788a28 (parallel to MN 44 at MN I 300,7), employs the more easily intelligible formulation 見色是神, 見神有色, 見神中有色, 見色中有神也. As Choong 2000: 58 points out, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* uses the same cryptic expression 見我,

MN III 18 While the Pāli versions next inquire how to go beyond identification and conceit in regard to the body and external signs,[219] the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary examine how to reach the destruction of the influxes.[220] In spite of differing formulations, the parallel versions have obviously the same goal of full awakening in view.

The Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan versions agree that to reach this goal requires the removal of any identification with the five aggregates and to leave behind any appropriation of them.

MN III 19 The four versions report that, while hearing these instructions, a monk had the deluded thought that, given the absence of a self, there was nobody to whom karmic retribution would apply.[221] On becoming aware of this thought, the Buddha delivered a standard catechism on the impermanent, unsatisfactory, and self-less nature of the five aggregates.[222]

異我, 相在 not only to represent the four modes of viewing a self in regard to any of the five aggregates, but also to represent the threefold mode "mine, I, my self".

[219] MN 109 at MN III 18,31 inquires how to practise so that "in this body with its consciousness and externally in all signs there is no 'I'-making, no 'my'-making and no underlying tendency to conceit", *imasmiñ ca saviññāṇake kāye bahiddhā ca sabbanimittesu ahaṃkāramamaṃkāramānānusayā na hontī ti* (Ce-MN III 120,29: *ahiṅkāramamiṅkāramānānusayā*, Se-MN III 105,18: *ahaṅkāramamaṅkāramānānusayā*), a formulation found similarly in SN 22:82 at SN III 103,10.

[220] SĀ 58 at T II 15a6 inquires after attaining the "destruction of the influxes", 漏盡, with its equivalent in *zag pa zad pa* in D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 56a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 97b5.

[221] MN 109 at MN III 19,12: "deeds done by not-self, what self could they affect", *anattakatāni kammāni, kam attānaṃ phusissantī ti*? SN 22:82 at SN III 103,27 reads instead *katam attānaṃ phusissantī ti* (Be-SN II 85,10 and Ce-SN III 176,13: *katham attānaṃ*, Se-SN III 126,11: *kammattānaṃ*). SĀ 58 at T II 15a12: "[if] deeds are done by no self, then who will receive the retribution in the future", 作無我業, 於未來世, 誰當受報? D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 56a6 or Q (5595) *thu* 98a4: "there being no self, in what way will deeds done by oneself be experienced", *bdag med pas byas pa bdag gis ji ltar myong bar 'gyur*? SĀ 58 at T II 15a11 differs from MN 109 and SN 22:82 in as much as it qualifies the monk as "unwise", 無知, and to be one who had "given rise to an evil and wrong view", 起惡邪見, qualifications similarly made in D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 56a5 or Q (5595) *thu* 98a2: *mi mkhas pa* and *sdig pa can gyi lta bar gyur pa.*

[222] According to MN 109 at MN III 19,20, the Buddha introduced this catechism by proclaiming that he had "trained" the monks "in conditions ... here and there in these and those things", *paṭicca vinītā ... tatra tatra tesu tesu dhammesu* (Be-MN III 69,25: *paṭivinītā ... tatra tatra dhammesu*, Ce-MN III 122,11: *paṭicca vinītā ... tatra tatra dhammesu*, and Se-MN III 106,19: *paṭipucchāmi vinītā ... tatra tatra dhammesu*; cf. also Pérez-remón 1980: 255), which in SN 22:82 at SN III 104,1 reads "through counter questioning ... here and there in these things", *paṭipucchā vinītā ... tatra tatra tesu dhammesu* (Be-SN II 85,17, Ce-SN III 176,20, and Se-SN III 126,17 read *tatra tatra tesu tesu dhammesu*). SĀ 58 does not have this initial proclamation at all. In the Tibetan version, the Buddha just indicates that the monks have been trained by him, without specifying in what they have been trained, D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 56b2 or Q (5595) *thu* 98a7. The expression *paṭipucchā vinītā* recurs in AN 2:6 at AN I 73,16, where it stands for discussing with others and explaining to each other the deep discourses related to emptiness. The occurrence of *paṭicca* in some Pāli editions brings to mind another occasion described in several sources, where a group of Brahmins and householders are also confused as to how rebirth can take place without a self, in reply to which the Buddha delivers a teaching on dependent arising, cf. MĀ 62

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version and its Chinese and Tibetan counterparts conclude by reporting that a substantial number of monks reached liberation while listening to the present exposition.[223] MN III 20

MN 110 *Cūḷapuṇṇama-sutta*

The *Cūḷapuṇṇama-sutta*, the "lesser discourse on a full moon [night]", examines the contrast between a worthy man and his unworthy counterpart. Of this discourse, no parallel seems to have been identified so far.[224]

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at T I 498b27, T 41 at T I 826b8, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 159,1, the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 268,31 or in Senart 1897: 448,12, and fragment 581 folio 117V3-R1 in Waldschmidt 1932: 19-20, with a Tibetan counterpart in Waldschmidt 1962: 361,17 and in Skilling 1994a: 94,10.

223 MN 109 at MN III 20,24 specifies that as many as sixty monks reached awakening, while SĀ 58 at T II 15a28 speaks simply of "numerous", 眾多, as does D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 57a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 98b8: *rab tu mang po*. SN 22:82 does not report the effect this discourse had on its audience. Its commentary, Spk II 308,6, indicates that five hundred monks reached liberation (which according to the commentary happened with each discourse in this chapter of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*).

224 Akanuma 1929/1990: 169 lists SĀ 58 as a parallel to MN 110, which, however, is only a parallel to MN 109.

Chapter 12 *Anupada-vagga*

MN 111 *Anupada-sutta*

The *Anupada-sutta*, the "discourse on step by step [insight meditation]",[1] records Sāriputta's development of insight based on the *jhāna*s and immaterial attainments. Of this discourse, no parallel seems to have been identified so far.

MN 112 *Chabbisodhana-sutta*[2]

The *Chabbisodhana-sutta*, the "discourse on six-fold purity", describes how to check someone's claim to having reached full awakening. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[3]

The *Chabbisodhana-sutta* and its parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* take up the case of MN III 29
a monk who claims to have reached full awakening. In such a case, the other monks should investigate this claim by questioning the claimant on various topics.

The two discourses agree that, on being questioned, a monk who is an arahant will indicate that he is neither attracted nor repelled in regard to what is seen, heard, sensed, and cognised,[4] remaining detached in regard to all these aspects of experience. The *Chabbi-*

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[1] Following DP I: 118 s.v. *anupadaṃ*, while Chalmers 1927: 170 translates the discourse's title as "the complete course", Horner 1959: 77 as "on the uninterrupted", and Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 899 as "one by one as they occurred".

[2] Se-MN III 123,1: *Chavisodhana-sutta*.

[3] The parallel is MĀ 187 at T I 732a-734a, which has the title "discourse on a declaration of [final] knowledge", 說智經, and agrees with MN 112 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. For a remark on MĀ 187 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 31; for a translation of MĀ 187, together with extracts from the present study, cf. Anālayo 2008e. A discourse quotation paralleling the four *vohāras* mentioned in MN 112 at MN III 29,30 can be found in Abhidh-k 4:74 in Pradhan 1967: 245,8, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 87b18 and T 1559 at T XXIX 242c11 (for the full quotes cf. note 4 below), cf. also Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 240b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 275a4 (which does not give the full quote).

[4] MN 112 at MN III 29,30: *diṭṭhe diṭṭhavāditā, sute sutavāditā, mute mutavāditā, viññāte viññātavāditā*, which has its counterpart in MĀ 187 at T I 732b29: 一曰見見說, 二曰聞聞說, 三曰識識說, 四曰知知說. Another set of four *ariyavohāra*s, concerned with refraining from the four types of wrong speech, can be found in DN 33 at DN III 232,7; cf. also Caillat 1984b: 68. It is noteworthy that in this way MĀ 187 has 知, "to know", where MN 112 has *viññāta*, "cognized", and then MĀ 187 uses 識, which elsewhere stands for being "conscious", where MN 112 has *muta*, what is "experienced". According to Vin IV 2,25, *muta* refers to what is experienced by the sense-organs nose, tongue, and body, whereas *viññāta* refers to what is experienced by the mind, an explanation also found in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 634b6. This would square with the circumstance that *muta* or *mata* precedes *viññāta* or *vijñāta*, thereby concurring with the general sequence of listing the sense-organs, although Vetter 2000: 101 note 7 suggests that the order *diṭṭha, suta, muta,* and *viññāta* "is better explained by the Waxing Syllable Principle ... etymologically, *muta* rather points to 'experienced by the ['sense organ'] mind', whereas *viññāta* probably has ... the meaning 'experienced by other external senses'". Pāsādika 1985:

sodhana-sutta and its parallel differ, however, in as much as they turn to this topic at different junctions of their exposition (see below table 12.1).[5] Both versions recommend that the other monks should approve of such detachment and rejoice in it, after which they are to continue their investigation.

While in the *Madhyama-āgama* version such rejoicing takes place already at the time of the monk's first proclamation to have reached the goal,[6] according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version such an initial declaration should not be approved of, nor should it be rejected.[7] Thus, from the perspective of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse, a monk's proclamation of having become an arahant should only be approved of after an investigation of this claim has been undertaken, whereas in the *Madhyama-āgama* version such a claim meets with approval right away and will then be scrutinized.[8]

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189 note 36 draws attention to an *Ekottarika-āgama* Sanskrit fragment in Ōkubo 1982: 105,27, which has the same set, *dr̥ṣṭe dr̥ṣṭavādinī śrute mate vijñāte vijñātavādinī* (cf. also ibid. p. 107,14). A discourse quotation in Abhidh-k 4:74 in Pradhan 1967: 245,8 of the same set in its 'ignoble' manifestation reads *adr̥ṣṭe dr̥ṣṭavāditā aśrute 'mate 'vijnāte vijñātavāditā*, cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 87b18: 謂於不見, 不聞, 不覺, 不知事中, 言實見等, and T 1559 at T XXIX 242c11: 不見說見, 乃至不知說知. The corresponding four *anariyavohāra* in DN 33 at DN III 232,10 are *adiṭṭhe diṭṭhavāditā, assute sutavāditā, amute mutavāditā, aviññāte viññātavāditā*, where the Chinese parallel, DĀ 9 at T I 50b27, reads 不見言見, 不聞言聞, 不覺言覺, 不知言知. Stache-Rosen 1968: 129 restores the corresponding Sanskrit fragment to (*adr̥ṣṭe dr̥ṣta-vāditānāryavyavahāraḥ aśrute śrutavād)itā, am(a)te (matavāditā avijñāte vijñātavāditānāryavyava)hāraḥ*, based on the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 410b25, which reads 一不見言見, 二不聞言聞, 三不覺言覺, 四不知言知; cf. also SHT I 778b A1-2 (p. 336). The **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 861b18, similarly reads 不見言見, 不聞言聞, 不覺言覺, 不知言知. The sequence in MĀ 187 as 見, 聞, 識, 知, a sequence found again in MĀ 106 at T I 596b18 (parallel to occurrences of *diṭṭha, suta, muta,* and *viññāta* in MN 1 at MN I 3,15, in which case another Chinese parallel in EĀ 44.6 at T II 766b3 reads 見, 聞, 念, 知, and a third Chinese parallel in T 56 at T I 851b3 reads 見聞 知識) and in MĀ 200 at T I 764c22 (parallel to *diṭṭha, suta muta,* and *viññāta* in MN 22 at MN I 135,34) may well conform to the same pattern, even though their rendering of *muta* or *mata* by 識 is at first sight puzzling. The sequence found in Buddhist texts recurs also in the *Br̥hadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 3.7.23 in Radhakrishnan 1953/1992: 229: *adr̥ṣṭo draṣṭā aśrutaḥ śrotā, amata mantā, avijñāto vijñātā*, and 3.8.11 in ibid. p. 233: *adr̥ṣṭaṃ draṣṭr̥ aśrutam śrotr̥, amatam mantr̥, avijñātaṃ vijñātr̥*. Nakamura 1983a: 312 notes that the same pattern is also found in the Jain tradition as *diṭṭhaṃ suyaṃ mayaṃ vinnāyaṃ*.

[5] MN 112 at MN III 30,9 describes an arahant as dwelling "not attracted, not repelled, independent, detached, free, not bound, with a mind free from barriers", *anupāyo anapāyo anissito appaṭibaddho vippamutto visaṃyutto vimariyādikatena cetasā*. MĀ 187 at T I 732c4 describes the same in terms of being "not elated, not depressed, not depending, not bound, not defiled, not attached", 不高不下, 不倚不縛, 不染不著.

[6] MĀ 187 at T I 732a25.

[7] MN 112 at MN III 29,26.

[8] In view of the possibility that such claims can be mistaken, the more cautious attitude evinced in the Pāli version would be reasonable in such circumstances, cf., e.g., MN 105 at MN II 252,20 and its counterparts in SHT IV 32 folio 25R6 (p. 125) and SHT IV 165 folio 6R4-5 (p. 182), according to which the claim of some monks to being arahants was an overestimation of their own progress. That such a claim should at first be thoroughly investigated would also be more in accordance with MN 47 at MN I 318,3 and its parallel MĀ 186 at T I 731b9, which recommend that a monk should carry out a prolonged and detailed investigation even before coming to the conclusion that the Buddha was fully awakened.

Another topic to be investigated regarding a claim to full awakening is the claimant's attitude towards the five aggregates. The two versions agree that, as a result of having seen their impermanent and unreliable nature,[9] an arahant is thoroughly detached from the five aggregates.[10] The *Chabbisodhana-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel also take up the six elements – the four material elements, space, and consciousness – highlighting that an arahant has fully realized their not-self nature.[11] MN III 30

Another topic for investigation is the claimant's attitude towards the six senses. While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version explicitly mentions the respective objects of the senses, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel does not include them in its presentation.[12] The two versions agree, however, that an arahant is completely detached in regard to each of these six senses.[13] MN III 32

The *Chabbisodhana-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel culminate their examination by describing the gradual path of training up to the attainment of the four *jhāna*s and the destruction of the influxes in order to account for an arahant's transcendence of all patterns of identification in regard to body and mind.[14] MN III 33

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[9] MN 112 at MN III 30,31 speaks of having seen each aggregate to be "without strength", *abala*. The corresponding passage in MĀ 187 at T I 732b2 reads "without result", 非果, which might be due to a mistaking of *abala*, "without strength", for *aphala*, "without result".

[10] MN 112 at MN III 30,31 and MĀ 187 at T I 732b3.

[11] MN 112 at MN III 31,23 and MĀ 187 at T I 733a2. As noted by Schayer 1935: 125, the listing of these six elements is based on "a 'graduated scale' of subtleness, as Air is subtler than Water, so is Ether subtler than Air, and Consciousness than Ether"; for a comparable graduation cf. *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* 2.1.1, whose account of evolution proceeds from the self via space and the other elements up to earth; cf. also Wynne 2007: 36.

[12] In the case of the sense-organ eye, for example, MN 112 at MN III 32,16 lists the eye, form, eye-consciousness, and the things to be cognised by eye-consciousness, *cakkhusmiṃ ... rūpe, cakkhuviññāṇe, cakkhuviññāṇaviññātabbesu dhammesu*, while MĀ 187 at T I 732c19 only speaks of the eye, eye-consciousness, and the things to be cognised by eye-consciousness, 眼及眼識, 眼識知法. Here MĀ 187 seems more economic, since once "things to be cognised by eye-consciousness" are taken into account, to mention "form" would be redundant. Ps IV 93,22 attempts to explain this redundancy by suggesting that "form", etc., refers to what is actually cognised, while the expression "things to be cognised by eye-consciousness", etc., refers to what could have been cognised but has disappeared (or will disappear) without being cognised. This explanation is not convincing, since it would be irrelevant to describe the reaction of an arahant to what he or she does not experience at all. The commentary offers also another explanation, according to which "things to be cognised by eye-consciousness", etc., refer to the aggregates of feeling, perception, and volitional formation that are present together with eye-consciousness during the act of cognition, while "form", etc., refers to the object. This also does not seem to work too well, since the aggregates of feeling, perception, and formation are not cognisable by eye-consciousness or any of the other types of sense-consciousness, so that apart from "form" there would be little scope to find anything that could be fitted into the category "things to be cognised by eye-consciousness".

[13] MN 112 at MN III 32,17 and MĀ 187 at T I 732c19, which does not bring in the underlying tendencies and adherences mentioned in the formulation found in MN 112.

[14] MN 112 at MN III 32,33 and MĀ 187 at T I 733a13. The accounts of the gradual path in MN 112 and MĀ 187 show the same minor differences between *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* discourses noted above p. 190 in regard to the section on morality, p. 619 in regard to sense-restraint, and p. 82 in regard to the practice of mindfulness and clear comprehension.

MN III 36 The *Majjhima-nikāya* version indicates that at this point the other monks can come to the conclusion that the interrogated monk's claim to full awakening is genuine. According to the *Madhyama-āgama* version, however, the monks had already been satisfied with the first answer; they had kept on inquiring only because they wanted to witness the skill and wisdom of the interrogated monk.[15]

The *Chabbisodhana-sutta*'s treatment concludes at this point. In spite of speaking of a six-fold purity in its title, it presents only five aspects of the purity of an arahant. The Pāli commentary attempts to arrive at six types of purity by applying the freedom from I-making, my-making, and conceit to oneself as well as to others.[16] Based on dividing this type of purity into two, the commentary suggests, a final count of six types of purity can be made. This does not seem to solve the problem successfully, as some of the other types of purity, taken up in the *Chabbisodhana-sutta*, could also be applied to oneself and others, so that a consistent application of this mode of interpretation would result in more than six purities.

The commentary also records another opinion, which it attributes to the "elders that live on the other side of the sea".[17] According to the explanation of these elders, the purity of an arahant's attitude towards the four nutriments should be taken into account. This explanation is puzzling, since although in this way a sixth type of purity would indeed be obtained, the *Chabbisodhana-sutta* does not refer at all to the four nutriments.

Table 12.1: Listing of Purities in MN 112 and MĀ 187

MN 112	MĀ 187
seen, heard, sensed, cognised (1)	5 aggregates (→ 2)
5 aggregates (2)	4 nutriments
6 elements (3)	seen, heard, sensed, cognised (→ 1)
6 senses (4)	6 senses (→ 4)
sense of 'I'/gradual path (5)	6 elements (→ 3)
	sense of 'I'/gradual path (→ 5)

The solution to this puzzle can be found in the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse, which in addition to the five purities covered in both discourses also takes up an arahant's attitude towards the four nutriments. According to the *Madhyama-āgama* account, an arahant will be completely detached in regard to the four nutriments of food, contact, intention, and consciousness.[18] Thus the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse does indeed have an exposition that results in a six-fold purity (see above table 12.1).

[15] MĀ 187 at T I 734a22.

[16] Ps IV 94,19.

[17] Ps IV 94,23: *parasamuddavāsī therā*. An extract from the present discussion already appeared in Anālayo 2005c: 104-105.

[18] MĀ 187 at T I 732b18. The four nutriments also occur together with the elements, the aggregates, and the senses in the description of an arahant's detachment in the *Saundaranandakāvya* 18:18 in Johnston 1928: 136,5.

Judging from the title of the Pāli version, it seems safe to assume that at an earlier time a similar examination of the four nutriments was part of the *Chabbisodhana-sutta*. The "elders that live on the other side of the sea", mentioned in the Pāli commentary, were apparently still familiar with the earlier version that included the four nutriments, a treatment lost at some point during or after the transmission of the Pāli discourse from India to Sri Lanka.

From the perspective of the transmission of the early discourses, this apparent loss of a part of the Pāli discourse and the commentarial gloss on this loss are noteworthy. Although the present case shows that even a considerable part of a discourse could be lost, it also reveals the degree to which the reciting monks were committed to preserving a discourse exactly as they had received it. It would have been easy for the reciters to supply the missing section about the four nutriments on the strength of the discourse's title and the commentarial explanation, or alternatively to change the title to "five-fold purity" in order to make it fit with the discourse's content. This evidently did not happen and the Pāli discourse was instead handed down in its present truncated state. This testifies to the fidelity of the reciters and their earnest efforts, albeit not always successful, to pass on a discourse the way they had received it.

MN 113 *Sappurisa-sutta*

The *Sappurisa-sutta*, the "discourse on the worthy man", contrasts the detached attitude of a worthy man with the conceit and self-praise of an unworthy man. This discourse has three Chinese parallels, one of which is found in the *Madhyama-āgama*, another in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, while the third Chinese parallel is an individual translation.[19]

The *Sappurisa-sutta* and its parallels begin by describing how an unworthy man feels MN III 37
conceit and looks down on others because he stems from a high family.[20] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the *Madhyama-āgama* version, and the individual translation contrast this with a worthy man, who reflects that greed, anger, and delusion will not be eradicated simply because one comes from a high family.[21] The worthy man further reflects

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[19] The parallels are MĀ 85 at T I 561a-562a, EĀ 17.9 at T II 585a-c, and T 48 at T I 837c-838c, all of which agree with MN 113 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. MĀ 85 also agrees with MN 113 on the title (真人經), while T 48 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on what is Dharma and what is not Dharma", 佛說是法非法經. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 48 was translated by Ān Shìgāo (安世高) and stems from an original that belonged to a *Madhyama-āgama* collection, 出中阿含 (a specification not recorded in the 宋, 元, and 明 editions). EĀ 17.9 has been translated by Huyen-Vi 1994: 157-160.

[20] MN 113 at MN III 37,10 speaks of the *sappurisa*, which has its counterpart in MĀ 85 at T I 561a23 in the "true man", 真人, and in T 48 at T I 837c26 in the "worthy one", 賢者. EĀ 17.9 at T II 585a19 instead contrasts the "spiritual friend", 善知識, with the "evil friend", 惡知識, expressions that would correspond to *kalyāṇamitta* and *pāpamitta* in Pāli.

[21] This reflection is not found in EĀ 17.9. The presentation in EĀ 17.9 also differs in that it first examines all the negative types of conduct or attitude, after which it takes up all their positive counterparts. In relation to birth from a high family, EĀ 17.9 at T II 585b11 indicates that the good friend does not look

that even someone from a low family, as long as he practises in accordance with the Dharma, is praiseworthy on that account. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version points out that by reflecting in this way the worthy man gives priority to the practice,[22] while the *Madhyama-āgama* account notes that in this way he will truly attain the Dharma.[23]

MN III 38 The *Sappurisa-sutta* repeats the same treatment for the case of being from a great family, a rich family, and a wealthy family. Such variations are not taken up in its Chinese parallels (see table 12.2).[24] Instead of various types of family, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the individual translation examine the case of priding oneself on being handsome.[25]

The *Sappurisa-sutta* continues by taking up the arising of conceit because of fame or because of obtaining requisites. The topic of fame recurs only in the *Madhyama-āgama* version and in the individual translation,[26] while the gain of requisites is taken up only in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version.[27]

MN III 39 The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse next turns to knowledge of the Dharma, which it examines from three complementary perspectives in terms of:

- having heard much,
- having expertise in the *Vinaya*,
- being able to preach the Dharma.[28]

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down on others as he realizes that this does not really entail a difference between others and himself, 無有異; in relation to the other possible instances for developing conceit, the good friend realizes that these do not entail any "better or worse" between others and himself, EĀ 17.9 at T I 585b14+18+21+26: 無(有)增減.

[22] MN 113 at MN III 38,1: "being mainly concerned with the path", *paṭipadaṃ yeva antaraṃ karitvā*, adopting the translation suggested in CPD I: 241 s.v. *antaraṃ*.

[23] MĀ 85 at T I 561b2: "in this way he advances towards being one who attains the true Dharma", 如是趣向得真諦法者. T 48 does not offer any comment in this respect.

[24] After mentioning the "high family", *uccākula*, MN 113 at MN III 38,5 takes up the "great family", *mahākula*, the "vastly wealthy family", *mahābhogakula*, and the "outstandingly wealthy family", *uḷārabhogakula*. Once a "high family" has been taken into account, one may wonder what additional perspective an examination of the case of a "great family" can shed on the issue of conceit, and it seems even more difficult to find a difference between a "vastly wealthy family" and an "outstandingly wealthy family", so that the presentation in MN 113 appears to some degree redundant. Ps IV 98,18 suggests that the *uccākulā* refers only to warriors and nobles, while the *mahākulā* covers warriors, nobles, and also merchants. Again, while the *mahābhogakulā* is "endowed with great wealth", *mahantehi bhogehi samannāgata*, the *uḷārabhogakulā* is endowed with "outstanding and excellent wealth", *uḷārehi paṇitehi bhogehi*. This attempt to give a different meaning to the members of these two pairs seems a little contrived.

[25] MĀ 85 at T I 561b4 and T 48 at T I 838a7. Compared to the listing of different families in MN 113, handsomeness would indeed be worth separate mentioning as an occasion for developing pride. A comparable description of various occasions for the arising of conceit in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* also mentions handsomeness, cf. Shukla 1973: 147,17 or ŚSG 1998: 252,6 and T 1579 at T XXX 420b18.

[26] MĀ 85 at T I 561b17 and T 48 at T I 838a23.

[27] EĀ 17.9 at T II 585b6. The corresponding section in EĀ 17.9 is quite short in comparison, as it covers only five topics, namely being from a high family, being energetic in relation to moral conduct, being concentrated, being foremost in wisdom, and obtaining requisites.

[28] MN 113 at MN III 39,18+31 and MN III 40,9 lists *bahussuta, vinayadhara*, and *dhammakathika*.

Table 12.2: Occasions for Conceit According to MN 113 and its Parallels

MN 113	MĀ 85
comes from high family (1) comes from great family (2) comes from vastly wealthy family (3) comes from highly wealthy family (4) is famous (5) gains requisites (6) is learned (7) knows *Vinaya* (8) preaches Dharma (9) dwells in forest (10) wears rag robes (11) begs for food (12) dwells at tree root (13) dwells in cemetery (14) dwells out in the open (15) never lies down (16) uses any bed (17) takes single meal (18) attains 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th *jhāna* (19, 20, 21, 22) attains 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th immaterial attainment (23, 24, 25, 26) attains cessation (27)	comes from high family (→ 1) is handsome is an eloquent speaker (→ 9?) is famous elder (→ 5) recites discourses, knows *Vinaya*, Abhidharma, *Āgama*s (→ 7, 8) wears rag robes, only three robes (→ 11) begs for food from only 7 houses, takes single meal (→ 12, 18) dwells in forest, at tree root, on a rock, out in the open, in a cemetery (→ 10, 13, 15, 14) attains 1st *jhāna* (→ 19) attains 2nd, 3rd, 4th *jhāna*, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th immaterial attainment (→ 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26) (≠ 2-4, 6, 16-17, 27)

EĀ 17.9	T 48
comes from high family (→ 1) keeps precepts energetically is concentrated is foremost in wisdom gains requisites (→ 6) (≠ 2-5, 7-27)	comes from high family (→ 1) is handsome is an eloquent speaker (→ 9?) is famous elder (→ 5) recites discourses, knows *Vinaya* (→ 7, 8) begs for food from only 7 houses, takes single meal (→ 12, 18) wears rag robes (→ 11) dwells out in the open, at tree root, in cemetery (→ 15, 13, 14) attains 1st *jhāna* (→ 19) attains 2nd, 3rd, 4th *jhāna* (→ 20, 21, 22) attains 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th immaterial attainment (→ 23, 24, 25, 26) (≠ 2-4, 6, 10, 16-17, 27)

The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation present the topic of having knowledge of the Dharma in terms of knowledge of the discourses and of the

Vinaya,[29] in addition to which at an earlier point they refer to eloquence in speech.[30] Although their description of such eloquence does not explicitly refer to preaching the Dharma, this might be implicit, since the occasion for a monk to pride himself on his eloquence could easily arise when he engages in preaching the Dharma.

MN III 40 The same three versions agree in taking up various ascetic practices, such as:

- wearing rag robes,
- begging food,
- taking a single meal,
- dwelling at the root of a tree,
- dwelling in a cemetery,
- dwelling out in the open.[31]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version does not mention any of these practices, but only speaks of energetically keeping the precepts.[32]

MN III 42 The *Sappurisa-sutta* next considers the four *jhāna*s and the four immaterial attainments as possible instances for the arising of conceit. Here, too, the worthy man does not praise himself or look down on others due to such attainments, although the reasoning behind his attitude differs from the previously mentioned fame, gains, knowledge, or ascetic practices. Whereas earlier the point was to reflect that these qualities or practices do not in themselves ensure the removal of greed, anger, or delusion, in relation to the four *jhāna*s and the four immaterial attainments the worthy man reminds himself that the Buddha recommended non-identification with such attainments, since things inevitably will turn out to be different from the way one imagines them to be.[33]

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[29] MĀ 85 at T I 561b27 speaks of "reciting the discourses and remembering the *Vinaya*", 誦經, 持律, and T 48 at T I 838b4 speaks of one who "has heard and knows the discourses, is able to proclaim the discourses, knows the *Vinaya*, and knows [how to] enter into and penetrate the [meaning of the] discourses", 知聞經能說經, 知律, 知入通經. MĀ 85 at T I 561b27 additionally also mentions his being "trained in the Abhidharma", 學阿毘曇, and being "knowledgeable in the *Āgama*s and well learned in the collection of discourses", 諳阿含慕, 多學經書.

[30] MĀ 85 at T I 561b10 and T 48 at T I 838a14.

[31] Two practices mentioned only in MN 113 at MN III 42,5 are the practice of continuous sitting (i.e. never lying down to rest), *nesajjika*, and the practice of accepting any type of seat or lodging, *yathāsanthatika*. In relation to begging, MĀ 85 at T I 561c14 and T 48 at T I 838b14 specify that this implies to go at most to seven houses. On variations in listings of the ascetic practices cf., e.g., Bapat 1937a, Dantinne 1991: 24-30, Ganguly 1989: 21-23, and Ray 1994: 293-323; cf. also Boucher 2008: 191 note 8, who notes a reference to a twelve-fold listing in EĀ 4.2 at T II 557b8: 十二頭陀. A listing of eleven ascetics practices can be found in the same collection in EĀ 49.2 at T II 795a26; cf. also EĀ 49.3 at T II 795c10.

[32] EĀ 17.9 at T II 585a27 speaks of "energetically keeping the precepts", 精進持戒 (the descriptions of this quality show some variations, of which the present instance seems to be the one that fits the context best).

[33] According to MN 113 at MN III 42,28, even in relation to such attainment "the Blessed One has spoken of non-identification, as 'in whatever way one may conceive, it turns out to be otherwise'", *atammayatā vuttā bhagavatā, yena yena hi maññanti tato taṃ hoti aññathā ti* (S^e-MN III 141,8: *agammayatā*). Regarding *atammayatā*, Ñāṇananda 2005: 317 explains that "*tammaya* ... is derived from *tad maya*, literally 'made of that'", hence *atammayatā* highlights how due to grasping one "practically becomes one"

While the *Ekottarika-āgama* presentation has none of these meditative attainments and instead just speaks of being accomplished in concentration,[34] the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the individual translation similarly take up the four *jhāna*s and the four immaterial spheres.[35] The *Madhyama-āgama* account also agrees with the *Majjhima-nikāya* version that the worthy man avoids praising himself and disparaging others because he is inspired by a saying by the Buddha according to which conceivings are a manifestation of craving.[36]

The *Sappurisa-sutta* concludes its exposition by taking up the attainment of cessation, MN III 45 indicating through its mode of presentation that this attainment is outside of the range of the unworthy man.[37] The three parallel versions do not mention the attainment of cessation at all. Instead, they conclude with the Buddha telling the monks that they should train in accordance with what he had just taught them, so that they will become worthy men.[38]

MN 114 *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta*

The *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta*, the "discourse on what should be followed and what should not be followed", offers a detailed analysis of wholesome and unwholesome conduct. The *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta* as a whole does not have a counterpart in the Chinese *Āgama*s. A considerable part of the exposition given in the *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta* recurs, however, in two discourses in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, one of which has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[39]

The *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta* proceeds from a brief statement by the Buddha to a detailed exposition by Sāriputta, which the Buddha then recapitulates. The *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta* applies this pattern to three related topics, each of which distinguishes

with the respective concentrative attainment, due to the thought "I am [the] one who has attained" it. In contrast "the arahant is called *atammayo* in the sense that he does not identify himself with anything", he is no longer 'made of that'; on *atammayatā* cf. also Sferra 2011. The statement on conceiving (*yena yena hi maññanti*, etc.) recurs in Ud 3:10 at Ud 32,30, Sn 3:8 at Sn 588, and Sn 3:12 at Sn 757. In these three instances, this phrase seems to stand for the worldling's mistaken ideas about the nature of reality, in particular in Ud 3:10 and Sn 757 for the delusion of a self, while in Sn 588 the topic is the closely related illusion of permanency.

[34] EĀ 17.9 at T II 585b17 only mentions being "accomplished in concentration", 三昧成就.

[35] Instead of speaking of the attainment of "nothingness", T 48 at T I 838c19 refers to the attainment of "impermanence", 非常, which based on the context I take to be an error for the third immaterial attainment.

[36] MĀ 85 at T I 562a2: "the Blessed One has explained in many ways that, if there are conceivings, this is reckoned to be [a form] of craving", 世尊說無量種, 若有計者是謂愛也.

[37] MN 113 at MN III 45,2. Cf. also above p. 367.

[38] MĀ 85 at T I 562a14, EĀ 17.9 at T II 585c2, and T 48 at T I 838c28.

[39] The partial Pāli parallels are AN 9:6 at AN IV 365-369 and a part of AN 10:54, found at AN V 100,9-102,19. This section of AN 10:54 has a counterpart in a section of MĀ 109, found at T I 598c4-19. The parts in AN 10:54 at AN V 98,19 and MĀ 109 at T I 598b9 that are parallels to the present exposition are preceded by examinations of a different topic, namely the need for a monk to develop tranquillity and insight.

between what should be followed and what should not be followed. These three treatments take up:

- conduct (the three types), inclination of the mind, perceptions, views, and selfhood,
- the objects of the six senses,
- requisites and dwelling places of a monk.

The third of these three also forms the topic of the two *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourses and the *Madhyama-āgama* version. While in the *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta* the theme is broached by the Buddha and then elaborated by Sāriputta, in one of the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourses summary and exposition are spoken by Sāriputta,[40] while in the other *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourse and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel both summary and exposition are by the Buddha.[41]

MN III 58 The *Sevitabbāsevitabba-sutta*, the two *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourses, and the *Madhyama-āgama* version agree that what leads to an increase in unwholesome states and a decrease in wholesome states should not be followed or made use of. In contrast, what leads to an increase in wholesome states and to a decrease in unwholesome states should be followed or adopted.

The four versions apply this recommendation to:

- robes,
- alms food,
- resting places,
- a village,
- a township,
- a person.[42]

One of the two *Aṅguttara-nikāya* versions explores the case of the person with additional detail, taking into account also whether by living in dependence on a person requisites are easy or difficult to obtain and if one's meditation practice improves or deteriorates,[43] a presentation similar to the examination of the advantages and disadvantages of living in dependence on a person given in the *Vanapatha-sutta* and in its two *Madhyama-āgama* parallels.[44]

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[40] AN 9:6.

[41] AN 10:54 and its parallel MĀ 109; for similar expositions cf. also EĀ 29.8 at T II 658b11 and EĀ 47.5 at T II 782a9.

[42] MN 114 at MN III 59,24 applies the same also to a fortified city, *nagara*, in addition to the village, *gama*/村, and the township, *nigama*/邑, mentioned in all versions. Besides the *nagara*, MN 114 at MN III 59,26, AN 9:6 at AN IV 369,6, and AN 10:54 at AN V 102,6 also take into account the district, *janapada*, which is also not mentioned in MĀ 109.

[43] AN 9:6 at AN IV 366,8.

[44] MN 17 at MN I 107,14 and its parallels MĀ 107 at T I 597c8 and MĀ 108 at T I 598b3; cf. above p. 134. In agreement with these three discourses, AN 9:6 at AN IV 366,12 instructs that, if one's practice does not improve, one should leave, even if requisites are plenty. If one's practice improves, one should remain, even if requisites are difficult to obtain; if in addition requisites are easy to obtain, one should remain for one's whole life.

MN 115 *Bahudhātuka-sutta*

The *Bahudhātuka-sutta*, the "discourse on many elements", examines various sets of elements, the sense-spheres, dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*), and what is possible or impossible.[45] This discourse has two Chinese parallels, one of which is found in the *Madhyama-āgama*, while the other is an individual translation.[46] In addition to these two Chinese parallels, the *Bahudhātuka-sutta* also has a parallel in a Tibetan discourse,[47] and in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[48] The same discourse recurs, moreover, as a discourse quotation in the *Dharmaskandha* of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma collection.[49]

The *Bahudhātuka-sutta* begins with the Buddha explaining to his monk disciples that fears and troubles arise due to a fool, not due to a wise person. The Chinese and Tibetan parallels attribute this thought instead to Ānanda, who had this reflection while being alone in seclusion. According to the parallels versions, Ānanda then approached the Buddha to report what he had been thinking about. MN III 61

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[45] The last of these four topics, the exposition of impossibilities, recurs in AN 1:15 at AN I 26-30.

[46] The Chinese parallels are MĀ 181 at T I 723a-724c and T 776 at T XVII 712b-714a, both of which agree with MN 115 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. MĀ 181 also agrees with MN 115 on the title (多界經), while T 776 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha with a Dharma instruction in four parts", 佛說四品法門經, a title reconstructed by Nanjio 1883/1989: 219 as **Buddhabhāṣita-caturvarga-dharmaparyāya-sūtra*. Apart from being found in the title, the expression "four parts", 四品, recurs in T 776 at T XVII 712c7, where it stands for the four topics taught, namely the elements, the sense-spheres, dependent arising, and what is possible or impossible. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 776 was translated by Fǎxián (法賢). For remarks on MĀ 181 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 26, 65, and 115-117. A quotation from the present discourse in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 237a16, gives the discourse's title as "many elements", 多性 (Hirakawa 1997: 475 lists *dhātu* as one of the equivalents to 性). For a reference to a version of the present discourse in *Vyākhyāyukti* literature cf. Skilling 2000b: 342.

[47] The Tibetan parallel is the *khams mang po pa'i mdo*, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 297a2-301b2 or Q (963) *lu* 325b2-330b1, which agrees with MN 115 on the location of the discourse and also takes the "many elements" as its title, although when quoting the Indic original it has these two words in the reverse sequence, cf. D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 297a2 or Q (963) *lu* 325b3: *rgya gar skad du dhā tu ba hu ta ka sū tra* (I am indebted to Peter Skilling for kindly allowing me to consult his unpublished translation and edition of the Tibetan discourse and the quote in Abhidh-k-ṭ for my present study). Skilling 1994b: 772 notes several editions whose title corresponds to the sequence found in the Pāli title and suggests that "*dhātubahutaka* must be a reconstruction". Ibid. p. 774 points out that most colophons do not record the translator of this discourse, while the Phu brag manuscript of the Kanjur lists *Surendrabodhi and Ye shes sde, translators active during the early 9th century. Skilling (unpubl.) also notes the following partial quotations, which due to their shortness have not found a place in my present study: D (4092) *mngon pa, gu* 50b4 or Q (5593) *cu* 58b7 and D (4069) *sems tsam, si* 273b1 or Q (5570) *i* 157a8.

[48] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 28b2-33b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 31b1-36b6, which gives the title as *khams mang po pa'i mdo*, "the discourse on many elements"; cf. also Abhidh-k 1:28 in Pradhan 1967: 18,7, paralleling MN 115 at MN III 62,10, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 6c2 and in T 1559 at T XXIX 166c24. For the full quote cf. below note 61; for further discourse quotations in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below notes 69, 71, 76.

[49] This discourse quotation comes at the outset of chapter 20 in T 1537 at T XXVI 501b25-502c18 and is in several respects close to the Tibetan version.

In the Pāli version, the Buddha compared the danger caused by a fool to a fire, which might start from a grass and twig hut but eventually can burn down a whole house.[50] The same image recurs with minor variations in the other versions.[51] The Chinese and Tibetan versions additionally highlight that fear due to a fool arises not only at present, but also in the past and in the future.[52]

MN III 62 According to all versions, Ānanda inquired how to become a wise person.[53] The Buddha replied by listing knowledge of:

- the elements
- the sense-spheres,
- dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*),
- what is possible and what is impossible.

A difference in this respect can be found in the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary and in the *Dharmaskandha*, which include knowledge of the five aggregates in their definition of what makes the difference between a fool and a wise person (see table 12.3).[54] The *Dharmaskandha* also gives a full exposition to this topic.[55]

This reference to the five aggregates causes their overall presentation to become fivefold, which does not fit their own qualification of the discourse as being a fourfold presentation, literally "four turnings", a qualification made in all versions.[56] This makes

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[50] MN 115 at MN III 61,13; an image that occurs again in order to illustrate the same predicament in AN 3:1 at AN I 101,9.

[51] MĀ 181 at T I 723a22 and the *Dharmaskandha*, T 1537 at T XXVI 501c2, are similar to the Pāli version. The Tibetan discourse at D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 297b2 or Q (963) *lu* 326a3 describes how fire may burn down a house made of dry reeds or a house thatched with dry grass, or a heap of dry straw, thereby not mentioning that such a fire can affect a bigger building. The same is the case for the discourse quotation in the Abhidh-k-ṭ, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 29a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 32a1. T 776 at T XVII 712b26 only describes how a man piles up reed and makes a fire, without mentioning a house affected by this fire at all.

[52] MĀ 181 at T I 723a25, T 776 at T XVII 712b28, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 297b4 or Q (963) *lu* 326a5, and T 1537 at T XXVI 501c4. A difference is that MĀ 181 throughout distinguishes between "foolishness", 愚癡, and "wisdom", 智慧, while the other versions contrast a fool with a wise one.

[53] MN 115 at MN III 62,2 stands alone in qualifying the wise person to be a monk and an "inquirer", *vīmaṃsaka* (a qualification not found in the preceding injunction by the Buddha in S[e]-MN III 166,20). In MĀ 181 at T I 723b8, T 776 at T XVII 712c5, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 298a3 or Q (963) *lu* 326b4, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 29b1 or Q (5595) *tu* 32b1 Ānanda also asks for a definition of a fool, which the Buddha explains to be one who does not have knowledge of the elements, of the sense-spheres, of dependent arising, and of what is possible and impossible. MĀ 181 at T I 723b7 precedes its treatment of foolishness by reporting that Ānanda was so affected by what the Buddha had said that he was in tears, 悲泣淚出.

[54] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 29b1 or Q (5595) *tu* 32b1 lists the aggregates first, whereas in T 1537 at T XXVI 501c11 they occur in the third place.

[55] T 1537 at T XXVI 502a13. This exposition is without a counterpart in the discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ, which thus appears to present an intermediate stage, where a reference to the five aggregates has already become part of the definition of a wise or a fool, but this reference has not yet led to a full exposition, such as found in the *Dharmaskandha*.

[56] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 33b3 or Q (5595) *tu* 36b5: *le'u bzhi pa* and T 1537 at T XXIV 502c17: 四轉,

it probable that the reference to the five aggregates, which, moreover, occurs in the two versions at different places, is a later addition.

Table 12.3: Requirements for Wisdom According to MN 115 and its Parallels

MN 115 & MĀ 181 & T 776 & D 297/Q 963
elements (1) sense-spheres (2) dependent arising (3) possible and impossible (4)

Abhidh-k-ṭ	T 1537
aggregates elements (→ 1) sense-spheres (→ 2) dependent arising (→ 3) possible and impossible (→ 4)	elements (→ 1) sense-spheres (→ 2) aggregates dependent arising (→ 3) possible and impossible (→ 4)

The *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and its parallels agree in expounding knowledge of the elements by listing:

- the eighteen elements related to the senses,
- the six elements of earth, water, fire, etc.,
- the six elements related to pleasure and pain, etc.,[57]
- the six elements related to sensual desire and ill will, etc.,
- the three elements of what belongs to the sensual, to form, and to formlessness,
- the two elements of what is conditioned and unconditioned.[58]

similar to the fourfold pattern mentioned in the other versions, cf. MN 115 at MN III 67,30: *catuparivaṭṭo*, MĀ 181 at T I 724c2: 四品, T 776 at T XVII 713c27: 四品法門, and D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 301a7 or Q (963) *lu* 330a8: *le'u bzhi pa*. Abhidh-k-ṭ, however, has also an alternative title that would reflect a five-fold presentation, as it speaks of the "five[-fold] deathless", D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 33b3 or Q (5595) *tu* 36b5: *bdud rtsi lnga*.

[57] While T 776 has the same sequence as MN 115, the six elements related to sensual desire and ill will precede the six elements related to pleasure and pain in MĀ 181, in the Tibetan versions, and in the *Dharmaskandha*, cf. table 12.4.

[58] In the Pāli discourses, the eighteen elements can be found, e.g., in SN 14:1 at SN II 140,11 and SN 41:2 at SN IV 285,3, where they represent the "diversity of elements", *dhātunānatta*. The six elements of earth, etc., occur repeatedly, e.g., in the *Majjhima-nikāya* in MN 112 at MN III 31,15, and MN 140 at MN III 240,18. The six elements related to sensual desire and ill will are listed in DN 33 at DN III 215,15 and in AN 6:111 at AN III 447,15, with a more detailed treatment provided in SN 14:12 at SN II 151,16. The triplet sense, form, formless can be found in DN 33 at DN III 215,19. The doublet conditioned/unconditioned occurs in DN 34 at DN III 274,14. Five of the six elements related to pleasure and pain recur under the heading of "five faculties", e.g., in DN 33 at DN III 239,12, SN 36:22 at SN IV 232,4, and SN 48:31-40 at SN V 207-216, expositions which, however, do not include the sixth element mentioned in MN 115 at MN III 62,31, the "element of ignorance", *avijjādhātu*. The elements listed in MN 115 recur also in the *Vibhaṅga*, where the eighteen elements can be found at Vibh 87-90, the three

The Chinese and Tibetan discourses and the *Dharmaskandha* also mention:

- four elements, namely the four mental aggregates,
- three elements, which cover what is inferior, middle, and superior,
- three elements, namely what is wholesome, unwholesome, and indeterminate,
- three elements, which comprise the disciple in higher training (*sekha*), the one beyond training (*asekha*), and the one who is neither,
- two elements, namely what is with influxes and what is free from the influxes.[59]

The *Madhyama-āgama* and Tibetan discourses and the *Dharmaskandha* also take up:

- the three elements of form, formlessness, and cessation,
- the three elements of past, present, and future times.[60]

These differences result in different numbers of elements being taken into account in the respective listings (see below table 12.4):

- the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse lists forty-one elements,
- the individual translation takes up fifty-six elements,
- the other versions cover sixty-two elements.[61]

MN III 63 The *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels examine the next two major topics, the six senses-spheres and the twelve links of dependent arising, in similar ways.

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sets of six elements at Vibh 82-87, the triplet sense, form, and formless at Vibh 409-420, and the conditioned as against the unconditioned element at Vibh 421,31.

[59] A difference in regard to the exposition of the elements is that, according to MN 115 at MN III 62,19+26+33 and MN III 63,4+10, after each set of elements Ānanda inquires if there is still another way to be skilled or knowledgeable in the elements, *siyā pana, bhante, añño pi pariyāyo*? The parallel versions do not record any intervention by Ānanda, so that their exposition of the elements comes as one continuous explanation by the Buddha.

[60] The additional elements covered in the Chinese and Tibetan versions can also be found in other Pāli discourses. The four elements occur in an analysis of deeper levels of concentration into its constituent elements under the heading of the four mental aggregates given in MN 64 at MN I 436,21+29, which enjoins to develop insight in regard to "whatever there is of feeling, perception, volitional formations, and consciousness", *yad eva tattha hoti vedanāgataṃ saññāgataṃ saṅkhāragataṃ viññāṇagataṃ*. The additional element triplets found in the Chinese and Tibetan versions recur in DN 33 at DN III 215,20+22, DN III 216,16, DN III 217,24, and DN III 218,1, which has the triplet form, formless, and cessation as its entry 3:14; what is inferior, middle, and superior as its entry 3:15; past, future, and present as its entry 3:24; meritorious, demeritorious, and indeterminate formations as its entry 3:35; and the trainee, the one beyond training, and the one who is neither as its entry 3:36. The first of these triplets, covering form, formlessness, and cessation, occurs also in its Chinese parallel DĀ 9 at T I 50a28. Finally the distinction between what is with influxes and what is free from the influxes is applied in DN 28 at DN III 112,7 to supernormal powers (*iddhi*), in MN 117 at MN III 72,6 to the factors of the noble eightfold path, in AN 2:7 at AN I 81,1 to happiness, and in AN 10:133 at AN V 275,20 to the ten courses of action.

[61] A listing of sixty-two elements is explicitly associated with the present discourse in the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 367c4: 多界經中說界差別有六十二 (cf. also Buddhavarman's *Vibhāṣā* translation, T 1546 at T XXVIII 279b24), and in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Abhidh-k 1:28 in Pradhan 1967: 18,7: *bahudhātuke 'pi dvāṣaṣṭirdhātavo deśitāḥ*, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 6c2: 多界經說界差別有六十二 and T 1559 at T XXIX 166c24: 於多界經中, 佛說有六十二); cf. also T 1552 at T XXVIII 874a6 and T 1828 at T XLII 657b17.

Table 12.4: Survey of Elements in MN 115 and its Parallels

MN 115
18 elements: 6 senses, 6 objects, 6 consciousness (1)
6 elements: earth, water, fire, wind, space, consciousness (2)
6 elements: pleasure, pain, joy, grief, equanimity, ignorance (3)
6 elements: sensual desire, ill will, cruelty, & absence of each (4)
3 elements: sensual, form, formless (5)
2 elements: conditioned, unconditioned (6)

T 776
18 elements: 6 senses, 6 objects, 6 consciousness (→ 1)
6 elements: earth, water, fire, wind, space, consciousness (→ 2)
6 elements: pleasure, joy, pain, equanimity, grief, ignorance (→ 3)
6 elements: sensual desire, ill will, cruelty, & absence of each (→ 4)
4 elements: feeling, perception, formations, consciousness
3 elements: sensual, form, formless (→ 5)
3 elements: inferior, middle, superior
3 elements: wholesome, unwholesome, neither
3 elements: *sekha*, *asekha*, neither
2 elements: with influxes, without influxes
2 elements: conditioned, unconditioned (→ 6)

MĀ 181, D 297/Q 963, Abhidh-k-ṭ, T 1537
18 elements: 6 senses, 6 objects, 6 consciousness (→ 1)
6 elements: earth, water, fire, wind, space, consciousness (→ 2)
6 elements: sensual desire, ill will, cruelty, & absence of each (→ 4)
6 elements: pleasure, pain, joy, grief, equanimity, ignorance (→ 3)
4 elements: feeling, perception, formations, consciousness
3 elements: sensual, form, formless (→ 5)
3 elements: form, formless, cessation
3 elements: past, future, present
3 elements: inferior, middle, superior
3 elements: wholesome, unwholesome, neither
3 elements: *sekha*, *asekha*, neither
2 elements: with influxes, without influxes
2 elements: conditioned, unconditioned (→ 6)

As the last aspect in their examination of what makes the difference between a wise and a fool, the *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels turn to the topic of what is possible and what is impossible. MN III 64

Somewhat similar to the case of the elements, which constitutes the first of the main themes in the *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and nearly all of its parallels, in the case of this last topic of examination, regarding what is possible and what is impossible, substantial variations between the Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan versions can again be found (see below table 12.5).

Table 12.5: Impossibilities in MN 115 and its Parallels

MN 115	MĀ 181
regard formations as permanent (1) regard formations as satisfying (2) regard formations as self (3) kill mother (4) kill father (5) kill arahant (6) harm Tathāgata (7) create schism (8) follow other teacher (9) 2 Buddhas at same time (10) 2 wheel-turning kings at same time (11) female Buddha (12) female wheel-turning king (13) female Sakka (14) female Māra (15) female Brahmā (16) evil conduct (body/speech/mind) has good results (17-19) good conduct (body/speech/mind) has evil results (20-22) evil conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to good rebirth (23-25) good conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to evil rebirth (26-28)	2 wheel-turning kings at same time (→ 11) 2 Tathāgatas at same time (→ 10) kill father, kill mother, kill arahant, create schism, harm Tathāgata (→ 4-8) give up precepts and the path consider outsiders field of merit consider outsiders as awakened (→ 9?) faith in divination inquire about auspicious signs from outsiders search way out of *dukkha* from outsiders (→ 9?) be reborn 8th existence evil conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to good rebirth (→ 23-25) good conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to evil rebirth (→ 26-28) evil conduct (body/speech/mind) has good results (→ 17-19) good conduct (body/speech/mind) has evil results (→ 20-22) *satipaṭṭhāna* without overcoming hindrances *bojjhaṅga* without *satipaṭṭhāna*, etc. awakening without *bojjhaṅga*, etc. end *dukkha* without awakening, etc. (≠ 1-3, 12-16)

T 776	D 297/Q 963
evil conduct (body/speech/mind) has good results (→ 17-19) good conduct (body/speech/mind) has evil results (→ 20-22) evil conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to good rebirth (→ 23-25) good conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to evil rebirth (→ 26-28) 2 Buddhas at same time (→ 10) 2 wheel-turning kings at same time (→ 11) female wheel-turning king, heavenly king, Sakka, Brahmā, Paccekabuddha, Buddha (→ 12-14, 16) kill father, kill mother, kill arahant, create schism, harm Tathāgata (→ 4-8) violate precepts, follow other teacher, etc. (→ 9) *satipaṭṭhāna* without overcoming hindrances *bojjhaṅga* without *satipaṭṭhāna*, etc. awakening / end *dukkha* without *bojjhaṅga*, etc. (≠ 1-3, 15)	evil conduct (body/speech/mind) has good results (→ 17-19) good conduct (body/speech/mind) has evil results (→ 20-22) evil conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to good rebirth (→ 23-25) good conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to evil rebirth (→ 26-28) 2 Buddhas at same time (→ 10) 2 wheel-turning kings at same time (→ 11) female wheel-turning king, Sakka, Brahmā, Māra, Paccekabuddha, Buddha (→ 12-16) kill father, kill mother, kill arahant, create schism, harm Tathāgata (→ 4-8) kill living being, give up training, hold outsiders to be worthy, think outsiders are awakened, believe in divination, accept view of outsiders, be reborn 8th existence (→ 9) *satipaṭṭhāna* without overcoming hindrances *bojjhaṅga* without *satipaṭṭhāna*, etc. awakening without *bojjhaṅga*, etc. (≠ 1-3)

T 1537	Abhidh-k-ṭ
evil conduct (body/speech/mind) has good results (→ 17-19)	evil conduct (body/mind/speech) has good results (→ 17-19)
good conduct (body/speech/mind) has evil results (→ 20-22)	good conduct (body/mind/speech) has evil results (→ 20-22)
evil conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to good rebirth (→ 23-25)	evil conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to good rebirth (→ 23-25)
good conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to evil rebirth (→ 26-28)	good conduct (body/speech/mind) leads to evil rebirth (→ 26-28)
2 wheel-turning kings at same time (→ 11)	2 wheel-turning kings at same time (→ 11)
2 Tathāgatas at same time (→ 10)	2 Tathāgatas/Buddhas at same time (→ 10)
female wheel-turning king, Sakka, Māra, Brahmā, Paccekabuddha, Buddha (→ 12-16)	female wheel-turning king (→ 13) female heavenly king, Sakka, Brahmā, Paccekabuddha, Buddha (→ 12, 14-16)
kill father, kill mother, kill arahant, create schism, harm Tathāgata (→ 4-8)	kill mother (→ 4) kill father, kill arahant, create schism, harm Tathāgata (→ 5-8)
kill living being give up training seek teacher or field of merit among outsiders, hold outsiders to be worthy, practice divination, be reborn 8th existence (→ 9)	kill living being, give up training, hold outsiders to be worthy, think outsiders are awakened, believe in divination, be reborn 8th existence (→ 9)
satipaṭṭhāna without overcoming hindrances	*satipaṭṭhāna* without overcoming hindrances
bojjhaṅga without *satipaṭṭhāna*, etc.	*bojjhaṅga* without *satipaṭṭhāna*, etc.
awakening without *bojjhaṅga*, etc.	end *dukkha* without *bojjhaṅga*, etc. awakening without *bojjhaṅga*, etc.
(≠ 1-3)	(≠ 1-3)

The Pāli version begins this examination by explaining that a person endowed with view,[62] an expression implying attainment of stream-entry, will be incapable of considering anything as permanent, satisfactory, or a self.[63] These three impossibilities are not mentioned in the other versions. The parallel versions agree that for a person endowed with view it is impossible to kill his or her mother or father, to kill an arahant, to maliciously shed the blood of a Tathāgata, to create a schism in the monastic community, or to follow another teacher.[64] The Tibetan versions and the *Dharmaskandha* add that a person endowed with view is also incapable of intentionally killing a living being.[65]

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[62] MN 115 at MN III 64,17: *diṭṭhisampanno puggalo*, which Ps IV 107,1 explains to be "the noble disciple who has attained the stream and is endowed with the view of the path", *maggadiṭṭhiyā sampanno sotāpanno ariyasāvako.*

[63] The exposition of impossibilities in MN 115 recurs in AN 1:15 at AN I 26-30 and in Vibh 335,35, which takes up the same topics in the same sequence; cf. also AN 6:92-95 at AN III 439,1 for further indications on what is impossible for a person endowed with view, and DN 19 at DN II 225,3 on the impossibility that two Buddhas could appear at the same time within a single world system, cf. also below note 69.

[64] While in the listing in MN 115 at MN III 65,3 shedding the blood of a Tathāgata precedes schism, the opposite sequence can be found in MĀ 181 at T I 724a3, T 776 at T XVII 713b27, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 300b2 or Q (963) *lu* 329a8, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 32a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 35a7, and T 1537 at T XXVI 502b21 (on this type of variation cf. also Silk 2007b: 254-255). According to AN 5:129 at AN III 146,23,

MN III 65 While the Pāli version simply notes that a person endowed with view is incapable of following another teacher,[66] the Chinese and Tibetan versions take up the same topic from several perspectives. The individual translation explains that it is impossible for a person endowed with right view to commit a breach of the precepts and then slander his teacher and search for another teacher by approaching other recluses or Brahmins.[67] According to the *Madhyama-āgama* and the Tibetan discourse, such a person is not able to give up the training, to rely on omens and divination, or to think that a non-Buddhist recluse or Brahmin could have a true vision of reality.[68]

The parallel versions continue their examination of impossibilities by pointing out that two Buddhas or two wheel-turning kings cannot arise in the same world.[69]

The *Bahudhātuka-sutta* next takes up the impossibility that a female could be any of the following:[70] a Buddha, a wheel-turning king, Sakka, Māra, Brahmā.[71]

Instead of Māra, the individual translation and Śamathadeva's commentary speak of being one of the four heavenly kings.[72] Another difference is that the individual translation, the Tibetan versions, and the *Dharmaskandha* add to the above set the impossibility that a woman could attain the awakening of a Paccekabuddha.[73]

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the first five of these actions lead straight to hell, to which AN 6:87 at AN III 436,16 adds that the same five and foolishness as sixth prevent entering the path of assurance even when one hears the Dharma.

[65] D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 300b3 or Q (963) *lu* 329b1 and T 1537 at T XXVI 502b23.

[66] MN 115 at MN III 65,11: "that he should proclaim another teacher, that is impossible", *aññaṃ satthāraṃ uddiseyya, n' etaṃ ṭhānaṃ vijjatī ti*, which Ps IV 113,21 explains to mean that he would not "take the founder of another sect as 'this is the teacher'", *aññatitthakaraṃ ayaṃ satthā ti evaṃ gaṇheyya.*

[67] T 776 at T XVII 713c1.

[68] MĀ 181 at T I 724a6 and D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 300b4 or Q (963) *lu* 329b2.

[69] The impossibility of two Buddhas arising at the same time recurs also in DN 19 at DN II 225,3, together with its counterparts in DĀ 3 at T I 31a15 and in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 121,18 or in Senart 1897: 199,10. Other occurrences can be found in DN 28 at DN III 114,23 and its parallel DĀ 18 at T I 79a7, as well as in AN 1:15 at AN I 27,36. The same impossibility also occurs in a discourse quotation from the present discourse in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 237a22, cf. Lamotte 1970a: 1524, as well as in a discourse quotation in Abhidh-k 3:96 in Pradhan 1967: 184,17, paralleling MN 115 at MN III 65,14; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 64c9, T 1559 at T XXIX 222b22, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 188b3 or Q (5595) *tu* 215b2. Vetter 2001: 67 note 32 points out that "the statement that it is impossible for two Buddhas to arise at the same time ... finds a context only in DN II 224 (Mahāgovindasutta)".

[70] On the negative attitude towards women that underlies this stipulation of impossibilities cf., e.g., Barnes 1987: 114, Bentor 2008: 126, Gross 1993: 42, and Rajapakse 1992: 72. This inability does not imply, however, that women are not capable of reaching liberation, as assumed by An 2002: 11.

[71] The impossibility for a woman to be a Buddha is also mentioned in T 60 at T I 858a2 and T 397 at T XIII 14c14. A discourse quotation paralleling the stipulation that it is impossible for a woman to be a Brahmā can be found in Abhidh-k 2:12 in Pradhan 1967: 46,24, paralleling MN 115 at MN III 66,7; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 16c1, T 1559 at T XXIX 175c28, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 56b3 or Q (5595) *tu* 62a3.

[72] T 776 at T XVII 713b21 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 32a3 or Q (5595) *tu* 35a5.

[73] T 776 at T XVII 713b22: 成緣覺, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 300b1 or Q (963) *lu* 329a6: *rang byang chub mngon du byed par 'gyur ba*, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 32a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 35a5: *rang sangs rgyas kyi*

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse, however, does not take up the subject of what is impossible for a woman at all.[74] Although from the perspective of transmission this absence could be a loss of material, it could very well be that this particular set of impossibilities was not originally part of the present discourse.[75]

The *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and its parallels also mention that it is not possible for bad conduct to ripen in pleasant experience or rebirth in heaven, just as it is not possible for good conduct to ripen in unpleasant experiences or rebirth in hell.[76] MN III 66

While the *Bahudhātuka-sutta*'s account of impossibilities ends at this point, the other versions continue by exploring the following impossibilities:

- being well established in *satipaṭṭhāna* without having overcome the hindrances,[77]
- developing the awakening factors without being well established in *satipaṭṭhāna*,
- reaching awakening without having developed the awakening factors.[78]

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byang chub mngon du byed pa, and T 1537 at T XXVI 502b17: 證獨覺菩提. The same notion appears to be found also in later texts of the Theravāda tradition. Cooray 2004: 244 draws attention to the *Apadāna* tale of Mahāpaduma, B[e]-Ap-a 161 on stanza 95, who made the aspiration to become a Paccekabuddha when being a woman, but realized this aspiration only after being reborn as a male. Cooray concludes that from the perspective of later Theravāda tradition, "women may ... aspire for *paccekabodhi*, though they must undergo a change of sex if their aspirations are to be realized".

[74] This has already been noted by Nagata 2002: 282-283.

[75] For a more detailed discussion of this possibility cf. Anālayo 2009b; cf. also, e.g., Hae-ju 1999: 129-131, and Kajiyama 1982: 55-58.

[76] In relation to the topic of rebirth, the Tibetan discourse at an earlier point additionally mentions that it is impossible for a person endowed with view to come to an eighth existence, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 300b5 or Q (963) *lu* 329b3: *srid pa brgyad pa mngon par 'grub par 'gyur ba 'di ni gnas ma yin no*, a point made also in MĀ 181 at T I 724a28: 受八有者, and in the *Dharmaskandha*, T 1537 at T XXVI 502b29: 或受第八有. The same impossibility recurs, e.g., in Sn 2:1 at Sn 230 and as a discourse quotation in Abhidh-k 6:34 in Pradhan 1967: 356,10, paralleling MN 115 at MN III 64,16; cf. also T 1558 at T XIX 123b13, T 1559 at T XIX 275b15, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 22a6 or Q (5595) *thu* 57a5.

[77] This stipulation to remove the five hindrances refers to being fully and well established in *satipaṭṭhāna*, cf. MĀ 181 at T I 724b13: "a mind properly established in the four *satipaṭṭhānas*", 心正立四念處者, T 776 at T XVII 713c12: "being well able to completely understand the four *satipaṭṭhānas*", 善能了解四念處, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 301a1 or Q (963) *lu* 329b5: "dwelling with the mind firmly established in the four *satipaṭṭhānas*", *dran pa nye bar gzhag pa bzhi dag la sems shin tu nye bar bzhag nas gnas par 'gyur ba* (D: *phar*), D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 32b3 or Q (5595) *tu* 35b4: "a mind well established in the four *satipaṭṭhānas*", *dran pa nye bar bzhag pa bzhi rnams la sems legs par gnas shing,* and the *Dharmaskandha* in T 1537 at T XXVI 502c3: "a mind well settled in the four *satipaṭṭhānas*", 心善安住四念住. In other words, the stipulation made in these versions refers to the more developed stages of mindfulness practice. That during well-established *satipaṭṭhāna* practice unwholesome thoughts no longer have a scope to arise is also mentioned in SN 22:80 at SN III 93,20. In contrast, the instructions given in MN 10 at MN I 60,11 (or DN 22 at DN II 300,10) and their parallel MĀ 98 at T I 584a24 for *satipaṭṭhāna* practice in general direct mindfulness to the presence of the five hindrances in the mind. This formulation makes it clear that *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation can be undertaken while the hindrances are present. In fact, AN 9:64 at AN IV 458,4 presents *satipaṭṭhāna* as the tool to overcome the five hindrances, so that their overcoming could obviously not be a prerequisite for *satipaṭṭhāna* practice in general.

[78] The relation of *satipaṭṭhāna* to the development of the awakening factors and the need to develop the awakening factors for reaching awakening are common themes in other Pāli discourses, cf., e.g., DN 16

The *Bahudhātuka-sutta* and its parallels conclude with the Buddha giving various names to the present discourse, such as "four turnings", "mirror of the Dharma", "drum of the deathless", and also the name used as the title in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, *Madhyama-āgama*, and Tibetan versions, the discourse on "many elements".[79]

MN 116 *Isigili-sutta*

The *Isigili-sutta*, the "discourse on mount Isigili", introduces mount Isigili as a former dwelling place of Paccekabuddhas, followed by listing the names and qualities of various Paccekabuddhas.[80] This discourse has a parallel in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[81]

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at DN II 83,18, DN 28 at DN III 101,10, and SN 47:12 at SN V 160,27, or the more detailed treatments in MN 118 at MN III 85,7 and SN 54:13 at SN V 331,6. MĀ 181 at T I 724b23 adds one further step by indicating that, without attaining supreme and complete awakening, it will not be possible to go beyond *dukkha*, 不得無上正盡覺, 盡苦邊者, 終無是處. As full awakening equals the eradication of *dukkha*, this additional proposal seems to some degree redundant.

[79] MN 115 at MN III 67,30 lists *bahudhātuko ... catuparivaṭṭo ... dhammādāso ... amatadundubhī ti*, with counterparts in T 776 at T XVII 713c27: 四品法門 ... 法鏡 ... 甘露鼓 ... 多界, in D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 301a7 or Q (963) *lu* 330a8: *le'u bzhi pa ... chos kyi me long ... bdud rtsi'i rnga bo che* (thereby qualifying the drum of the deathless as "great") ... *khams mang po*, in T 1537 at T XXVI 502c17: 四轉 ... 大法鏡 (qualifying the mirror of the Dharma as "great") ... 甘露鼓 ... 多界, and in D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 33b3 or Q (5595) *tu* 36b5: *le'u bzhi pa ... chos kyi me long ... bdud rtsi lnga* (speaking of a "five[-fold] deathless" instead of the "drum of the deathless") ... *khams mang po*. In addition to these, MN 115 at MN III 67,32 also mentions the "unsurpassable victory in battle", *anuttaro saṅgāmavijayo*, an expression not found in the parallel versions. The same title recurs in a listing of five alternative titles for the *Brahmajāla-sutta*, DN 1 at DN I 46,24, where it is also absent from the Chinese and Tibetan counterparts, cf. DĀ 21 at T I 94a13, T 21 at T I 270c20, and Weller 1934: 64. MĀ 181 at T I 724c1 also has additional titles for the present discourse, namely the "Dharma element", 法界, the "deathless element", 甘露界, the "many drums", 多鼓, and the "Dharma drum", 法鼓.

[80] Concerning the term *paccekabuddha*, Norman 1983b: 97 suggests that *pacceka* might be a wrong back-formation from *pratyaya*, so that the implication of the term *paccekabuddha* would be "one awakened by an (external) cause" (ibid. p. 99), in the sense of needing an external stimulus through some event or special circumstance in order to awaken; cf. also von Hinüber 1985/2001: 193. This would distinguish a Paccekabuddha from a disciple on the one hand, who awakens after receiving teachings, and from a Buddha on the other hand, who awakens without an external stimulus. The traditional derivation of *pacceka* from *pratyeka* (e.g., Be-Ps-pṭ I 115: *paccekaṃ saccāni buddhavanto ti paccekabuddhā*) rather gives the sense of a "single" or "individual" Buddha, a sense in fact found in the present discourse itself, cf. MN 116 at MN III 69,25: *paccekam ev' ajjhagamuṃ subodhiṃ* (Be-MN III 114,12: *ajjhagamaṃ*). This sense recurs also in the similar term *paccekabrahmā* found, e.g., in SN 6:6 at SN I 146,24 (or SN2 177 at SN2 I 318,16) and in AN 10:89 at AN V 171,3 (cf. also the corresponding *pratyekabrahmā* in the *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 44,1 and 45,1, or in Lévi 1932a: 34,8), since a Brahmā may indeed be solitary in the sense of being without a retinue, but it would be difficult to relate his status to an external cause or condition. The same sense can also be seen in the expression *paccekagātha* in DN 20 at DN II 253,16 and SN 1:37 at SN I 26,14 (or SN2 37 at SN2 I 55,15), which refers to stanzas spoken by *deva*s "individually", in the sense of being spoken by "each" of them, an usage also found in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 121,9 (although in a different context): *pratyekapratyekaṃ gāthābhir abhiṣṭuyāma*, where the Chinese counterpart, T 1450 at T XXIV 125a2, reads "each", 各, and the Tibetan counterpart in

The *Isigili-sutta* and its parallel explain that, while four of the five mountains that surround Rājagaha had different names in ancient times, the fifth mountain was called Isigili already in former times.[82] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues by giving a popular etymology for the name Isigili, an etymology not recorded in its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel.[83] MN III 68

Both versions list the names of several Paccekabuddhas that used to live on Mount Isigili.[84] The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse continues by relating that, before the Buddha MN III 69

Waldschmidt 1957a: 75,11 reads "each one", *re res*. Cooray 2004: 250 note 1 sums up that in its usage in the Pāli discourses *pacceka* conveys "the idea of separation"; cf. also Anālayo 2010h. Wright 2001: 14 comments, regarding the suggestion by Norman that *pacceka* should rather convey the sense of an external cause, that "the evidence, however, points rather strongly in the opposite direction".

81 The parallel is EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a-c, which agrees with MN 116 on locating the discourse at Rājagaha. For a translation of EĀ 38.7, together with extracts from the present study, cf. Anālayo 2010h.

82 The same Mount Isigili was the location where, according to SN 4:23 at SN I 121,19 (or SN[2] 159 at SN[2] I 266,16) and SN 22:87 at SN III 123,9, the monks Godhika and Vakkali committed suicide (on Vakkali cf. also Anālayo 2011i), and where according to Jā 522 at Jā V 125,23 Mahāmoggallāna was murdered.

83 MN 116 at MN III 68,27, according to which on seeing Paccekabuddhas enter the mountain and then disappear (perhaps by entering a cave?) the locals came to the conclusion that the mountain "swallows up", *gilati*, those "seers", *isī*, hence the mountain was called Isigili. Caillat 1968: 178 points out that the Pāli etymology *gilati* would be of a later origin, when *°gili* was no longer understood to be equivalent to g*iri*. In fact, EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a15 introduces this mountain as "seer's cave mountain", 仙人窟山 (adopting the 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading 窟 instead of 掘), and then continues to refer to this mountain as 仙人山, corresponding to *isigiri*. Lüders 1954: 45 notes that the *Mahābhārata* 2:799 does indeed refer to one of the mountains surrounding Rājagaha as *ṛṣigiri*; cf. also Bapat 1970: 220 note 28 and Law 1938/1991: 3 and 10.

84 In addition to Paccekabuddhas, according to EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a18 Mount Isigili was also inhabited by bodhisattvas, arahants, and seers. Of the various Paccekabuddhas mentioned in MN 116, Ariṭṭha (阿利吒) recurs in B[e]-Nett 143 and Upariṭṭha (婆利吒) in Th 910. Tagarasikhin occurs in SN 3:20 at SN I 92,4 (or SN[2] 131 at SN[2] I 206,13, with a counterpart in SĀ 1233 at T II 337c8), in Ud 5:3 at Ud 50,16, and in Jā 390 at Jā III 299,26 (according to Rhys Davids 1903/1997: 31, Tagara might refer to a location, in which case his name would be "Sikhin from Tagara"). A reference to Sudassana (善觀) can be found in *Therāpadāna* 514:1 at Ap II 451,4; cf. also the similarly named Paccekabuddha 善目 in EĀ 38.9 at T II 724a12. The specification in MN 116 at MN III 68,26 that "five hundred Paccekabuddhas lived for a long time on this mount Isigili", *pañca paccekabuddhasatāni imasmiṃ isigilismiṃ pabbate ciranivāsino ahesuṃ*, is noteworthy, as according to Vism 234,12 a Paccekabuddha lives a solitary life style, *ekacariyanivāsena*, and Pj II 64,7 explains that a Paccekabuddha is solitary in several senses, one of them being that he stands, goes, sits, and lies alone, that is, he is without a companion, *adutiyaṭṭhena eko*. The *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 207,21 or in Senart 1897: 347,18, however, describes a Pratyekabuddha who had various other Pratyekabuddhas as his attendants, *tena dāni pratyekabuddhena ye paricāritā pratyekabuddhā*, and the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1978a: 15,6 reports how a group of five hundred Pratyekabuddhas went to beg alms together. In a similar vein, EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b6 (cf. note 86 below) reports the self-incineration of five hundred Paccekabuddhas on Mount Isigili, which reads as if they were living together at the same time and in the same location. Another discourse in the same collection, EĀ 32.5 at T II 676c18, indicates that Paccekabuddhas have no disciples and live alone, without followers, as they do not teach the Dharma to others, 無弟子, 獨逝無伴侶, 不與他說法 (cf. also Fujita 1975: 127 note 84). Ruegg 2004: 56 explains that "in Buddhist tradition continued by both the Prajñāpāramitā and the Abhidharma, the category of Pratyekabuddha is subdivided into two", distin-

was born, *deva*s living in the Pure Abodes had come to announce to the Paccekabuddhas who were dwelling on Mount Isigili that the Bodhisattva Gotama was about to take birth.[85] On hearing that a being destined to become a Buddha was going to be born, the Paccekabuddhas rose up into empty space and incinerated themselves.[86] The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse explains that the Paccekabuddhas had undertaken this act of self-cremation because they knew that there could be only one Buddha at a time in the world.[87]

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version continues by describing how a former king became a Paccekabuddha. After reflecting on the suffering in the hell realms, animal realms, and among hungry ghosts, this king had become worried about the possibility of being reborn in such conditions. Stirred by this dire prospect, he decided to renounce the throne and go forth.

Having gone forth on his own, he went to dwell in a secluded place and undertook contemplation of the arising and passing away of the five aggregates, by dint of which he eventually became a Paccekabuddha.[88]

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guishing between those who live a solitary life and those who live in a group; cf. also Feer 1881b: 520, Kern 1896: 62 note 1, La Vallée Poussin 1918: 153 note 5, and Yonezawa 1999: 24 note 2. Ray 1994: 244 note 30 points out that "no such explicit distinction appears in the hagiographies, and pratyekabuddhas are depicted in both ways as if these were simply two modes of the same way of life".

85 EĀ 38.7 at T II 723a27.

86 EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b6: "the Paccekabuddhas immediately [arose] into empty space and by burning their body attained *parinibbāna*", 諸辟支佛即於空中燒身取般涅槃. A similar type of narration occurs in the *Mahāvastu*, cf. Basak 1963a: 467,1 or Senart 1882a: 357,3 (cf. also Basak 1963a: 237,11 or Senart 1882a: 197,1 and Bu ston's "History of Buddhism" in Obermiller 1932/1986: 7) where this event forms the background narration for the *Mahāvastu* version of the stanzas on living a solitary life like a rhinoceros, paralleling the *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta*, Sn 1:3 at Sn 35-75, with a Gāndhārī fragment counterpart in Salomon 2000: 105-112 (for a background narration to Sn 35-75 cf. Pj II 46,14, another commentary can be found in T 1650 at T XXXII 473a-480c). Wilson 2003: 41 comments that "these solitary Buddhas committed their bodies to the flames in what may be seen through the lenses of Vedic-Hindu mortuary rites as a sacrificial act of passing the torch to their successor". A self-incineration of Pratyekabuddhas is also described in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, Gnoli 1977: 92,16, where it forms the background narration to a gift of robes to the bodhisattva who had just gone forth. For a description of a Bhārhut relief that could be depicting such self-incineration cf. Lüders 1941/1966: 44.

87 EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b7: 所以然者, 世無二佛. Notably, in MN 115 at MN III 65,15 the stipulation is only that two Sammāsambuddhas cannot coexist, which would not necessarily exclude the possibility of the coexistence of a Sammāsambuddha and a Paccekabuddha. While the Tibetan parallel to MN 115 similarly speaks of the impossibility of the existence of two completely awakened Buddhas at the same time, D (297) *mdo sde, sha* 300a7 or Q (963) *lu* 329a4: *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas gnyis*, MĀ 181 at T I 724a1 and T 1537 at T XXVI 502b14 speak of the impossibility of the coexistence of two Tathāgatas, 二如來, as does the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 121,18 or in Senart 1897: 199,11. Another parallel to MN 115, T 776 at T XVII 713b18, speaks just of the impossibility of the coexistence of two Buddhas, 二佛, as does a listing of impossibilities in DĀ 3 at T I 31a15 and DĀ 18 at T I 79a7, and in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-*(*upadeśa-*)*śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 237a22. The *Mahāvastu* also reports that *deva*s from the Pure Abodes had told the Pratyekabuddhas to clear the place in time for the bodhisattva to take birth, Basak 1963a: 467,2 or Senart 1882a: 357,4: *riṃcatha buddhakṣetraṃ*.

88 EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b16.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* account concludes with the Buddha encouraging the monks to hold Mount Isigili in high regard, as even at the time of Maitreya Buddha this mountain will still have the same name.[89]

Instead of this tale, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version describes the qualities of several Paccekabuddhas in a set of stanzas.[90] Thus, whereas the *Ekottarika-āgama* version is predominantly narrative, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version is a discourse with little doctrinal or narrative content. Its listing of the names and qualities of Paccekabuddhas is still in use nowadays as a protective chant, a *paritta*.[91]

MN 117 *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*

The *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*, the "discourse on the great forty", examines the noble eightfold path from the perspective of its eighth and final factor, right concentration. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[92] Another parallel can be found in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[93] A few lines of this discourse have also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[94]

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[89] EĀ 38.7 at T II 723b29.

[90] MN 116 at MN III 69-71; cf. also Franke 1912: 211. Winternitz 1920/1968: 37 considers this listing in MN 116 of names in prose and then in verse to be a sign of lateness, as this type of pattern recurs more frequently in later Buddhist Sanskrit literature; cf. also Barua 1971/2003: 530. Skilling 1996a: 182 note 112 points out that these stanzas end with an injunction to pay homage to the Paccekabuddhas, MN 116 at MN III 71,3: *paccekabuddhā ... vandatha.* Wiltshire 1990: 7 comments that this listing "would seem to imply that paccekabuddhas held or were intended to hold some special significance for those to whom the Buddha's discourse was addressed. It therefore indicates that some form of 'cultus' must have existed in respect of them".

[91] Kloppenborg 1983: 42 explains that "images of Paccekabuddhas were used for the purpose of protection. This could well be the outcome of their reputation for extended practice of *mettā*, popularly believed to be a protective power which counteracts inimical influences", a protective power she then suggests to also stand behind the use of the *Isigili-sutta* as a *paritta*; cf. also Cooray 2004: 246.

[92] The parallel is MĀ 189 at T I 735b-736c and has the title "discourse on the noble path", 聖道經. As already noted by Skilling 1997a: 341, Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 235b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 269a5 agrees with MN 117 on the title "great forty", *chen po bzhi bcu*, cf. also the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 911c1: 大四十法門經. While MN 117 has Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī as its location, MĀ 189 takes place at Kammāsadhamma in the Kuru country. MĀ 189 has been translated into English in Anālayo 2010i and into German in Meisig 1987a.

[93] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 43b7-47b4 or Q (5595) *thu* 83a7-87b2; cf. also Abhidh-k 6:75 in Pradhan 1967: 387,14, paralleling MN 117 at MN III 76,7, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 6c2 and in T 1559 at T XXIX 166c24. For further discourse quotations in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below notes 95 and 105.

[94] The fragments are SHT V 1125 (p. 120) and SHT VIII 1919A (p. 100, identified in SHT XI). SHT V 1125R1-2 has part of the summing up of the exposition into two sets of twenty, found in MN 117 at MN III 77,21-24, while R3 has preserved part of the shift from the eightfold noble path of the disciple in training to the tenfold noble path of the arahant, found in MN 117 at MN III 76,7, cf. also SHT VIII 1919A1-2, although this exposition in the Sanskrit version seems to have been formulated in a manner that dif-

MN III 71 The *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* and its parallels approach their subject by defining right concentration as one-pointedness of the mind that is supported by the other seven factors of the noble eightfold path.[95] This definition, unlike the more common definition of right concentration by way of the four *jhāna*s,[96] highlights the importance of developing concentration as part of a comprehensive practice of the noble eightfold path.[97]

Before coming to this definition of right concentration, the *Madhyama-āgama* version introduces right concentration as the "single way" for the purification of beings,[98] thereby making use of a qualification that the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* uses in relation to the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s.[99] The discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary has a similar passage, although it speaks of the "single vehicle" for the purification of beings.[100]

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse follows its definition of right concentration by describing the conditional dependence of each path factor on the preceding one, a statement found at a later point also in the Pāli and Tibetan versions.[101] At the conclusion of this conditioned sequence, the *Madhyama-āgama* and Tibetan versions declare that a noble disciple, who has acquired right concentration in this way, will soon reach awakening.[102]

The three versions highlight the role of right view as a precursor to the other path factors, since based on right view and with the support of right effort and right mindfulness the other path factors can be developed. The task of right view is to differentiate between right and wrong manifestations of the first five path factors. Right effort is the actual endeavour to overcome wrong path factors and to develop their right counterparts, while right mindfulness is the presence of mindfulness required for this task.[103]

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fers from the presentation in MN 117 and also appears to have stood at a different point in the Sanskrit version, namely right after the summing up of the exposition into two sets of twenty.

[95] A discourse quotation paralleling the definition of right concentration, given in MN 117 at MN III 71,20, can be found in Abhidh-k 8:8 in Pradhan 1967: 438,5; cf. also T 1559 at T XXIX 298a20 and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 72b4 or Q (5595) *thu* 117a7.

[96] E.g., DN 22 at DN II 313,12, a definition also found in MĀ 189 at T I 736b16.

[97] The same definition can also be found in DN 18 at DN II 217,1 and SN 45:28 at SN V 21,15. DN 33 at DN III 252,4 and AN 7:42 at AN IV 40,20 implicitly refer to the same type of presentation; cf. also the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Delhey 2009a: 202,2 and T 1579 at T XXX 340a4.

[98] MĀ 189 at T I 735c1: 一道.

[99] MĀ 98 at T I 582b9: 一道, being the counterpart to *ekāyano maggo* in DN 22 at DN II 290,8 and MN 10 at MN I 55,31, and to 一入道 in EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a2, cf. also above p. 75 note 245. Meisig 1987a: 224-225 suggests that the 一道 passage was subsequently introduced into MĀ 189 from its original occurrence in the *satipaṭṭhāna* context.

[100] D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 44a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 83b1: *theg pa ni gcig*; on the similar rendering 一乘 in Chinese translations cf. the study by Nattier 2007.

[101] MĀ 189 at T I 735c8, MN 117 at MN III 76,1, and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 46b1 or Q (5595) *thu* 86a6, a presentation also found in DN 18 at DN II 217,4 and SN 45:1 at SN V 2,1; for a comparable statement cf. also SĀ 748 at T II 198b8.

[102] MĀ 189 at T I 735c10 and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 46b3 or Q (5595) *thu* 86a7.

[103] For the first path factor this treatment can be found in MN 117 at MN III 71,24, with its counterparts in

When examining individual path factors, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version expounds the MN III 72
path factors view, intention, speech, action, and livelihood in a threefold manner, by distinguishing between manifestations of these path factors that are:

- wrong,
- right,
- supramundane.

The presentation of the wrong and right manifestations of these path factors is fairly similar in the three versions. A noteworthy difference is that the *Madhyama-āgama* version does not mention the denial of the existence of spontaneously arisen beings in its exposition of wrong view, nor does it stipulate belief in their existence when describing right view.[104] Occurrences of similar listings in the *Madhyama-āgama*, in the *Ekottarika-āgama* and in several Chinese *Vinaya*s also do not mention spontaneously arisen beings.[105] Thus, according to these versions, to believe in the existence of spon-

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MĀ 189 at T I 735c13 and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 44b4 or Q (5595) *thu* 84a5. While MN 117 continues in the same way, MĀ 189 differs in as much as its exposition of the relation of right view to each path factor does not conclude that the distinction between right and wrong factors is an implementation of right view, but rather of the respective factor itself. Thus in the case of right action, for example, MĀ 189 at T I 736a15 indicates that "when he sees wrong action as wrong action, this is reckoned right action, when he sees right action as right action, that is also reckoned right action", 若見邪業是邪業者, 是謂正業, 若見正業是正業者, 亦謂 正業. As Meisig 1987a: 238 note 27 points out, this is obviously a textual error. A comparable error occurs also in Abhidh-k-ṭ, which in the context of describing the role of effort and mindfulness for abandoning wrong intention and arousing right intention speaks of 'view', when 'intention' would instead be required, D (4094) *mngon pa nyu* 45a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 84b4, thereby confusing *log par rtog pa* and *yang dag pa'i rtog pa* with *log par lta ba* and *yang dag pa'i lta ba*. This error differs from the one found in MĀ 189, as it replaces the path-factor with view, whereas MĀ 189 replaces view with the path-factor. Nevertheless, the similarity in type of this error shows how in such a repetitive exposition such confusion can easily arise during the transmission of the texts.

[104] MN 117 at MN III 71,29 (wrong view:) *n' atthi sattā opapātikā* and MN III 72,11 (right view): *atthi sattā opapātikā*, a stipulation not found in the corresponding sections in MĀ 189 at T I 735c17+20. On *sattā opapātikā* cf. also Manné 1995: 78-80 and Windisch 1908: 184-194.

[105] MĀ 15 at T I 437c28, MĀ 124 at T I 613b25, EĀ 26.5 at T II 636b4, EĀ 28.1 at T II 647a11, EĀ 29.1 at T II 655a28, EĀ 35.7 at T II 700a7, EĀ 42.1 at T II 747a26, T 127 at T II 835a1, T 212 at T IV 639b2, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 133b6, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 427c4 (this seems rather abbreviated), the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 241c25 (not taking into account occurrences that are explicitly attributed to one of the six heretical teachers, but only occurrences where this listing functions as an instance of wrong view). Spontaneously arisen beings are also not mentioned in a definition of right view in the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 35,5. Another relevant instance is SĀ 1039 at T II 271c14, which in what is the counterpart to a reference to spontaneously arisen beings in AN 10:176 at AN V 265,23 has the statement: "there are no living beings born in the world", 無眾生生世間, a formulation that leaves it open to interpretation if it refers to beings being reborn in general or in a 'spontaneous' manner. That the point at stake would indeed be spontaneous rebirth can be seen from the Tibetan parallel to the same type of reference, albeit in the positive mode, found in SĀ 784 at T II 203a7 to 有眾生生, in which case the corresponding passage in Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 206a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 235a7 reads *sems can rdzus te byung ba yod do*. The same expression 有眾生生 in MĀ 71 at T I 525b15, however, appears to rather intend rebirth as such, as becomes clear from its use throughout the discourse, even though the parallel DN 23 at DN II 318,18 does

taneously arisen beings would not be required for establishing right view. The Tibetan counterpart to the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*, however, does mention spontaneously arisen beings in its presentation of wrong and right view.[106]

Another and rather major difference is that the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the Tibetan version do not have the supramundane manifestations of the path factors, found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, at all (see below table 12.6).[107] Notably, the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* is the only discourse in the Pāli *Nikāya*s that features such a presentation of the path factors defined as "supramundane".[108]

According to the preamble found in all versions of the discourse, the main intent of the present exposition was to show the supportive function of the other seven path factors for right concentration. That is, the point at stake does not seem to have been an exposition of the path factors individually, but rather their interrelation as a basis for developing right concentration, and in particular the function of right view, right effort, and right mindfulness as means of correction and support for the other path factors.[109] This intent of the exposition would not require a supramundane description of the path factors. Hence, it seems quite possible that the exposition of the supramundane path factors is a later expansion of the present discourse. Perhaps an early commentary on the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* developed such a treatment of the path factors from the supramundane perspective of path attainment. What originally may have been only an alternative mode of explanation preserved in an oral commentary, during the process of transmission could then have become part of the discourse itself.

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refer to spontaneously reborn beings. An explicit reference to the existence of spontaneously arisen beings can be found in a description of wrong view in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 692c8: 無化生有情於此世間. A reference to spontaneously arisen beings occurs also in Abhidh-k 9 in Lee 2005: 90,1 or Pradhan 1967: 468,9, which reads *nāsti sattva upapāduka iti mithyādṛṣṭiḥ*, paralleling MN 117 at MN III 71,29, cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 155b10, T 1559 at T XXIX 306c9, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 86a4 or Q (5595) *thu* 132b7.

106 D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 44a6 and 44b2 or Q (5595) *thu* 83b7 and 84a3: *sems can rdzus* (Q: *brdzus*) *te byung ba rnams*.

107 For a more detailed discussion of this difference cf. Anālayo 2005c: 98-100.

108 The importance of this unique supramundane description of the path factors can be seen in a discussion on the nature of the supramundane noble path, depicted in the commentary on the *Vibhaṅga* at Vibh-a 320,26, according to which a monk should ask another monk if he is a "reciter of the 'great forty'", *tvaṃ tāva mahācattāḷīsakabhāṇako hosi?* This question shows the significance of the present discourse, whose recall the commentaries consider an indispensable requirement for being able to engage in a discussion on the supramundane noble path. Mori 1990: 125 takes the expression *mahācattārīsakabhāṇaka* to be an example of "Bhāṇakas who further specialized in some particular suttas" (Adikaram 1946/1994: 31 and Goonesekera 1968: 689, in their surveys of the *bhāṇaka* tradition, simply list the *mahācattārīsakabhāṇaka* without attempting an explanation). Alternatively, the expression *mahācattārīsakabhāṇaka* may also be just a form of inquiring if the other monk remembered the exposition given in this particular discourse, equivalent to asking him: *mahācattārīsakaṃ dhāresi*? Be that as it may, the use of the term *mahācattārīsakabhāṇaka* definitely highlights the importance of the exposition of the noble eightfold path given in MN 117, which due to its uniqueness in the Pāli discourses would have been (and still is) an important reference point for discussions on the supramundane path.

109 Meisig 1987a: 233.

A somewhat similar exposition of the path factors in their supramundane manifestation can be found in a discourse in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, which distinguishes all eight path factors into worldly and supramundane manifestations.[110] The description of the first five supramundane path factors in this *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse is similar to the corresponding sections in the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*.

Unlike the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*, however, this *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse only takes up right path factors in their worldly and supramundane manifestations, without covering wrong manifestations of the path factors. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse also does not mention the role of right view, right effort, and right mindfulness in relation to each path factor. These differences make it clear that this *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse would not be a parallel to the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*.

Nevertheless, the occurrence of an exposition of the supramundane path factors in a *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse shows that different Buddhist traditions gave importance to this type of presentation. Its occurrence further supports the assumption that this type of treatment could stem from an early Indian exegetical tradition, which during the course of transmission could have made its way into the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* in the case of the Pāli tradition and into the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse in the case of the reciter tradition that transmitted this particular discourse collection.

Another difference between the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* and its parallels is that the Chinese and Tibetan versions extend their treatment to the path factors right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration, with the *Madhyama-āgama* version also mentioning right liberation and right knowledge (see table 12.6).[111]

Yet, in all versions right concentration has already been defined as one-pointedness of the mind endowed with the other seven path factors, while right effort and right mindfulness have been defined as the effort and the mindfulness required for establishing the right manifestations of the other path factors. Hence, it seems redundant to treat these path factors once more.

Moreover, whereas in regard to the earlier path factors the Chinese and Tibetan versions invariably conclude each treatment by highlighting the cooperative action of right view, right effort, and right mindfulness, the same is absent from their exposition of the remaining three path factors. Nor do they provide a contrast to wrong manifestations of these path factors.

The Chinese and Tibetan versions also differ in the definitions they employ. Whereas the Chinese version uses the standard descriptions of the four right efforts, the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s, and the four absorptions, the Tibetan version instead defines these three path factors by listing several synonyms for effort, mindfulness, and concentration in turn.

This makes it highly probable that the additional treatment of these three path factors was added during the process of transmission, with the reciter(s) supplying the 'miss-

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110 SĀ 785 at T II 203a21, for a translation cf. Anālayo 2010i; a small section of a parallel to SĀ 785 has been preserved in Uighur, cf. fragment Ga6-7 in Kudara 1983: 302.

111 MĀ 189 at T I 736b8.

ing' parts, perhaps even unintentionally, from the standard treatment of this subject found elsewhere in the discourses.[112] This impression is further strengthened by the circumstance that the *Madhyama-āgama* stands alone in mentioning right liberation and right knowledge at this point.

Table 12.6: Survey of Path Factors in MN 117 and its Parallels

MN 117	MĀ 189	Abhidh-k-ṭ
wrong view (1) right view (2) supramundane right view (3) wrong intention (4) right intention (5) supramundane right intention (6) wrong speech (7) right speech (8) supramundane right speech (9) wrong action (10) right action (11) supramundane right action (12) wrong livelihood (13) right livelihood (14) supramundane right livelihood (15)	wrong view (→ 1) right view (→ 2) wrong intention (→ 4) right intention (→ 5) wrong speech (→ 7) right speech (→ 8) wrong action (→ 10) right action (→ 11) wrong livelihood (→ 13) right livelihood (→ 14) right effort right mindfulness right concentration right liberation right knowledge (≠ 3, 5, 9, 12, 15)	wrong view (→ 1) right view (→ 2) wrong intention (→ 4) right intention (→ 5) wrong speech (→ 7) right speech (→ 8) wrong action (→ 10) right action (→ 11) wrong livelihood (→ 13) right livelihood (→ 14) right effort right mindfulness right concentration (≠ 3, 5, 9, 12, 15)

MN III 76 The *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* and the Tibetan version continue by depicting the conditional dependence of each path factor on the preceding one, a treatment that the *Madhyama-āgama* version already took up at an earlier point. In all versions, this exposition is complementary to their earlier depiction of right view, right effort, and right mindfulness as necessary conditions for the implementation of the path factors right speech, right action, and right livelihood, thereby highlighting the conditional interrelatedness of the factors of the noble eightfold path.

The *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* and its parallels extend their examination to the ten-factored path of an arahant, followed by indicating that each of the ten right factors serves the purpose of overcoming its wrong counterpart.[113]

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[112] Cf. also Meisig 1987a: 230. In fact, whereas the earlier part of MĀ 189 at T I 735c3 was concerned with a definition of "noble right concentration", 聖正定, just as its counterpart MN 117 at MN III 71,16: *ariyo sammāsamādhi*, the present part in MĀ 189 at T I 736b16 speaks merely of "right concentration", 正定, a change of terminology that supports the impression that this part of the discourse may be a later expansion or addition. The Tibetan version, however, speaks from the outset only of "right concentration", without further qualifying it as "noble", cf. D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 44a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 83b1: *yang dag pa'i ting nge 'dzin*.

[113] A description of how the right path factors overcome their wrong counterparts can also be found in DN 34 at DN III 291,13 and in AN 10:106 at AN V 215,1, cf. also the *Daśottara-sūtra* fragment 679 folio 23R in Schlingloff 1962a: 12 and its Chinese counterpart DĀ 10 at T I 57b14.

Another difference between the parallel versions can be found in the sequence in which they present the final two factors, as right knowledge precedes right liberation in the Pāli version,[114] whereas in the Chinese and Tibetan versions right knowledge follows right liberation.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version also offers an explanation of right knowledge. According to its presentation, right knowledge stands for the retrospective knowing that right liberation has been reached by becoming free from lust, anger, and delusion.[115]

The *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* and its parallels sum up their exposition by adding up the ten wholesome factors, the ten wholesome states originating from them, the ten un- MN III 77

[114] The sequence found in MN 117 at MN III 76,6 appears to be standard in the Pāli discourses, some of which indicate that right knowledge is the factor that leads to right liberation. This suggests that right knowledge stands for penetrative insight, for seeing things as they truly are, which then issues in realization, in fact DN 18 at DN II 217,10 explicitly indicates that *sammāñāṇassa sammāvimutti pahoti*. *Ñāṇa* similarly precedes *vimutti* in DN 17 at DN II 217,10, DN 33 at DN III 271,9, DN 34 at DN III 292,2, MN 8 at MN I 44,15, MN 65 at MN I 447,2, MN 78 at MN II 29,9, SN 55:26 at SN V 384,1, AN 3:140 at AN I 292,8, AN 4:89 at AN II 89,35, AN 4:206 at AN II 222,12, AN 4:208 at AN II 223,28, AN 4:210 at AN II 225,15, AN 10:103-166 at AN V 212-249, AN 10:218 at AN V 310,12, and AN 11:11 at AN V 327,15. The Chinese *Āgama*s usually follow the sequence found in MĀ 189, with right knowledge coming only after right liberation, cf., e.g., DĀ 10 at T I 57b17, DĀ 11 at T I 59a25, DĀ 12 at T I 60a22, SĀ 481 at T II 122c6, and SĀ 750 at T II 198c10. An exception can be found in DĀ 9 at T I 52c8, where right knowledge precedes right liberation. Yet, DĀ 9 at T I 52c7 also has right mindfulness before right effort, which suggests that the presentation in this discourse may have suffered from a transmission or translation error. The sequence found in MĀ 189 recurs also in the Sanskrit fragments of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* and the *Daśottara-sūtra*, cf. fragment K 484m2Rb in Stache-Rosen 1968: 35 and fragment 679 folio 23R4 in Schlingloff 1962a: 12. Notably, the Pāli discourses that refer to right knowledge do not seem to specify the implications of right knowledge or to offer further explanations on its significance. The type of knowledge that in the discourses usually precedes liberation is insight into the four noble truths. Such insight, however, could also be considered as an instance of right view, which the discourses in fact explicitly define as insight into the four noble truths, cf., e.g., DN 22 at DN II 312,1. On *sammā ñāṇa* in the Pāli discourses cf. also Bucknell 1984: 9-10, 15, and 31 and id. 1986: 6-7.

[115] MĀ 189 at T I 736b19: "knowing that the mind has been liberated from sensual desire, knowing that the mind has been liberated from anger and from delusion, this is reckoned right knowledge", 知欲心解脫, 知恚癡心解脫, 是謂正智也; for a similar definition cf. also SĀ 750 at T II 198c11. This explanation squares well with the Pāli commentaries, according to which right knowledge represents reviewing knowledge, cf. Ps I 189,1: *paccavekkhaṇāñāṇaṃ sammāñāṇan ti vuccati*, cf. also Ps IV 134,24, which glosses the occurrence of *sammāñāṇa* in MN 117 with *maggapaccavekkhaṇa* and *phalapaccavekkhaṇa*. On this commentarial explanation, right knowledge should indeed be placed after right liberation, not before it. Such retrospective knowledge of liberation is part of the standard description of realization in the Pāli discourses, which invariably speak of knowing that birth has been destroyed, the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, etc., cf., e.g., DN 2 at DN I 84,10. The same is also reflected in another type of presentation in the Pāli discourses, where the aggregate of liberation is followed by the aggregate of "knowledge and vision of liberation", cf., e.g., SN 3:24 at SN I 100,2 (or SN^2 135 at SN^2 I 222,16), SN 6:2 at SN I 139,18 (or SN^2 173 at SN^2 I 304,22), SN 47:13 at SN V 162,20, AN 3:57 at AN I 162,7, AN 5:107 at AN III 134,15, AN 5:250 at AN III 271,12, AN 10:12 at AN V 16,25, and It 4:5 at It 108,3. In the same type of presentation, however, the aggregate of liberation is preceded by the aggregate of wisdom, which would thus mirror the position given in the Pāli discourse to right knowledge in respect to right liberation.

wholesome factors, and the ten unwholesome states originating for them, thereby arriving at a final count of forty.[116]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version proclaims that the Dharma instruction on the great forty has been set rolling and cannot be stopped from rolling by any recluse or Brahmin,[117] with the *Madhyama-āgama* and Tibetan versions referring to this Dharma instruction on the forty as a divine wheel (literally: Brahmā's wheel).[118]

MN III 78 The three discourses conclude by proclaiming that anyone who rejects this discourse will only incur censure, since by doing so one would speak in praise of those endowed with the wrong manifestations of the ten factors.[119]

MN 118 *Ānāpānasati-sutta*

The *Ānāpānasati-sutta*, the "discourse on mindfulness of breathing in and out", offers a detailed exposition of mindfulness of breathing and of its relation to the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s, to the seven factors of awakening, and to knowledge and liberation. This discourse has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.[120]

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[116] A discourse quotation from this section can be found in the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 911c1.

[117] MN 117 at MN III 77,26: *mahācattārīsako dhammapariyāyo pavattito appaṭivattiyo samaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā* (Ce-MN III 220,34: *mahācattārisako*). The use of the verb "rolling" in this context is unusual, as elsewhere the Pāli discourses use this term in relation to rolling the wheel of the Dharma, but do not speak of "rolling" in relation to a discourse or an instruction, cf. DN 16 at DN II 140,25, MN 111 at MN III 29,15, MN 141 at MN III 248,6, SN 8:7 at SN I 191,13 (or SN2 215 at SN2I 412,4), SN 56:11 at SN V 423,16, AN 1:13 at AN I 23,10, AN 3:14 at AN I 110,26, AN 5:131 at AN III 148,10, AN 5:132 at AN III 149,3, AN 5:133 at AN III 151,8, and Sn 3:8 at Sn 557.

[118] MĀ 189 at T I 736c2: 梵輪 and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 47a6 or Q (5595) *thu* 87a4: *tshangs pa'i 'khor lo*. The usage of the wheel imagery fits the idea of "rolling", suggesting that perhaps this image has been lost in the Pāli version.

[119] MN 117 and MĀ 189 mention followers of the doctrine of non-action who nevertheless would not dare to contradict this exposition. MN 117 at MN III 78,13 refers to these as *Okkalā Vassa-Bhaññā* (Ce-MN III 222,25 and Se-MN III 189,6 read *Ukkalā*). The commentary at Ps IV 136,4 explains that Vassa and Bhañña are the proper names of two individuals who were inhabitants of the country of Okkala. The *Ukkalā-Vassa-Bhaññā* as proponents of a doctrine of non-action recur in SN 22:62 at SN III 73,3 and in AN 4:30 at AN II 31,21; cf. also Kv 141,28. MĀ 189 at T I 736c19 instead speaks of "the squatters and advocators [of the practice] of squatting", 蹲踞說蹲踞 and a little later refers to being "cut off and destroyed", 斷絕破壞. Bareau 1981b: 3 concludes that MĀ 189 "makes no allusion to the Ukkalas", but Meisig 1987a: 245 note 93 and 99 suggests that the translator may not have recognized these proper names and instead rendered them as the activities of "squatting" and being "cut off and destroyed".

[120] The parallel is SĀ 815 at T II 209b-210a and takes place in Jeta's Grove, while MN 118 takes place in the Hall of Migāra's Mother in the same Sāvatthī. Akanuma 1929/1990: 77 gives "observance day", 布薩, as a tentative title for SĀ 815. According to ibid. p. 169, another parallel should be the individual translation T 96 at T I 919a-b. Apart from a single sentence that relates the practice of mindfulness of breathing to the acquisition of knowledge and liberation, however, this discourse has nothing in common with MN 118. Zürcher 1995: 166 note 8 comments that T 96 "appears to be an independent treatise ... not based upon the prototype of the Pali *ānāpāna-sati-sutta*". For a Sanskrit fragment with instructions on mindfulness of breathing cf. below note 140.

The *Ānāpānasati-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* counterpart begin with an introductory narration, according to which senior monks were instructing junior monks in various ways.[121] According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, the Buddha expressed his appreciation of the serious practice of the monks by stating that they were worthy of respect and offerings. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version reports him expressing his appreciation by declaring that the monk disciples of former and future Buddhas had practised and will practise in the same way.[122] MN III 78

The two versions differ to some degree in their description of the distinctions attained and the practices undertaken by the members of the assembled community of monks (see table 12.7). They agree that each of the four stages of awakening had been reached by some of the monk disciples present on this occasion. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse indicates that some of the monks had also attained: MN III 81

- the *jhāna*s,
- the immaterial attainments,
- the supernormal knowledges (*abhiññā*).

In addition to listing their attainments, the *Ānāpānasati-sutta* and its parallel also describe the meditation practices undertaken by some of the monks, who were engaged in practising:

- the *brahmavihāra*s,[123]
- meditation on the impure,
- perception of impermanence,
- mindfulness of breathing.

The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse also explains the purpose of these practices, indicating that the monks undertook contemplation of the impure to counter sensual desire, meditation on loving kindness to counter anger, perception of impermanence to counter conceit, and mindfulness of breathing to counter (distracting) thoughts and perceptions.[124]

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[121] An introductory narration that is similar in several respects can be found in AN 4:190 at AN II 183,16. According to MN 118 at MN III 79,2, Ānanda was among the monks present on this occasion (SĀ 815 does not list the elders that were present). In SN 54:13-14 at SN V 328-334 and SĀ 810 at T II 208a-c, Ānanda receives the same instruction on mindfulness of breathing on yet another occasion. Since according to SN 54:13 and SĀ 810 the instruction was prompted by an inquiry by Ānanda, it should presumably be considered earlier than the exposition in MN 118, since if Ānanda had already heard the exposition given in MN 118, he would not have needed to request another exposition of the same matter on a subsequent occasion. In contrast, his mere presence as a member of a group of monks to whom MN 118 was delivered would not conflict with him having personally received the same exposition already on an earlier occasion.

[122] SĀ 815 at T II 209c17.

[123] While MN 118 at MN III 81,30 describes monks undertaking each of the four *brahmavihāra*s, SĀ 815 at T II 209c29 only mentions their practice of loving kindness. In its earlier description of the attainments of the monks, however, SĀ 815 at T II 209c21 mentions all four *brahmavihāra*s. As this implies that the monks must have been undertaking the respective *brahmavihāra* practices, the two versions seem to agree that some monks were developing each of the four *brahmavihāra*s.

[124] A similar correlation of these meditation practices with these mental obstructions can be found in other Pāli discourses, with the minor difference that, whereas according to SĀ 815 at T II 210a1 mindfulness

Table 12.7: Qualities of the Assembled Monks in MN 118 and SĀ 815

MN 118	SĀ 815
full awakening (1) non-returning (2) once-returning (3) stream-entry (4) 4 *satipaṭṭhāna*s (5) 4 right efforts (6) 4 bases of power (7) 5 faculties (8) 5 powers (9) 7 factors of awakening (10) noble eightfold path (11) loving kindness (12) compassion (13) sympathetic joy (14) equanimity (15) impurity (16) perception of impermanence (17) mindfulness of breathing (18)	1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th absorption, loving kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy, equanimity, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th immaterial attainment (→ 12, 13, 14, 15) stream-entry (→ 4) once-returning (→ 3) non-returning (→ 2) supernormal powers, divine ear, know others' minds, recollect past lives, know re-arising of beings, destroy influxes (→ 1) contemplation of impurity, loving kindness, perception of impermanence, mindfulness of breathing (→ 16, 17, 18) (≠ 5-11)

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, some monks were also engaged in practising each of the different sets of mental qualities and practices that make up the thirty-seven requisites to awakening (*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*). None of these is mentioned in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version. The way the requisites to awakening are introduced in the *Ānāpānasati-sutta* appears to be modelled on the description of the different levels of attainments mentioned earlier, even though this mode of description does not fit a listing of the requisites of awakening too well.[125] This, together with the absence of this whole passage from the parallel version, suggests the possibility that the requisites to awakening might not have been part of the original exposition.

MN III 82 The *Ānāpānasati-sutta* and its parallel take up the practice of mindfulness of breathing in sixteen steps, which they correlate with the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s.[126] A minor but

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of breathing "removes thoughts and perceptions", 斷覺想, AN 9:1 at AN IV 353,11 (cf. also Ud 4:1 at Ud 37,17) does not mention perceptions and only indicates that mindfulness of breathing leads to "cutting of thoughts", *vitakkūpacchedāya* (B^e-AN III 165,14: *vitakkupacchedāya*, C^e-AN V 370,18: *vitakkapacchedāya*).

125 E.g., the description in MN 118 at MN III 81,25 that there were monks who practised the noble eightfold path, *santi ... bhikkhū imasmiṃ bhikkhusaṅghe ariyassa aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa bhāvanānuyogam anuyuttā viharanti*, reads almost as if other monks present on this occasion did not develop the eightfold noble path. Judging from the way the whole company of monks has just been praised, this would hardly have been the case, giving rather the impression that all of them would have been engaged in developing the noble eightfold path.

126 SĀ 815 at T II 210a2 has abbreviated this whole section, which thus needs to be supplemented with the full treatment given in SĀ 810 at T II 208a-208c (translated in Anālayo 2007d), a discourse that parallels SN 54:13 at SN V 328-333. The initial exposition of the sixteen steps of mindfulness of breathing

noteworthy difference in relation to the third step of mindfulness of breathing is that whereas the *Majjhima-nikāya* instructions speak of experiencing the "whole body",[127] its *Saṃyukta-āgama* counterpart speaks of experiencing "all bodily formations".[128]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* instructions for the third step of mindfulness of breathing can be interpreted in different ways, as they could be taken to refer to the 'body' of the breath, or else to the whole physical body.[129] Since other Pāli and Chinese discourses identify the breath as a "bodily formation",[130] the formulation in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* presentation fits the interpretation according to which the breath is the exclusive object of mindfulness at this stage, instead of awareness encompassing the breath together with the physical body.

In regard to another instance of this instruction in the *Mahārāhulovāda-sutta*, however, the corresponding *Ekottarika-āgama* version directs awareness to the "body",[131]

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in SĀ 810 at T II 208a23 is again abbreviated, and thus needs to be supplemented with the full treatment given in SĀ 803 at T II 206a27. Judging from the abbreviation in SĀ 815, however, it seems as if only the treatment of the sixteen steps found in SĀ 803 should be supplemented, not the relation of these sixteen steps to the seven awakening factors and to knowledge and liberation given in SĀ 810. For a comparative study of the sixteen steps in a range of sources cf. Dhammajoti 2008. A discourse quotation on mindfulness of breathing as a mode of practising the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s can be found in the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 134b18.

[127] MN 118 at MN III 83,26: *sabbakāyapaṭisaṃvedī.*

[128] SĀ 810 at T II 208a25: 一切身行覺知. Listings of the sixteen steps of mindfulness of breathing in other meditation treatises preserved in Chinese, T 602 at T XV 165a12 and T 606 at T XV 216a15, speak in this context of knowing the "bodily motions", 動身. The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla 1973: 230,3 or ŚSG 2007: 96,3 and T 1579 at T XXX 432b2, which otherwise agrees closely with the presentation in SĀ 810, instructs to experience the whole body, *sarvakāyapratisaṃvedī*/了遍身, thereby corresponding to the Pāli instructions for this third step of mindfulness of breathing. The same is also the case for the corresponding instruction in the *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1177 in Sakaki 1926: 89, according to which this step of practice is concerned with the "body", *sarvakāyapratisaṃvedya*, and the bodily formations occur only in the next step, *prasrabhya kāyasaṃskārān*. Sanskrit fragments of a meditation treatise that contains instructions on mindfulness of breathing, the "Yogalehrbuch", also do not seem to have brought in formations in their description of this third step of mindfulness of breathing, cf. fragment 118V4: *sarvak[ā](yapratisaṃvedanāyām)* and fragment 122R5: *(sarvakā)yapratisaṃ(vedanāyām)* in Schlingloff 1964: 69 and 75. The **Mahāprajñāpāramitā(-upadeśa)-śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 138a11, also follows awareness of long and short breaths with awareness of the whole body, although in its presentation this forms the fourth step of practice. Of interest in relation to this third step of mindfulness of breathing is also the 坐禪三昧經, T 614 at T XV 275b26, which describes how awareness during this third step of mindfulness of breathing "pervades and reaches inside the body up to the toes and the fingers, pervading every pore [of the body]", 覺知遍至身中乃至足指遍諸毛孔, "being aware from the feet to the hair", 覺知從足至髮, a practice it compares to water entering sand, 如水入沙. A more detailed discussion of this instruction in the light of modern day meditation practice can be found in Anālayo 2006a.

[129] Cf. the discussion above p. 351 and Anālayo 2007d: 144-146.

[130] SN 41:6 at SN IV 293,22: *assāsapassāsā ... kāyasaṅkhāro* and SĀ 568 at T II 150a24: 出息入息名為身行.

[131] EĀ 17.1 at T II 582b1: "completely contemplate the physical body [when] breathing in, [when] breathing out, coming to know it entirely", 盡觀身體入息, 出息, 皆悉知之.

as does a *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to another instance of this instruction in the *Sati-paṭṭhāna-sutta*.[132] Another *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse speaks also just of the "body" in its instructions for the third step of mindfulness of breathing, thereby agreeing with the way this instruction is formulated in the Pāli discourses as well as in the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[133]

Thus, the formulation of the third step of mindfulness of breathing in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* counterpart to the *Ānāpānasati-sutta* could be the result of a transmission or translation error, where the reference to bodily formations in the fourth step of the sixteen-fold scheme influenced the formulation of the third step.[134]

Another difference in regard to this first tetrad of mindfulness of breathing is that the *Majjhima-nikāya* version uses the injunction "to know" in relation to the first two steps, after which it enjoins "to train" in relation to the remaining steps.[135] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version instead speaks of "training" throughout.[136]

Yet another difference can be found in regard to the final four steps of mindfulness of breathing. In the *Ānāpānasati-sutta*, these final four steps proceed from contemplating impermanence to contemplating fading away, cessation, and relinquishment.[137] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version instead follows contemplation of impermanence with contemplating eradication, fading away, and cessation.[138] While the sequence found in the

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[132] MĀ 98 at T I 582c16: "he trains [to experience] the whole body [when] he breathes in, he trains [to experience] the whole body [when] he breathes out", 學一切身息入, 學一切身息出.

[133] SĀ 807 at T II 207a19 agrees closely with the presentation in MN 118, as it proceeds from "experiencing the whole body", 一切身覺, to "calming the bodily formations", 身行休息.

[134] This possibility suggests itself from SĀ 803 at T II 206a28, which instructs to "experience and know the whole body", 覺知一切身, followed by instructing to "experience and know all bodily formations", 覺知一切身行. As SĀ 803 does not refer to the fourth step of calming bodily formations at all, it seems as if some confusion during transmission or translation has occurred. Thus SĀ 807 could still preserve the original version, SĀ 803 shows what could be a transitional stage, where the original and the changed instruction stand side by side, while in SĀ 810 only the altered instruction is found.

[135] MN 118 at MN III 82,28-32 uses the expression "he knows", *pajānāti*, in relation to the first two steps of being mindful of the breath as long or short, but then uses the expression "he trains", *sikkhati*, from step three onwards during the remainder of its exposition. The instructions in the Path to Liberation (*Vimuttimagga*/解脫道論), T 1648 at T XXXII 429c28, are similar to MN 118. Buddhadāsa 1971/1976: 63 explains this change of terminology to imply that "from stage 3 onwards we are concerned with the real practice, the training proper", whereas "stages 1 and 2 are just preliminaries". The *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 43-45 (cf. also T 763 at T XVII 657b29), however, does not use "training" in relation to any of the sixteen steps.

[136] SĀ 810 at T II 208a24 enjoins to "train", 學, already in relation to the preliminary step of just knowing in- and out-breaths. The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla 1973: 230,1 or ŚSG 2007: 96,1 and T 1579 at T XXX 432a29, agrees in this respect with SĀ 810, as it also speaks of "training", *śikṣate*/學, right away from the preliminary step of just knowing in- and out-breaths. Nevertheless, from the perspective of textual transmission it seems more likely that the detail of not applying the expression 'training' to the first and second phases of practice was subsequently forgotten, instead of imagining that it could have been introduced at a later stage.

[137] MN 118 at MN III 84,28: *aniccānupassī ... virāgānupassī ... nirodhānupassī ... paṭinissaggānupassī.*

[138] SĀ 810 at T II 208b10: 觀無常, 斷, 無欲, 滅.

Ānāpānasati-sutta recurs in the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* and in the Path to Liberation (*Vimuttimagga*),[139] the sequence adopted in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version recurs in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* and in the so-called Yogalehrbuch.[140]

The *Ānāpānasati-sutta* and its parallel agree that the first four steps of mindfulness of breathing fulfil the first *satipaṭṭhāna* of body contemplation, as by undertaking them one contemplates something that pertains to the body.[141] MN III 83

According to both versions, the next four steps of mindfulness of breathing correspond to the second *satipaṭṭhāna*, mindfulness of feelings. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version explains that the second tetrad of mindfulness of breathing fulfils the second *satipaṭṭhāna* because to give close attention to the breath should be understood as a certain feeling among feelings.[142] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version instead explains that practice of the second tetrad involves giving attention to a type of feeling. It thus continues with the same mode of explanation that both versions had adopted in their earlier correlation between the first tetrad of mindfulness of breathing and the first *satipaṭṭhāna*.[143] MN III 84

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[139] The *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 45,1, with its Chinese counterpart in T 763 at T XVII 658a1, and the Path to Liberation (*Vimuttimagga*/解脫道論) in T 1648 at T XXXII 430a5; cf. also the 坐禪三昧經, T 614 at T XV 275c24 (on this work cf. Deleanu 1992: 48).

[140] The *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla 1973: 231,6 or ŚSG 2007: 96,14 and T 1579 at T XXX 432b21, proceeds from *anityānudarśī*/無常 to *prahāṇānudarśī*/斷, *virāgānudarśī*/離欲, and *nirodhānudarśī*/滅. The relevant parts in the so-called Yogalehrbuch in Schlingloff 1964: 82-83 are fragment 128V1: *prahāṇānu [pa]śyanāyām* and 128V2: *(vi)rāgānupaśya[n](āyām)*, followed by *nirodhānupaśyanāyām*. For a reference to *a[ni](tyānupaśyī)* in the context of instructions on mindfulness of breathing cf. SHT IX 3091Rz (p. 348). A comparable sequence can also be found in DN 33 at DN III 251,9, DN 34 at DN III 291,9, SN 46:71-76 at SN V 132-133, SN 55:3 at SN V 345,23, AN 6:35 at AN III 334,6, AN 6:123 at AN III 452,12, AN 10:56 at AN V 105,24, and AN 10:217 at AN V 309,19, which proceed from *aniccānupassī* or *aniccasaññā* (via the interim steps of *anicce dukkhasaññā* and *dukkhe anattasaññā*) to *pahānasaññā, virāgasaññā*, and *nirodhasaññā*, although these instances are not related to mindfulness of breathing.

[141] MN 118 at MN III 83,32: "I call this a certain body among bodies, namely breathing in and out", *kāyesu kāyaññatarāhaṃ ... etaṃ vadāmi yadidaṃ assāsapassāsaṃ* (B^{e}-MN III 126,11 and C^{e}-MN III 230,18: *assāsapassāsā*) and SĀ 810 at T II 208a29: "at that time [in regard to] the body he contemplates the body with mindfulness established on a certain kind of body", 爾時身身觀念住異於身者 (my translation is based on assuming that 異於身者 renders an expression similar to *kāyaññatara*). A difference in regard to the description of this and subsequent tetrads is that MN 118 in each case indicates that such contemplation is undertaken with diligence, clear comprehension, mindfulness, and while being free from desires or discontent in regard to the world, MN III 83,35: *ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ*, a specification not made in SĀ 810.

[142] MN 118 at MN III 84,9: "I call this a certain feeling among feelings, namely giving close attention to breathing in and out", *vedanāsu vedanāññatarāhaṃ ... vadāmi yadidaṃ assāsapassāsānaṃ sādhukaṃ manasikāraṃ* (C^{e}-MN III 230,28: *vedanaññatarāhaṃ*). This explanation is puzzling, since it reckons attention as a feeling. Although paying close attention to the breath would lead to deeper concentration and therewith to the arising of pleasant feelings, to speak of attention to the breaths as a type of feeling does not seem to fit too well with the usage of the term "attention", *manasikāra*, in other discourses. Ps IV 140,14 recognizes the difficulty with this passage and explains that it is just a figurative way of speech and does not intend "attention", *manasikāra*, itself, but only its objects.

[143] SĀ 810 at T II 208b4: "at that time [in regard to] feelings he contemplates feelings with mindfulness established on what is also a certain kind of feeling", 爾時受受觀念住若復異受者 (adopting the 元

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the third tetrad of mindfulness of breathing corresponds to contemplation of the mind because mindfulness of breathing cannot be properly developed without mindfulness and clear comprehension.[144] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version simply explains that practice undertaken in this way is to give attention to the mind, thereby continuing with the type of explanation that it had for the earlier two tetrads.[145]

In regard to the final four steps of mindfulness of breathing, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version explains that this tetrad should be reckoned as contemplation of dharmas because at this stage a meditator has seen with wisdom that desires and discontent have been overcome and inspects properly and with equanimity.[146] The *Saṃyukta-āgama*

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and 明 variant reading 隨受 instead of 受隨身, in analogy to the formulation found in SĀ 810 for contemplation of the mind and contemplation of dharmas). This explanation seems quite straightforward, since just as by being aware of the breath one is mindful of an aspect of the body, so too by being aware of feelings of joy and happiness and by calming such feelings during the second tetrad of mindfulness of breathing one is indeed mindful of feelings.

[144] MN 118 at MN III 84,23: "I do not say that there is development of mindfulness of breathing for someone who is without mindfulness and clear comprehension", *nāhaṃ ... muṭṭhassatissa asampajānassa ānāpānasatibhāvanaṃ vadāmi* (B^e-MN III 127,4: *ānāpānassatiṃ*, S^e-MN III 197,1: *ānāpānasatiṃ*). This explanation is also to some extent puzzling, since one may wonder why the need for mindfulness and clear comprehension qualifies the third tetrad of mindfulness of breathing as an equivalent to contemplation of the mind. In fact, mindfulness and clear comprehension would already be required during the preceding steps of mindfulness of breathing. Although their presence at the present juncture might be particularly called for, so as to enable undertaking the more subtle contemplation of the mind, their presence would similarly be required when undertaking the final tetrad of mindfulness of breathing. That is, the statement that mindfulness and clear comprehension are required to develop mindfulness of breathing would apply to the entire set of sixteen steps and does not really explain why the third tetrad should be reckoned as an instance of contemplation of the mind in particular. Ps IV 141,23 explains that, even though the sign of breathing in and breathing out is the object, when a meditator establishes mindfulness and clear comprehension on the object of the mind, this form of practice should be reckoned as contemplation of the mind. This is certainly true, but then the same could be said for the preceding and subsequent steps of mindfulness of breathing as well, as these similarly require mindfulness and clear comprehension, but would nevertheless not be reckoned as instances of contemplation of the mind.

[145] SĀ 810 at T II 208b8: "at that time [in regard to] the mind he contemplates the mind with mindfulness established on what is a certain [state of] mind", 爾時心心觀念住若有異心者. In this case, too, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version's explanation seems quite straightforward, as by experiencing, gladdening, concentrating, and liberating the mind, this particular way of developing mindfulness of breathing becomes indeed an instance of contemplation of the mind.

[146] MN 118 at MN III 84,34: *yaṃ taṃ abhijjhādomanassānaṃ pahānaṃ taṃ paññāya disvā sādhukaṃ ajjhupekkhitā hoti* (S^e-MN III 197,10: *yan taṃ* and *pahānaṃ paññāya*, without *taṃ*). According to the commentarial gloss, Ps IV 142,4, the reference to desires and discontent in this explanation intends the five hindrances, which form the beginning of contemplation of dharmas in MN 10. Yet, while MN 118 speaks of desires and discontent being overcome, in the case of contemplation of the hindrances in MN 10 at MN I 60,11 the hindrances have not yet been overcome, *santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ kāmacchandaṃ ... iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati*. Thus if, in accordance with the specification in MN 118, it were characteristic of contemplation of dharmas that desires have already been overcome, then

parallel does not mention desires and discontent when relating the fourth tetrad of mindfulness of breathing to the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna.* Instead, this version simply explains that practice undertaken in this way is to give attention to dharmas, thereby continuing with the same type of explanation that it had adopted for the previous three tetrads.[147]

The *Ānāpānasati-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel continue by describing how, once mindfulness becomes well established through *satipaṭṭhāna*, the development of mindfulness as an awakening factor takes place. The two versions continue by indicating that the remaining awakening factors arise in conditional dependence on each other, leading from investigation-of-dharmas,[148] to energy, rapture,[149] tranquillity, concentration, and equanimity. MN III 85

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contemplation of the hindrances, or at the very least of the first hindrance of sensual desire, should not be part of contemplation of dharmas in MN 10. Instead of taking the absence of desires and discontent to be characteristic of the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna*, perhaps their absence may better be understood to characterize a more advanced stage of practice, a stage that could be based on having developed any of the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s. In fact, MN 10 at MN I 56,4 presents freedom from desires and discontent, *vineyya loke abhijjhādomanassaṃ*, as something relevant to all four *satipaṭṭhāna*s, so that their absence need not be confined to contemplation of dharmas. The need to stay aloof from *abhijjhādomanassa* recurs also in the standard description of the practice of sense-restraint, cf., e.g., MN 39 at MN I 273,6, a practice that would also be relevant to all four *satipaṭṭhāna*s. Besides, to identify *abhijjhādomanassa* with all five hindrances seems questionable, as according to MN 44 at MN I 304,1 some types of *domanassa* are free from the underlying tendency to aversion, so that these might not be identifiable with the hindrance of ill will. The general usage of *domanassa* in the discourses also does not give the impression as if this term implicitly stands for the hindrance of ill will, except for a single occurrence in Sn 5:14 at Sn 1106. In addition, one might also wonder why the present passage does not simply mention the remaining three hindrances of sloth-and-torpor, restlessness-and-worry, and doubt, if to refer to them had been the original intention. However, at least in as much as the first hindrance of sensual desire is concerned, the identification made by the commentary finds support in a good number of discourses that use *abhijjhā* instead of the more common *kāmacchanda* to refer to the first hindrance, cf. DN 2 at DN I 71,20, DN 10 at DN I 207,17, DN 25 at DN III 49,13, MN 27 at MN I 181,16, MN 38 at MN I 269,28, MN 39 at MN I 274,35, MN 51 at MN I 347,1, MN 94 at MN II 162,9, MN 101 at MN II 226,8, MN 107 at MN III 3,27, MN 112 at MN III 35,25, MN 125 at MN III 135,28, AN 4:198 at AN II 210,34, A 5:75 at AN III 92,24, AN 5:76 at AN III 100,11, AN 9:40 at AN IV 437,5, AN 10:99 at AN V 207,7, and It 4:12 at It 118,13.

147 SĀ 810 at T II 208b11: "at that time [in regard to] dharmas he contemplates dharmas with mindfulness established on a certain kind of dharma, that is indeed [how] he gives attention in accordance with dharmas", 爾時法法觀念住異於法者, 亦隨法比思惟. Thus in the present case, as well as in the case of the correlation of the second and third tetrad of mindfulness of breathing with the second and third *satipaṭṭhāna*, the explanations in SĀ 810 seem more straightforward than their counterparts in MN 118.

148 A minor difference is that, in its description of the investigating and scrutinizing activity of the *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga*, MN 118 at MN III 85,16 explicitly refers to the presence of wisdom, *taṃ dhammaṃ paññāya pavicinati pavicarati parivīmaṃsaṃ āpajjati* (B^e^-MN III 128,1 and C^e^-MN III 232,22: *pavicayati*), while SĀ 810 at T II 208b17 does not mention wisdom, reading only: "he discriminates and examines the Dharma", 於法選擇思量. The association of the awakening factor *dhammavicaya* with wisdom is highlighted in particular in the Abhidharma, cf., e.g., Dhs 62,24, which includes this awakening factor in its definition of the faculty of wisdom, *paññindriya*, or Vibh 229,26, which in its

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* presentation, the last step in this sequence, concerned with progressing from concentration to equanimity, requires to inspect with equanimity the concentrated state of mind.[150] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* account explains that due to having overcome desires and discontent the mind at this stage reaches balance and equanimity.[151]

MN III 88 The *Ānāpānasati-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel conclude their presentation by indicating that the awakening factors lead to knowledge and liberation when they

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abhidhammabhājaniya equates the awakening factor *dhammavicaya* with various *paññā* synonyms. Notably, Nett 82,26 includes not only the awakening factor *dhammavicaya*, but also the awakening factor of equanimity, *upekkhāsambojjhaṅga*, in a listing of *paññā* synonyms. Vibh-a 313,5 relates *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga* to insight knowledge, *vipassanañāṇa*. Ps IV 143,8 explains that *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga* stands for knowledge conjoined with the development of mindfulness, *satiyā sampayuttaṃ ñāṇaṃ dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgo*. Peṭ 187,3 sums up: "what understands in accordance with reality [when being] concentrated, that is the awakening factor of investigation-of-dharmas", *yaṃ samāhito yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, ayaṃ dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgo*. According to Mil 83,23, realization takes place through this particular awakening factor and is impossible without it, *ekena ... bojjhaṅgena bujjhati, dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgena ... dhammavicayasambojjhaṅgena vinā chahi bojjhaṅgehi na bujjhati*. Another noteworthy point in relation to the description of the activity of the *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga*, given in MN 118 at MN III 85,16, is that *dhamma* here stands in the singular, which suggests an inquiry into the Dharma as the "teaching". Such an understanding finds support in SN 46:3 at SN V 67,27, which describes the development of this awakening factor based on having heard, remembered, and reflected on the teaching, *dhammaṃ sutvā ... taṃ dhammaṃ anussarati anuvitakketi*. An examination of the development of the same awakening factor in SN 46:52 at SN V 111,1 speaks instead of contemplating dharmas internally and externally, *ajjhattaṃ dhammesu* and *bahiddhā dhammesu*, where the plural form conveys the sense of "phenomena" in general; cf. also the discussion in Gethin 1992a: 147-154. The Chinese counterpart to SN 46:52, SĀ 713 at T II 191b25, confirms this, as according to its presentation the task of this particular awakening factor is to distinguish between wholesome phenomena and unwholesome phenomena, 善法 and 不善法. SN 56:51 at SN V 104,8 also reflects this function of the awakening factor *dhammavicaya*, which it expresses by presenting proper attention, *yoniso manasikāra*, in regard to wholesome and unwholesome things as the nutriment for *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga*. This sets a direct contrast to the hindrance of doubt, since according to SN 56:51 at SN V 106,11 proper attention in regard to wholesome and unwholesome things is the antidote (literally "anti-nutriment", *anāhāra*) to doubt. That is, from an early Buddhist perspective the way to overcome doubt requires the type of investigation that corresponds to the development of the *dhammavicayasambojjhaṅga*.

[149] MN 118 at MN III 85,33 qualifies this rapture to be "non-worldly", *nirāmisa*, a qualification not made in SĀ 810.

[150] MN 118 at MN III 86,16: *tathāsamāhitaṃ cittaṃ sādhukaṃ ajjhupekkhitā hoti*.

[151] SĀ 810 at T II 208b26: 貪憂則滅, 得平等捨. In this way, SĀ 810 explicitly presents the absence of desires and discontent as characteristic for the progression to the seventh awakening factor, which indeed marks an advanced level of practice. This further supports my earlier suggestion that contemplation of dharmas in itself need not imply the absence of desires and discontent, nor does the absence of desires and discontent need to be restricted to the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna*. In fact, even though the seven awakening factors come under the fourth *satipaṭṭhāna* in MN 10 at MN I 61,32, MN 118 explicitly relates their development to each of the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s. This goes to show that the advanced stages of practice, when desires and discontent are overcome and the awakening factor of equanimity becomes well established, need not be confined to contemplation of dharmas, but can take place with each *satipaṭṭhāna*.

are developed in dependence on seclusion, dispassion, and cessation, thereby culminating in relinquishment or letting go.[152]

MN 119 *Kāyagatāsati-sutta*

The *Kāyagatāsati-sutta*, the "discourse on mindfulness of the body", describes the development and benefits of mindfulness of the body. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[153]

The *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by reporting that the Buddha visited a group of monks,[154] who had just been conversing on the Buddha's disclosure of the benefits of mindfulness of the body.[155] In both versions, the Buddha then gave a full exposition of this topic, an exposition that covers the exercises listed under contemplation of the body in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel.[156] MN III 88

In addition to the contemplations found in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, the *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* and its parallel also examine the effect of the four *jhāna*s on the body.[157] While the *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* at first describes the attainment of each *jhāna*, before turning to the effect of the *jhāna* on the body, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel dispenses with this description and directly takes up the effect each *jhāna* has on the body. This mode of

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[152] MN 118 at MN III 88,3: *vivekanissitaṃ, virāganissitaṃ, nirodhanissitaṃ, vossaggapariṇāmiṃ*, and SĀ 810 at T II 208c3: 依遠離, 依無欲, 依滅, 向於捨.

[153] The parallel is MĀ 81 at T I 554c-557c, which agrees with MN 119 on the title (念身經) and takes place at the village Āpaṇa in the Aṅga country, whereas MN 119 takes place in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. MĀ 81 has been translated by Kuan 2007, for remarks on MĀ 81 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 107, 108, and 145. For a discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 156.

[154] According to MĀ 81 at T I 554c22, the Buddha had overheard the discussion of the monks with his divine ear and thereon decided to approach them.

[155] While MN 119 at MN III 88,22 simply qualifies mindfulness of the body to be of great fruit and benefit, *mahapphala mahānisaṃsa*, MĀ 81 at T I 554c20 speaks of it being of "great fruit, [leading to] attaining vision, to being endowed with the 'eye' that sees the highest benefit", 大果報, 得眼, 有目見第一義.

[156] MN 119 takes up mindfulness of breathing (without the turner simile found in DN 22 and MN 10), the four postures, various activities, the anatomical parts of the body, the four elements, and the cemetery contemplations. Similar to MĀ 98 (the parallel to MN 10), MĀ 81 takes up mindfulness of the four postures, various activities, overcoming unwholesome states of mind, forceful control of the mind, mindfulness of breathing, the physical experience of the four *jhāna*s, development of awareness of light, attending to the sign of [reviewing] contemplation, the anatomical parts of the body, the six elements, and the cemetery contemplations. For a more detailed examination of the differences between these two expositions of body contemplation cf. above p. 80. A discourse quotation with the listing of anatomical parts (not necessarily specific to the present instance) can be found in Abhidh-k 7:27 in Pradhan 1967: 411,5, paralleling MN 119 at MN III 90,14, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 140a14 and T 1559 at T XXIX 291a9; cf. also Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 58a4 or Q (5595) *thu* 100b1.

[157] MN 119 at MN III 92,24 and MĀ 81 at T I 555b18, a treatment found also in the parallel to MN 10, MĀ 98 at T I 582c20.

approach makes it quite clear that it is not the attainment of *jhāna* as such, but rather the bodily experience caused by a *jhāna* that comes under the heading of mindfulness of the body.

MN III 92 The *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel illustrate the bodily experience of the four *jhāna*s with the same set of similes. In regard to the simile employed for the second *jhāna*, which describes a lake that does not receive any water from outside and is fed only by water that wells up from within the lake itself, the *Madhyama-āgama* version additionally mentions that this lake is fed by a pure mountain spring.[158]

MN III 94 A minor difference can also be found in relation to the fourth *jhāna* simile, which describes a man seated and covered from head to toe with a cloth. The *Madhyama-āgama* version indicates that the cloth used to cover the man is seven or eight cubits long, without, however, describing the colour of the cloth.[159]

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[158] MĀ 81 at T I 555b29: "a mountain spring, completely pure and clean", 山泉, 極淨澄清. The same image can also be found in version of this simile in DĀ 20 at T I 85b21: "like a clear spring of water at the top of a mountain", 如山頂涼泉水. A version of this simile in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* and in an individual translation similarly speaks of a pond that is located on top of a mountain, cf. Gnoli 1978a: 243,18: "a pond at the top of a mountain", *upariparvataṃ ... udakahrado* (cf. also fragment 512v1 in Wille 1990: 125) and T 13 at T I 234c1: "a spring water pond on top of a hillside", 阪頭泉水池. The specification of the lake's location on a mountaintop clarifies why such a lake would not receive any water from outside, but is only fed by a mountain spring from inside. At the same time, this specification highlights the aloofness reached by attaining the second *jhāna*, an experience of non-sensual pleasure born not only of seclusion but of concentration proper, resulting in a unified and totally tranquil state of mind. Although the first *jhāna* is already aloof through being "secluded from sensuality", *vivicc' eva kāmehi*, it nevertheless is an experience which due to is proximity to sensuality has not yet reached total aloofness. This can be seen in SN 40:1 at SN IV 263,16, according to which Mahāmoggallāna's attainment of the first *jhāna* was disturbed by the "arising of attention to perceptions related to sensuality", *kāmasahagatā saññā manasikārā samudācaranti*. With the attainment of the second *jhāna*, the level of concentration is not only "born of seclusion", but additionally "born of concentration" proper, *samādhijaṃ pītisukhaṃ*, a state of "mental unification that is internally tranquil", *ajjhattaṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ* and thereby more decisively aloof from any disturbance than the first *jhāna* (cf. MN 119 at MN III 93,5). The image of a pure lake on top of a mountain, self-sufficient and independent of any external source, aptly conveys such aloofness and tranquillity. According to the Path to Liberation (*Vimuttimagga*/解脫道論), the same is also implicit in the reference to the absence of any inflow of water from the outside, which stands representative for the absence of initial and sustained application of the mind in the second *jhāna*, T 1648 at T XXXII 418c27. The same work explains that the welling up of water from within, which causes no waves, illustrates the welling up of happiness and joy born of concentration that completely pervade body and mind without causing any mental agitation. The Path to Liberation also offers helpful comments on the simile used to illustrate the first *jhāna*. According to T 1648 at T XXXII 417b8, bath powder in its natural state can easily be scattered by the wind (here it needs to be kept in mind that in ancient India bathing usually would have been undertaken out in the open, such as by the side of a river, cf., e.g., MN 81 at MN II 46,21 or MN 93 at MN II 151,19). Similarly, a mind without joy and concentration will easily be scattered by the 'wind' of the five hindrances. Thus joy, happiness, and concentration are to the mind what water is to the bath powder, whose kneading is comparable to the action of initial and sustained application of the mind.

[159] MĀ 81 at T I 555c19: "clothes/robes of seven units length or clothes/robes of eight units length", 七肘衣, 或八肘衣. DĀ 30 at T I 133a12 uses the same measurement given in MĀ 81 and explains that

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version does not give the size of the cloth, but notes that it is of white colour.[160] An individual translation of the *Saṅgīti-sutta* also gives the size of the cloth, in addition to which it indicates that this cloth is white, a colour also mentioned in a *Dīrgha-āgama* version of this simile.[161] According to the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the whiteness of the cloth in this simile stands representative for the mental purity reached with the fourth *jhāna*.[162]

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seven units length corresponds to the average height of a person, 人身長七肘. The character 衣 in the *Āgama*s usually refers to "robes", although in the present instance it could also stand for "clothing" in general. Hirakawa 1997: 1048 lists *cīvara, vastra, cela, paṭa* as equivalents for 衣, a character translated by Soothill 1937/2000: 222 as "clothes, especially a monk's robes". The measurements given in MĀ 81 would roughly correspond to the size of a monk's robe, cf. *pācittiya* rule 92 at Vin IV 173,24, according to which the proper size for a robe is less than six *sugata* spans by nine *sugata* spans (on the *sugata* span, *sugatavidatthi*, cf. also Sp III 567,21 and Thanissaro 1994/2007: 565-566). The idea behind this image could thus be taken from actual experience, as at times an itinerant monk who sits down to meditate may cover himself in this way with his robes as a protection against flies and mosquitoes; cf., e.g., SN 7:9 at SN I 167,27 (or SN^2 195 at SN^2 I 359,7) and Sn 3:4 at Sn p. 80,2, which, together with their parallels SĀ 1184 at T II 320b24 and SĀ^2 99 at T II 408c28, describe the Buddha seated in meditation with his head covered with his robe. SĀ 1184 and SĀ^2 99 explain that the Buddha had just shaved his head, so that he may indeed have covered himself with his robe in order to protect his freshly shaven head. The image of such protection against external disturbances by being totally covered with a robe would well illustrate the mental state of imperturbability that is reached through attaining the fourth *jhāna*. Just as by covering himself with his robe a monk would create the suitable conditions for developing his meditation practice, so by attaining the fourth *jhāna* he would create the suitable condition for developing various supernormal powers and higher meditative attainments. Although Ps II 323,3 does not bring in flies and mosquitoes, it also takes the point of the image of the cloth to be related to the body, as it explains that the man's body is kept warm by the cloth. T 1648 at T XXXII 420c2 similarly understands the image to imply protection from heat or cold through being completely covered by the white cloth.

[160] MN 119 at MN III 94,17 speaks of a "white cloth", *odāta vattha*, thereby making it clear that from its perspective this would not be a monk's robe.

[161] T 13 at T I 234c14 illustrates the effect of the fourth *jhāna* with the example of a member of any of the four classes who covers himself with a white cloth that is eight to nine units long (T 12 uses 丈, which according to Mathews 1963: 21 stands for "a measure of ten feet". Applying this measurement would result in a huge cloth, so that in the present context 丈 is perhaps best taken to refer to a unit of length corresponding approximately to 肘). DĀ 20 at T I 85c4 speaks of "using a new white piece of cloth to cover the body", 以新白疊被覆其身, without giving any measurements.

[162] T 1579 at T XXX 339c8. The purity reached with this deep level of concentration is explicitly mentioned in the standard descriptions of the fourth *jhāna* as *upekhāsatipārisuddhi*, cf., e.g., MN 119 at MN III 94,11, a qualification referred to in *Madhyama-āgama* discourses as 捨念清淨, e.g., MĀ 2 at T I 422b22. In its description of the effect of the fourth *jhāna* on the body, MN 119 at MN III 94,13 describes this purity in terms of the pure mind that pervades the whole body, *parisuddhena cetasā ... pharitvā*, an experience which MĀ 81 at T I 555c18 depicts in the following terms: "in regard to this body, he dwells having accomplished its complete pervasion within by means of purity of the mind and mental understanding", 於此身中以清淨心意解遍滿成就遊. Thus the image used to illustrate the fourth *jhāna* in MN 119 and MĀ 81 may convey the idea of protecting the body just as it may exemplify mental purity (yet another interpretation is suggested by Schlingloff 1962b: 62, who takes the image of the white cloth that completely covers the meditator to represent the brilliancy and clarity of the heavenly

After each of the body contemplations, the *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* explains that practising diligently in this manner will lead to overcoming thoughts related to the household life and to concentrating the mind.[163] Its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart similarly speaks of practising diligently in order to develop concentration, without, however, mentioning the removal of thoughts related to the household life.[164]

The *Kāyagatāsati-sutta* next highlights that mindfulness of the body includes all wholesome things, which it compares to developing an awareness that encompasses the whole ocean, in the sense that such awareness would automatically include all the rivers that flow into the ocean.[165] The *Madhyama-āgama* version makes a similar proclamation, differing in so far as it describes how on flowing into the great ocean all rivers become parts of it, without mentioning any awareness of the ocean.[166]

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spheres). It is noteworthy that according to the explanation given in the Pāli commentary the cloth protects the body, an idea that also suggests itself from the wording of the *Madhyama-āgama* simile, whereas the explanation offered in the *Yogācārabhūmi* fits well with the simile found in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

[163] MN 119 at MN III 89,21: "by dwelling diligently, ardently, and resolutely in this way, memories and intentions related to the household life are abandoned, and with their abandoning the mind becomes internally ... concentrated", *evam appamattassa ātāpino pahitattassa viharato ye ... gehasitā sarasaṅkappā te pahīyanti, tesaṃ pahānā ajjhattam eva cittaṃ ... samādhiyati*.

[164] MĀ 81 at T I 555a15: "in this way, dwelling alone in a secluded spot, with a mind that is not negligent he practises energetically, removes distress from the mind, and attains concentration of the mind; having attained concentration of the mind, he knows the above [i.e. what has been mentioned earlier] as it really is", 如是 在遠離獨住, 心無放逸, 修行精勤, 斷心諸患而得定心, 得定心已, 則知上如真. Notably, both discourses apply this description to all of the body contemplations in their respective lists, and thereby also to the bodily experience of the four *jhāna*s. In MĀ 81 this is less problematic, since this application results only in the proposition that diligent practice of the four *jhāna*s will develop concentration, although it would perhaps have been more natural to propose that the diligent practice of concentration will lead to developing the four *jhāna*s. In the case of MN 119, this passage becomes considerably more puzzling, since the Pāli discourse follows the attainment of each of the four *jhāna*s by describing how, by abiding in this way, thoughts related to the household life can be overcome, whose removal then leads to settling and concentrating the mind. Yet, to attain the *jhāna*s would require that the mind has already been settled and concentrated and that thoughts related to the household have long been left behind. Thus, MN 119 seems to present a stage of practice preliminary to *jhāna* attainment as if it were an outcome of *jhāna* attainment. This suggests that perhaps at some comparatively early stage during the discourse's transmission the description of diligent practice was added to the treatment of each of the *jhāna*s, even though this description does not fit too well with the content of the passage to which it was appended. From the perspective of the dynamics of oral transmission, it could easily be imagined how the description of diligent practice, which anyway was to be repeated after each of the other body contemplations, was accidentally also applied to the treatment of the *jhāna*s during recitation.

[165] MN 119 at MN III 94,25. As an illustration of mindfulness of the body, this simile recurs in AN 1:21 at AN I 43,13. Kuan 2008: 131 points out that the image of the ocean as the converging point of all waters can also be found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* 2.4.11, cf. Radhakrishnan 1953/1992: 199: *sarvāsām apām samudra ekāyanam*.

[166] MĀ 81 at T I 556c11: "just like the great ocean, all the small rivers completely enter the ocean", 猶如大海, 彼諸小河盡在海中.

The two versions agree in illustrating the ability to withstand Māra, once one is established in mindfulness of the body, with a set of similes that contrast:

- throwing a heavy ball at a wet mud wall with throwing a light ball at a door panel,
- trying to light a fire with dry wood with attempting to do the same with wet wood,
- pouring water into an empty jug with attempting to do the same with a full jug.

They differ, however, in the sequence of their presentation (see table 12.8).[167]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues with another set of three similes, which describe the ability of reaching any attainment based on mindfulness of the body to being able to tip over a full water jug, to loosen the embankment of a full pond so that water will flow out, and to drive a chariot wherever one wishes.[168] These three similes are not found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version (see table 12.8). MN III 96

Table 12.8: Similes in MN 119 and MĀ 81

MN 119	MĀ 81
all rivers flow into ocean (1)	all rivers flow into ocean (→ 1)
throw heavy ball at mud (2)	pour water into empty jug (→ 4)
make fire with dry wood (3)	pour water into full jug (→ 7)
pour water into empty jug (4)	throw heavy ball at mud (→ 2)
throw light ball at panel (5)	throw light ball at panel (→ 5)
make fire with wet wood (6)	make fire with dry wood (→ 3)
pour water into full jug (7)	make fire with wet wood (→ 6)
tip over full jug (8)	
loosen embankment of pond (9)	
drive chariot at one's wish (10)	(≠ 8-10)

The two versions conclude by listing the benefits to be reached through mindfulness of the body (see table 12.9).[169] They agree in listing the abilities to conquer: MN III 97

- discontent,[170]
- fear,
- the vicissitudes of climate and hunger, etc.

A benefit of mindfulness of the body mentioned only in the *Madhyama-āgama* account is that the three types of unwholesome intention will not be able to overwhelm

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167 The pair-wise arrangement in MĀ 81 thus provides the contrast to each image immediately.

168 The same similes recur in AN 5:28 at AN III 27,26, where they illustrate how, based on developing five types of right concentration, any attainment can be reached. The image of driving a chariot recurs in MN 21 at MN I 124,18 to illustrate the willingness of the early generation of monks to follow the Buddha's instructions, while in SN 35:198 at SN IV 176,16 the same image illustrates control of the senses.

169 A listing of the benefits to be obtained through developing mindfulness of the body can also be found in AN 1:21 at AN I 43-46.

170 In relation to discontent, it is perhaps noteworthy that MN 119 at MN III 97,20 speaks of conquering discontent and delight, *aratiratisaho*, but then treats only the topic of discontent. MĀ 81 at T I 557b13 consistently speaks only of discontent: "he bears discontent, if discontent arises, the mind nevertheless does not hold on to it", 堪耐不樂, 若生不樂, 心終不著. For a similar case cf. above p. 47 note 105.

the mind.[171] Other benefits of a higher nature, found in both versions, are that mindfulness of the body enables attaining:

- the *jhāna*s,
- the supernormal knowledges,
- the destruction of the influxes.

Table 12.9: Benefits of Body Contemplation According to MN 119 and MĀ 81

MN 119	MĀ 81
conquer discontent (1)	bear cold, heat, hunger, thirst, etc. (→ 3)
conquer fear (2)	endure discontent (→ 1)
bear cold, heat, hunger, thirst, etc. (3)	endure fear (→ 2)
four *jhāna*s (4)	not be overwhelmed by unwholesome thoughts
supernormal powers (5)	4 *jhāna*s (→ 4)
divine ear (6)	stream-entry
know others' minds (7)	once-return
recollect past lives (8)	non-return
divine eye (9)	immaterial attainments
destruction of influxes (10)	supernormal powers, divine ear, know others' minds, recollect past lives, know re-arising of beings, destroy influxes (→ 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10)

To the destruction of the influxes, the *Madhyama-āgama* version adds the other three stages of awakening (which would be implicit in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version).[172] In addition to the four *jhāna*s, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse also mentions the immaterial attainments.[173] Thus, with some differences in their respective listings, the two versions agree that a broad range of benefits can be expected from diligent undertaking of mindfulness of the body.

MN 120 *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta*[174]

The *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta*, the "discourse on re-arising [in a particular way by means of an] aspiration", describes how an aspiration can influence the mode of one's rebirth. A discourse in the *Madhyama-āgama* takes up the same topic, although its mode of

[171] MĀ 81 at T I 577b17.

[172] MĀ 81 at T I 557b22. Due to these additional five benefits and because of considering each of the four *jhāna*s as a single benefit, MĀ 81 at T I 557b9 counts eighteen benefits, 十八德, whereas MN 119 at MN III 97,18 counts ten benefits, *dasa ānisaṃsā*.

[173] MĀ 81 at T I 577c2. In its description of the attainment of the immaterial spheres, MĀ 81at T I 557c3 already refers to the destruction of the influxes, which reads as if instead of the immaterial spheres it were to be taking up the attainment of cessation. MĀ 81, moreover, presents the four immaterial attainments as a single benefit, whereas it earlier reckoned the four *jhāna*s as four benefits. These irregularities suggest that a textual error may have occurred in this passage.

[174] B^{e}-MN III 140,12 and S^{e}-MN III 217,1 have the title *Saṅkhārupapatti-sutta*, while Ps II 106,26 refers to the present discourse as *Saṅkhārabhājanīya-sutta*.

presentation is different to such an extent that these two discourses do not seem to be "parallels" properly speaking.[175]

The *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta* lists various possible rebirths, covering: MN III 99

- the human realm,
- the sensuous heavens,
- the Brahmā worlds,
- the immaterial realms.

According to its exposition, a monk may be reborn in any of these realms if he aspires to such rebirth and has:

- faith,
- virtue,
- learning,
- renunciation,
- wisdom.

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse only covers rebirth in the Brahmā worlds and the four immaterial realms. According to its presentation, to be reborn in these realms requires developing the corresponding meditative attainment. One who develops the first *jhāna*, for example, will later on be reborn in the Brahmā world corresponding to the first *jhāna*.

In this way, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse indicates that meditation practice undertaken successfully leads to rebirth in these realms.[176] It explains that rebirth takes place in this way because the experience of the particular *jhāna* that has been developed corresponds to the experience of the respective Brahmā world.[177]

The treatment given in these two discourses thus differs not only in regard to the range of rebirth modes taken into account, but also about the principle responsible for such rebirth. While the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse relates rebirth in a particular realm to having developed the corresponding meditative attainment, the *Majjhima-nikāya*

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[175] MĀ 168 at T I 700b-701b, which agrees with MN 120 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī and has the title "discourse on mental practice", 意行經. Although 行 usually stands for *saṅkhāra*, judging from the way 行 is used in MĀ 168, it seems to stand rather for "practice" in the present context. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 143 highlights the degree to which the theme of the conditions for rebirth "is ... differently treated in both versions". On MĀ 168 cf. also Schmithausen 1987: 355 note 204. Besides MĀ 168, another probable parallel is Senior Kharoṣṭhī fragment 10 (I am indebted to Mark Allon for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of this fragment); cf. also Allon 2008: 166. Fragment 10 recto b5 appears to have preserved a reference to rebirth among wealthy families and recto c-h10-11 to rebirth among what in Pāli are the *nimmānaratī* and *paranimmitavasavattino devā*. Fragment 10 verso h-c10+13 refers to the Brahmā of Five Thousand and verso b2 and a2 to the Brahmā of Ten Thousand, cf. also recto c-h16.

[176] MĀ 168 at T I 700c9: "he is reborn according to his mental practice", 如是意行生.

[177] E.g., in relation to the first *jhāna*, MĀ 168 at T I 700c7 explains that "these two [types of] joy and happiness arisen from seclusion are not different, the two are completely equal ... one who first practises this concentration will later be reborn there", 此二離生喜樂, 無有差別, 二俱等等 ... 先此行定, 然後生彼.

version's exposition centres on the idea of being reborn through the power of an aspiration, based on a set of qualities that do not mention the development of concentration.

A related treatment can be found in the *Saṅgīti-sutta* and a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, which describe how on giving a gift someone may aspire to rebirth in upper families or in the heavenly realms of the sensuous sphere. These two discourses present the development of such an aspiration in terms similar to the *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta*,[178] and also stipulate the need of a foundation in morality for such an aspiration to come true.[179] Although the *Saṅgīti-sutta* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourse do not explicitly identify the person who develops such an aspiration,[180] the circumstance that the aspiration is based on giving a gift suggests that a lay aspirant is intended. In the *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta*, however, the one who aspires to rebirth in an upper-class human family or in a sense-sphere heaven is a monk.[181] The *Saṅgīti-sutta* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourse also envisage rebirth in the Brahmā world, in relation to which they additionally stipulate the need to go beyond sensuality.[182]

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[178] DN 33 at DN III 258,25 (cf. also AN 8:35 at AN IV 239,13): *taṃ cittaṃ dahati, taṃ cittaṃ adhiṭṭhāti, taṃ cittaṃ bhāveti*, which parallels MN 120 at MN III 99,27: *taṃ cittaṃ dahati, taṃ cittaṃ adhiṭṭhāti, taṃ cittaṃ bhāveti* (S^e-MN III 217,12: *padahati* instead of *dahati*).

[179] DN 33 at DN III 259,1: "I say this [is the case] of a virtuous one, not of one who is not virtuous. Friends, the mental aspiration of the virtuous one thrives due to its purity", *tañ ca kho sīlavato vadāmi, no dussīlassa. ijjhat', āvuso, sīlavato cetopaṇidhi suddhattā* (B^e-DN III 214,19, C^e-DN III 442,12, and S^e-DN III 272,8: *visuddhattā*); cf. also AN 8:35 at AN IV 239,17. An exposition of rebirth due to an aspiration in the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 442c15, similarly highlights the causal function of the purity of virtue, 尸羅淨故, which a treatment of the same subject in the *Dharmaskandha* presents in terms of pure action by way of the three doors, T 1537 at T XXVI 506b3: 三妙行.

[180] DN 33 at DN III 258,17 and AN 8:35 at AN IV 239,4 simply speak of "some", *ekacco*, corresponding to 一類 in the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 442c6, and in the *Dharmaskandha*, T 1537 at T XXVI 506a29.

[181] MN 120 at MN III 100,17 introduces the aspiration to be reborn in a heavenly realm of the sense-sphere by describing that the aspirant has heard that the inhabitants of this realm are "long-lived, beautiful and enjoy great happiness", *dīghāyukā vaṇṇavanto sukhabahulā ti*. Thus, what motivates the wish to be reborn in such a realm is quite different from the aspiration to reach liberation from any type of rebirth, which according to a standard pericope in the early discourses is the normative motivation for going forth, cf., e.g., MN 7 at MN I 40,2. Vetter 2000: 45 remarks that, although wisdom is mentioned as one of the prerequisites for the aspiration to lead to a particular rebirth, the same quality has clearly not been fully "developed. If it were, the monk would not wish to be reborn somewhere". In fact, for a monk to aspire to rebirth in a sense-sphere heaven is something MN 16 at MN I 102,9 considers a mental bondage, *cetaso vinibandha*. AN 7:47 at AN IV 55,21 scornfully treats such an aspiration as being bound to sexuality; cf. above p. 129 note 148. The disdain for such aspiration is of such degree that, if someone were to ask the monks if they were living the holy life for the sake of being born in a heavenly sphere, this would cause them to feel repelled, ashamed, and disgusted, cf. AN 3:18 at AN I 115,4. In view of this, it is remarkable that according to MN 120 the one who formulates such an aspiration is a monk.

[182] DN 33 at DN III 260,1: "I say this [is the case] for a virtuous one, not for one who is not virtuous, for one who is free from lust, not for one who is with lust. Friends, the mental aspiration of the virtuous one thrives due to its freedom from lust", *tañ ca kho sīlavato vadāmi, no dussīlassa, vītarāgassa, no sarāgassa. ijjhat', āvuso, sīlavato cetopaṇidhi vītarāgattā*; cf. also AN 8:35 at AN IV 241,7. The *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 442c19, similarly highlights the importance of freedom from lust for

Similar to the *Madhyama-āgama* version, another discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* explains that rebirth in the Brahmā worlds is to be expected of those who develop the *jhāna*s.[183] The next discourse in the same *Aṅguttara-nikāya* collection then presents insightful contemplation of such *jhāna* attainment as the condition for rebirth in the Pure Abodes.[184]

The examination of various modes of rebirth in the *Saṅkhāruppatti-sutta* culminates with the destruction of the influxes. According to its presentation, a monk who aspires to this goal will realize the destruction of the influxes and thereby go beyond any mode of rebirth, if he has faith, virtue, learning, renunciation, and wisdom.[185] MN III 103

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse also has the destruction of the influxes as its culmination point. In line with its presentation of levels of rebirth reached through developing the *jhāna*s and the immaterial attainments, it describes how a monk goes beyond the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception and attains the cessation of perceptions and feelings,[186] which it reckons the supreme and most excellent type of concentration,[187] as a monk who has reached it has completely transcended *dukkha*.

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rebirth in the Brahmā world, 離欲. The *Dharmaskandha*, T 1537 at T XXVI 506b14, however, stipulates the corresponding meditative attainment, similar to MĀ 168; cf. also Schmithausen 1987: 356 note 211b. This highlights another curiosity in the treatment in MN 120, which presents the same set of conditions for all of its rebirth perspectives, without making any distinctions. Thus, just as faith, virtue, learning, renunciation, and wisdom are required for rebirth in a good householder family, so the same qualities serve their purpose for rebirth in the different Brahmā worlds, including the Pure Abodes and the immaterial realms. For rebirth in these quite different realms, some additional specification would fit the context better, such as the removal of lust stipulated in DN 33 and AN 8:35, or the development of the different *jhāna*s, mentioned in MĀ 168. As it is, the presentation in MN 120 runs the risk of giving the misleading impression that the five qualities it mentions are all that is required for such elevated rebirths. Ps IV 149,9 makes up for this by explaining that, in addition to the five qualities mentioned in the discourse, the corresponding *jhāna*s need to be developed, and for rebirth in the Pure Abodes insight up to non-return is required.

183 AN 4:123 at AN II 126-128.

184 AN 4:124 at AN II 128.

185 MN 120 at MN III 103,23: "such a monk does not re-arise anywhere at all", *ayaṃ ... bhikkhu na katthaci uppajjati na kuhiñci uppajjatīti* (B^e-MN III 146,4: *na katthaci upapajjatī ti*, S^e-MN III 225,8: *na katthaci uppajjatī ti*, B^e and S^e do not have the second part: *na kuhiñci uppajjati*).

186 MĀ 168 at T I 701b12. Hence this is a case where the Chinese version mentions the attainment of cessation while the same is absent in the Pāli version.

187 MĀ 168 at T I 701b13 illustrates the superiority of cessation attainment by comparing it to obtaining ghee from milk. This simile occurs also in other Pāli discourses, cf., e.g., DN 9 at DN I 201,24, SN 34:1-55 at SN III 264-278, AN 4:95 at AN II 95,28, AN 5:181-190 at AN III 219-220, and AN 10:91 at AN V 182,6.

Chapter 13 *Suññata-vagga*

MN 121 *Cūḷasuññata-sutta*

The *Cūḷasuññata-sutta*, the "lesser discourse on emptiness", depicts the progress of a gradual meditation on emptiness. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and a parallel preserved in Tibetan.[1]

The *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels begin with Ānanda inquiring if he rightly re- MN III 104
membered an earlier occasion when the Buddha had proclaimed that he often dwelled in emptiness.[2] The Buddha confirms that Ānanda has properly remembered this earlier statement,[3] followed by explaining how to undertake such dwelling in emptiness.

In relation to the various steps to be taken during the gradual approach for such dwelling in emptiness, the *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels propose a similar mode of contemplation. This contemplation is based on developing a unitary type of experi-

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[1] The parallels are MĀ 190 at T I 736c-738a and the *mdo chen po stong pa nyid ces bya ba*, translated by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye shes sde, D (290) or Q (956), edited in Skilling 1994a: 146-186. MĀ 190 and the Tibetan version agree with MN 121 on locating the discourse in the Hall of Migāra's Mother by Sāvatthī. While MĀ 190 agrees with MN 121 on the title (小空 經), the Tibetan version's title would correspond to *Śūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra*. MN 121 and MĀ 190 have been compared by Choong 1999: 66-76. All three versions of the present discourse have been studied by Schmithausen 1981: 232-239 and Skilling 1997a: 335-363; cf. also Skilling 2007: 233-235. According to Skilling 1997a: 14 and 338, the Tibetan version stems from a *Madhyama-āgama* collection that would have belonged to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda tradition. For counterparts to MN 121 at MN III 104,7-11 in *Vyākhyāyukti* literature cf. Skilling 2000b: 343.

[2] Skilling 1997a: 347 note 46 notes a minor difference, as in MN 121 at MN III 104,9 the Buddha speaks of dwelling much in the 'emptiness dwelling', *suññatāvihārenāhaṃ ... etarahi bahulaṃ viharāmī ti*, while the Chinese and Tibetan versions simply speak of dwelling much in 'emptiness', MĀ 190 at T I 737a4: 多行空 and Skilling 1994a: 148,4: *stong pa nyid kyis lan mang du gnas so*. The idiomatic expression *vihārena viharati* is a recurring feature in the discourses (cf., e.g., DN 16 at DN II 130,35, MN 151 at MN III 294,2, SN 21:3 at SN II 275,22, AN 6:10 at AN III 284,26, etc.), listed by Wijesekera 1993: 84 as an example for the instrumental case that expresses "attendant circumstances", so that this difference would be mainly a matter of formulation.

[3] This earlier statement by the Buddha has not been recorded elsewhere in the Pāli discourses. Skilling 1997a: 346 notes that the *Vyākhyāyukti* (cf. Lee 2001: 206,8) takes up the absence of a record of this saying "to demonstrate that the sūtra collection of the Śrāvakas is not complete: that it does not record every teaching given by the Buddha" (cf. also Cabezón 1992: 227). Without intending to dispute the incompleteness of the collection of discourses, it could nevertheless be noted that the argument made in relation to the present instance does not seem to work too well. If the Buddha had given a full exposition of the matter on that earlier occasion, Ānanda would not have needed to inquire about it again on the present occasion. This suggests that, on that former occasion, the Buddha made only the short statement quoted in the present discourse. Such a short statement would then, due to its brevity, not have stood a chance to be recorded as a discourse on its own. Other instances of this short statement, where monks similarly declare that they often dwell in emptiness, are also not found on their own but occur as part of a longer exposition, cf. MN 151 at MN III 294,4 and Vin II 304,12.

ence,[4] followed by considering this experience as devoid of the disturbances related to the types of perception that at this stage have been left behind.[5] The three versions instruct to contemplate what is present as "existing" and at the same time as "empty" of what has been left behind,[6] and conclude that in this way a genuine and undistorted approach to emptiness can be developed.[7]

According to the *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels, the Buddha began his exposition by highlighting the absence of any animals, possessions, or human beings – except for the community of monks – in the forest where the discourse was taking place.[8]

The Chinese and Tibetan versions turn to the presence of the monk community as a first step in their gradual approach to emptiness, presenting it in the same manner as all the subsequent steps of practice in the gradual meditation on emptiness (see table 13.1).[9]

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[4] MN 121 at MN I 105,5+20 introduces each of its steps (e.g., for perception of earth) with the injunction to "give attention to the unity dependent on" the particular perception to be developed, °*saññaṃ paṭicca manasikaroti ekattaṃ*, and concludes its treatment of each step by indicating that the experience based on such unity is what remains at this point, °*saññaṃ paṭicca ekattaṃ* (on *ekattaṃ* in the sense of a "uniform" perception cf. Schmithausen 1981: 233 note 122). MĀ 190 at T I 737a21+29 (e.g., for perception of earth) instructs to be mindful of a "unitary" or "single" perception, 念一 ... 想, followed by concluding that what remains is such "unitary" or "single" perception, 唯一 ... 想 (a procedure absent from the treatment of the community of monks in MĀ 190 at T I 737a9). The Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 156,3 and 160,1 (e.g., for perception of earth) instructs to give attention to unity, *de las kha cig yid la bya*, and then concludes that what remains is the type of experience dependent on such unity, *de las kha cig la brten nas*, thereby bringing in the idea of "dependence" found also in the Pāli version (I take *kha cig* to be a confusion of *ekatta* or *ekatva* for *ekacca* or *ekatya*, as suggested by Skilling 1997a: 349).

[5] MN 121 at MN III 104,23: *ye assu darathā ... te 'dha na santi*, MĀ 190 at T I 737a15: 若有疲勞 ... 我無是也, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 154,1: *nyon mongs pa'i gnas gang dag yin pa de dag med*. While MN 121 speaks first of the disturbances and then of contemplating what is there and what is not there, the Chinese and Tibetan versions adopt the opposite sequence. The term *daratha*, derived from *dara*, for which Böhtlingk 1883/1998c: 70 s.v. *dara* gives "bersten, sprengen, zerreissen" and MW: 470 s.v. *dara* "cleaving, breaking", thus sets a contrast to the "unitary" character of these experiences, which are developed by overcoming any *daratha* related to the perceptions that are to be left behind. On *daratha* cf. also Brough 1962/2001: 186 and Skilling 1997a: 352-355.

[6] MN 121 at MN III 105,22: *yaṃ hi kho tattha na hoti, tena taṃ suññaṃ samanupassati, yaṃ pana tattha avasiṭṭhaṃ hoti, taṃ santaṃ idam atthī ti pajānāti* (B[e]-MN III 147,24 and C[e]-MN III 264,28: *santam idaṃ*), MĀ 190 at T I 737a17: 若彼中無者, 以此故, 彼見是空, 若彼有餘者, 彼見真實有, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 154,5: *de lta bas na gang la gang med pa de des stong ngo zhes bya bar yang dag par rjes su mthong yang, de la lhag ma gang yod pa de de la yod do zhes bya bar yang dag pa ji lta ba bzhin du rab tu shes te.*

[7] MN 121 at MN III 105,2 additionally qualifies this entry into emptiness as "pure", *parisuddha*, a qualification not made in its Chinese and Tibetan parallels.

[8] Although the items listed in the Tibetan version are more numerous than those listed in MN 121 and MĀ 190, the basic idea of the absence of animals, possessions, and human beings (except for the monks) is the same in the three versions. For a discussion and survey of the listings in the three versions cf. Skilling 1997a: 348 and 363. Hayashima 1962: 758 and 765 notes that the early Buddhist conception of emptiness was closely related to the solitary and remote lifestyle of the Buddha and his disciples, something particularly evident in the present instance.

[9] In MĀ 190 at T I 737a10 it is the Buddha himself who views the absence of animals, etc., as empty and

The Chinese and Tibetan versions then proceed to perception of the forest,[10] which thus forms the second step of the meditative development of emptiness in their versions. The Pāli version, however, does not reckon awareness of the monk community as a stage in itself, as it immediately continues by directing attention to perception of the forest.[11]

The step that follows perception of the forest in the gradual meditation on emptiness, described in the *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels, requires developing a unitary perception of earth by not giving attention to such things as valleys and mountains, etc.[12] The three versions illustrate this unitary perception of earth by comparing it to fixing the hide of an ox with pegs until it is fully stretched and without any wrinkles.[13] MN III 105

This process of mental abstraction by 'emptying' or 'voiding' the mind of its former perceptions proceeds in the *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels from the perception of earth to the perceptions of:

- boundless space,
- boundless consciousness,
- nothingness.

The gradual approach to emptiness thus progresses through the types of perception that correspond to the first three of the four immaterial attainments. Each time, the respective experience is contemplated in the following manner:

- as empty of what is not there (the former perceptions),
- as not empty of what is there (the present perception).

According to the *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels, in this way it becomes possible to develop a genuine and undistorted meditative entry into emptiness. A minor difference is that, in relation to each perception, the Pāli discourse depicts how the mind gets firmly established in the respective experience, a circumstance not mentioned in the Chinese and Tibetan versions.[14]

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the presence of the monks community as what is still there: "I contemplate it as empty", 我見是空, and "I contemplate it as truly existing", 我見真實有, whereas the ensuing steps of contemplation have a monk as their subject, 比丘, and are described without use of the personal pronoun "I", cf., e.g., MĀ 190 at T I 737a18: 見是空 and 見真實有.

[10] MĀ 190 at T I 737a13: 一無事想 and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 152,7: *dgon par 'du shes pa.*

[11] MN 121 at MN III 104,17: *bhikkhusaṅghaṃ paṭicca ekattaṃ*, directly followed in the next line at MN III 104,18 by *araññasaññaṃ paṭicca manasikaroti ekattaṃ.* The perception of forest recurs in AN 6:42 at AN III 343,9 (= AN 8:86 at AN IV 344,6) as a means to develop a unitary experience, *ekatta*. Vism 73,17 considers the same as a supportive condition for developing concentration.

[12] While MN 121 at MN III 105,10 only takes up what should not be attended to in order to develop a unitary perception of earth, MĀ 190 at T I 737a23 and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 156,9 also mention what should be attended to, describing that the meditating monk gives attention to the aspect of sameness, similar to looking at the palm of a hand.

[13] This simile recurs in MĀ 199 at T I 760b28 to illustrate a particular torture administered to evildoers in hell, where the tongue is stretched out and fixed by a hundred pegs, a punishment also described in Jā 541 at Jā VI 112,31; cf. also EĀ 50.5 at T II 810c27.

[14] MN 121 at MN III 104,22: "the mind enters into it, acquires confidence in it, is established in it, and settles into it", *cittaṃ pakkhandati pasīdati santiṭṭhati adhimuccati* (I follow Schmithausen 1981: 234 note

MN III 107 The Pāli version next takes up the attainment of neither-perception-nor-non-perception. This step is not found in the Chinese and the Tibetan versions (see table 13.1).

Table 13.1: Gradual Descent into Emptiness in MN 121 and its Parallels

MN 121	MĀ 190 & D 290/Q 956
forest (1)	monastery
earth (2)	forest (→ 1)
infinite space (3)	earth (→ 2)
infinite consciousness (4)	infinite space (→ 3)
nothingness (5)	infinite consciousness (→ 4)
neither-perception-nor-non-perception (6)	nothingness (→ 5)
signlessness (7a)	signlessness (→ 7)
signlessness (7b)	(≠ 6)

The *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels agree in presenting the signless concentration of the mind as the last step in this gradual series of perceptions.[15]

124 and adopt the reading *adhimuccati* found in B^e-MN III 147,18, C^e-MN III 264,21, and S^e-MN III 227,1, instead of E^e: *vimuccati*; cf. also above p. 194 note 263. An argument in favour of the reading *vimuccati* would be the expression *vimocayaṃ cittaṃ* in MN 118 at MN III 83,10 which, since it is preceded by *samādahaṃ cittaṃ*, clearly occurs in a context closely related to the development of concentration).

[15] MĀ 190 at T I 737c3 actually speaks of "unconscious concentration of the mind", 無想心定. The notion of a meditative experience that involves the absence of perception is reflected in the expression *asaṃj[ñ]isa(m)[ā]pattiḥ*, found in the otherwise unrelated fragment SHT IV 623 folio 40V6 (p. 256); cf. also the *asaññasamāpatti* mentioned in Sp II 514,17. The reference in MĀ 190 to 心定, however, points to an equivalent to *cetosamādhi* instead of *samāpatti*. Moreover, since the Pāli and Tibetan parallels qualify the present experience as "signless", cf. MN 121 at MN III 107,29: *animitta* and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 172,5: *mtshan ma med pa* (though the Tibetan version differs in as much as it speaks of the signless "element" or "sphere", *dbyings*, instead of the signless "concentration of the mind"), it seems that in the present case the character 想, "perception", should be corrected to 相, "sign", resulting in what is the standard rendering of the signless concentration of the mind as 無相心定; for other cases where 想 and 相 appear to have been confused with each other cf. above p. 274 note 54. The main point in developing such a "signless" form of meditation appears to be not to allow attention to be concerned with any "sign", cf., e.g., MN 43 at MN I 296,33. A "sign" in such contexts refers to those aspects, marks, and characteristics by which one recognizes phenomena. Several Pāli discourses relate meditation on signlessness to the path to liberation or to liberation itself. Thus MN 43 at MN I 298,22 and SN 41:7 at SN IV 297,25 speak of unsurpassable liberation of the mind, *akuppa cetovimutti*, as the highest of all signless experiences. According to SN 43:4 at SN IV 360,16 and SN 43:12 at SN IV 363,12, *animitta samādhi* constitutes a path that leads to the *asaṅkhata*. AN 3:163 at AN I 299,14 relates *animitta samādhi* to the removal of *rāga, dosa*, and *moha*. AN 7:53 at AN IV 78,19 takes up a monk who dwells in signlessness, *animittavihārin*, in the context of a discussion of various noble disciples. To be able to practise signless concentration of the mind does, however, not necessarily imply a high level of realization, since AN 6:60 at AN III 397,11 describes the case of a monk who, priding himself on having attained signless meditative experiences, neglects seclusion and excessively associates with others, as a result of which lust invades his mind and he finally disrobes. An additional perspective on signlessness can be found in a discourse in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, according to which it is not possible to develop

The three versions direct insightful contemplation to the conditioned and mentally fabricated nature of such signless concentration. While the Pāli discourse instructs to contemplate this experience as impermanent and subject to cessation,[16] the Chinese and Tibetan accounts recommend avoiding delight in relation to this attainment.[17] MN III 108

The Pāli discourse stands alone in taking up the signless concentration of the mind twice (see above table 13.1). The Chinese and the Tibetan versions mention signless concentration only once and then continue directly with the insightful contemplation to be undertaken in regard to this experience.

The Pāli version also speaks twice of the only "disturbance" that remains at this stage, which is the continuity of the six sense-spheres conditioned by the life faculty.[18] The Chinese and Tibetan versions speak of the six sense-spheres and the life faculty only once, as part of the retrospective knowledge after the influxes have been eradicated.[19]

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signlessness (in its ultimate sense) without at first developing concentration on emptiness, cf. SĀ 80 at T II 20b4: "having attained emptiness, it is possible to develop signlessness", 得空已, 能起無相, a statement SĀ 80 precedes by explaining that without having attained emptiness, to develop signlessness is not possible. For a discussion of the relationship between *śūnyatā* and *animitta* cf. also SHT V 1131 V4-5 (p. 126). These various passages make it clear why signless concentration of the mind comes as the climax of the gradual development of emptiness described in MN 121 and its parallels. For a detailed study of different occurrences of *animitta* in the Pāli discourses and commentaries cf. Harvey 1986.

[16] MN 121 at MN III 108,17: "this is impermanent and subject to cessation", *tad aniccaṃ nirodhadhamman ti.*

[17] MĀ 190 at T I 737c11 describes the reflection like this: "I do not delight in this, do not seek this, it is not suitable [for me] to be established on this", 我不樂彼, 不求彼, 不應住彼. According to the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 174,7: "it is not suitable to delight in it, to approve of it, to become attached to it, or to remain attached to it" (my translation), *de la ni mngon par dga' bar bya ba 'am, mngon par brjod par bya ba 'am, lhag par chags par bya ba 'am, lhag par chags shing gnas par bya bar mi rigs so*. Schmithausen 1981: 236 note 136 suggests that *mngon par brjod pa* could be a mistaking of *abhilaṣituṃ* for *abhilapituṃ*. Although *mngong par brjod pa* is indeed the standard rendering of *abhilapanatā*, cf. eg. BHSD: 56 s.v. and entry no. 2795 in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, Sakaki 1926: 201 (for a discussion of *abhilapanatā* cf. also Cox 1992/1993: 79-82 and Gethin 1992a: 39-40), in the present context an alternative way of understanding *mngong par brjod pa* might be that it renders *abhivadituṃ*, found as part of a similar sequence of verbs, e.g., in MN 106 at MN II 263,7: *abhinandituṃ ... abhivadituṃ ... ajjhosituṃ*, or else in MN 38 at MN I 266,29: *abhinandati abhivadati ajjhosāya tiṭṭhati*. A Sanskrit fragment version of this verb series in SHT III 865V4-5 (p. 114), however, does not include *abhivadituṃ*, as it only reads *(a)[bh](i)n(aṃ)dituṃ vā adhyavasituṃ vā adhyava(sāya) vā sthātuṃ.*

[18] MN 121 thereby no longer conforms to its own pattern of overcoming a particular "disturbance" with each of the successive steps. Schmithausen 1981: 237 comments that "this appears strange in a text which up to this point had strictly followed a pattern of ... progressive spiritual stages. In such a framework, the two final sections give the impression of being ... a juxtaposition of an original and a revised version of the final portion".

[19] MĀ 190 at T I 737c15 and Skilling 1994a: 176,11, corresponding to the second occurrence of the six sense-spheres and the life faculty in MN 121 at MN III 108,26; on the instruction regarding the six sense-spheres cf. also Tanto 2004. Here the Chinese and Tibetan versions offer a more straightforward perspective, since to speak of the six sense-spheres as the only disturbance left makes sense in relation to retrospective knowledge of the destruction of the influxes. Once the influxes are destroyed, sensory experience is indeed the only disturbance left (Ps IV 154,1 explains that the reference to the six sense-

According to all versions, insight contemplation undertaken in regard to the signless concentration of the mind leads to the destruction of the influxes, which the Pāli and the Tibetan discourses qualify as an unsurpassable manifestation of emptiness.[20]

MN III 109 The Pāli version refers to recluses and Brahmins in past, present, or future times who dwell in this type of pure and supreme emptiness, while its two parallels speak of Tathāgatas of the past, present, and future.[21] The three versions conclude with the Buddha encouraging Ānanda to put this gradual approach to emptiness into practice.[22]

MN 122 *Mahāsuññata-sutta*[23]

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta*, the "greater discourse on emptiness", takes up the topic of emptiness from a variety of perspectives. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and a parallel preserved in Tibetan.[24]

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spheres stands for "what is related to the six sense-spheres", *saḷāyatanapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ*, i.e., experiences through the six senses), standing representative for the subtlest degree of *dukkha* recognized in early Buddhism, the unsatisfactoriness of all that is conditioned, cf., e.g., DN 33 at DN III 216,22 and its parallel DĀ 9 at T I 50b12 (on the three types of *dukkha* cf. also Schmithausen 1977; on a Jain counterpart to *saṅkhāradukkhatā* cf. Jaini 1977/2001). The same qualification does, however, not fit signless concentration of the mind, which by its very absence of signs would be aloof from sensory experience.

[20] MN 121 at MN III 109,1: *paramānuttarā suññatāvakkanti* and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 178,2: *stong pa nyid la 'jug pa bla na med pa.*

[21] MN 121 at MN III 109,2, MĀ 190 at T I 737c21, and Skilling 1994a: 178,10. The Chinese and Tibetan versions of this statement fit the context well, since the discourse as a whole is a detailed exposition of the Buddha's statement that he often dwelled in emptiness. In view of this, it would be natural for the discourse to conclude by referring to the dwelling in emptiness of a Tathāgata, an expression used regularly to refer to the Buddha, but which in a more general sense can also include all arahants, cf., e.g., MN 22 at MN I 140,5, SN 54:12 at SN V 327,8, or Sn 3:4 at Sn 467-477. Ps IV 154,16 takes that the expression "recluses and Brahmins", used in MN 121 for those who dwell in emptiness, to intend only Buddhas and their disciples in the present context. In fact, as according MN 11 at MN I 66,3, MĀ 103 at T I 591a20, and EĀ 27.2 at T II 644a16 heterodox recluses and Brahmins did not really understand the problem posed by clinging to a doctrine of self, one would not expect MN 121 to propose that these same heterodox recluses and Brahmins were able to dwell in supreme emptiness.

[22] MN 121 at MN III 109,13, MĀ 190 at T II 737c29, and Skilling 1994a: 180,5. Skilling 1997a: 358 notes that while MN 121 and the Tibetan version report only that Ānanda rejoiced in the discourse, MĀ 190 at T I 738a1 adds that other monks also rejoiced in the Buddha's exposition. Such variations are found frequently between parallel versions of the same discourse, e.g., MN 122 at MN III 118,6 reports only that Ānanda rejoiced, while its parallel MĀ 191 at T I 740c1 reports that Ānanda and the monks rejoiced, and the Tibetan counterpart in Skilling 1994a: 262,4 mentions only the monks. It appears to be a stylistic device in the early discourses that by mentioning the most important member of a group, anyone else who may be present is implicitly included. Thus by naming Ānanda, presumably anyone else present is also taken into account. In the case of MN 121 this is self-evident, as unless other monks had been present, it would have been impossible to direct Ānanda's awareness to the community of monks as a first step in the meditative development of emptiness; cf. also above p. 66, p. 474 note 169 and p. 618 note 161.

[23] Skilling 1997a: 368 draws attention to an alternative title given in the commentary, Ps IV 157,13, which speaks of the discourse on 'breaking up the crowd', *gaṇabhedanaṃ nāma idaṃ suttaṃ*, a title that takes up the present discourse's emphasis on the importance of avoiding excessive socializing.

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels begin by describing how the Buddha chanced upon a number of resting places prepared for monks.[25] The commentary explains that this was the first time the Buddha had come across such a large group of monks living together in the same place.[26] MN III 109

According to all versions, Ānanda explained to the Buddha that the monks had come together to make robes.[27] The Tibetan version provides the additional indication that the seats or mats had been left outside in the open.[28] MN III 110

This could be a sign of heedlessness, since according to the monastic rules the monks should have stored those mats away.[29] This additional detail in the Tibetan version

[24] The parallels are MĀ 191 at T I 738a-740c and the *mdo chen po stong pa nyid chen po zhes bya ba*, translated by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye shes sde, D (291) or Q (957), edited in Skilling 1994a: 188-262, with a detailed study in Skilling 1997a: 365-400; cf. also Skilling 2007: 235-237. On MĀ 191 cf. also Choong 1999: 79-84. MĀ 191 and the Tibetan version agree with MN 122 on the location. MĀ 191 also agrees with MN 122 on the title (大空經). The title of the Tibetan version would correspond to *Mahāśūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra* and thus applies the qualification "great" to "emptiness" and to the "discourse". The qualification "great discourse", *mahāsūtra*, is something the Tibetan parallel to MN 122 has in common with the Tibetan parallel to MN 121 and a number of other selected discourses, so that only the qualification of emptiness as "great" is specific to the present instance. Thus, the Tibetan parallel to MN 121 takes up "emptiness", while the parallel to MN 122 is on "great emptiness". Abhidh-k 4:60 in Pradhan 1967: 235,17 similarly refers to the present discourse as a treatment of "great emptiness", *mahatyāṃ śūnyatāyām*. Regarding the relationship between MN 121 and MN 122, Choong 1999: 83 makes the pertinent observation that in MN 121 "the practice proceeds vertically, step by step ... through the fading away of ... perceptions in the process of practising emptiness" up to the culmination point of emptiness with the destruction of the influxes. MN 122, however, "proceeds horizontally from inner to outer", as it progresses from the meditative abiding in emptiness to various practices related to this abiding. Skilling 1997a: 14 and 369 notes that the Tibetan version would have belonged to a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Madhyama-āgama* collection. Wille 2004: 146 note 5 mentions a Sanskrit fragment from the British Library collection as a possible parallel to MN 122 at MN III 114. For a discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 60.

[25] MN 122 at MN III 110,3 stands alone in describing that, on seeing these resting places, the Buddha reflected: "are many monks living here", *sambahulā nu kho idha bhikkhū viharantī ti*?

[26] Ps IV 155,18: "previously the Blessed One had not seen ten or twelve monks living together in one place", *ito kira pubbe bhagavatā dasa dvādasa bhikkhū ekaṭṭhāne vasantā na diṭṭhapubbā.*

[27] While MN 122 at MN III 110,9 simply describes that the Buddha sat down on a prepared seat, the Chinese and Tibetan versions depict Ānanda's reception of the Buddha with additional detail. According to MĀ 191 at T I 738a12, when Ānanda saw the Buddha approaching he took the Buddha's bowl and robe, set out a seat, and brought water for washing the Buddha's feet. According to the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 192,6, Ānanda arranged a seat for the Buddha and welcomed the Buddha, inviting him to sit down.

[28] Skilling 1994a: 190,9: "outside of the dwelling place many mats had been laid out" (my translation), *gtsug lag khang du bla gab med par stan rab tu mang po dag bting ste dong ngo*.

[29] The injunction to stow away bedding and seats is found in *pācittiya* or *pātayantika* rules 14 and 15 in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 643c26 and T XXII 644c6, in the Kāśyapīya *Vinaya*, T 1460 at T XXIV 662b12, in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 342a14 and T XXII 342c9, in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 42c9 and T XXII 43b14, in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 780a19 and T XXIII 784a24, in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 77a21 and T XXIII 78a12, and in the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin IV 39,24 and Vin IV 41,21.

receives support from the Pāli commentary, which reports Ānanda thinking that the Buddha must have seen that the monks had not put away their bedding and was going to rebuke them for it.[30]

The three versions agree that the Buddha expressed his disapproval of excessive socializing, explaining that a monk who delights in company will be unable to easily experience the happiness of renunciation, seclusion, peace, and awakening,[31] and will also be unable to reach temporary or perpetual liberation of the mind.[32]

MN III 111 According to all versions, the Buddha explained that to delight in any manifestation of material form inevitably leads to *dukkha*, since material form is impermanent.

Next the Buddha described his own dwelling in emptiness, which the Pāli version describes as a dwelling in emptiness internally by not giving attention to any sign.[33] According to the Chinese and Tibetan versions, however, the Buddha's own practice was rather a dwelling in external emptiness after overcoming perceptions of form.[34]

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[30] Ps IV 157,27: "surely those monks have not set their bedding in order and the Blessed One would have seen it. Being displeased with this, the teacher well wishes to admonish them", *aḍḍhā etehi bhikkhūhi na paṭisāmitāni senāsanāni, bhagavatā ca diṭṭhāni bhavissanti. iti anattamāno satthā suṭṭhu niggahetukāmo.*

[31] MĀ 191 at T I 738a23 adds to this the "noble happiness", 聖樂, the "non-carnal happiness", 無食之樂 (*nirāmisa)*, and the "happiness [beyond] birth and death", 非生死樂. The "noble happiness" recurs also in the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 196,3: *'phags pa'i bde ba.* It is perhaps also noteworthy that MĀ 191 at T I 738a24 refers to the *nekkhammasukha* found in MN 122 at MN III 110,20 as 無欲之樂, literally "happiness of no desire" (cf. also MĀ 102 at T I 589a15, which has 無欲念, "thought of no desire", as a counterpart to the expression *nekkhammavitakka* found in its parallel MN 19 at MN I 114,28), whereas the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 196,3 speaks of "going forth happiness" (my translation), *nges par 'byung ba'i bde ba.* Bapat 1969: 3, cf. also Sasaki 1963: 481, notes that the use of 無欲 shows awareness of the form *naiṣkāmya*, instead of the form *naiṣkramya* found regularly in Buddhist Sanskrit texts (cf., e.g., the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 548,20 or Lefmann 1902: 136,8 or in Vaidya 1958b: 95,12, or else the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1963a: 206,5 or in Senart 1882a: 173,13), a form which also underlies the Tibetan rendering as "going forth". On *naiṣkāmya* and *naiṣkramya* cf. also Bapat 1946, Gethin 1992a: 191-192, Masefield 1986: 74, Norman 1997/2004: 115, Sasaki 1986/1992: 1-14, and Shukla 1991: cxxvi-cxxvii.

[32] MN 122 at MN III 110,31: *sāmāyikaṃ vā kantaṃ cetovimuttiṃ upasampajja viharissati, asāmāyikaṃ vā akuppan ti* (C^{e}-MN III 272,33: *sāmayikaṃ* and *asāmayikaṃ*), MĀ 191 at T I 738b6: 得時愛樂心解脫, 及不時不移動心解脫者, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 198,7: *re shig dus dang sbyor zhing bsrung ba'i sems rnam par grol ba 'am, dus dang mi sbyor zhing mi nyams pa lus kyis mngon sum du byas nas bsgrubs te gnas par 'gyur ba*.

[33] MN 122 at MN III 111,7: "not giving attention to any sign, to dwell having attained internal emptiness", *sabbanimittānaṃ amanasikārā ajjhattaṃ suññataṃ upasampajja viharituṃ* (S^{e}-MN III 236,3: *viharati*).

[34] MĀ 191 at T I 738b14: "overcoming all perceptions of form, [I] abide in external emptiness", 度一切色想, 行於外空, and its Tibetan counterpart in Skilling 1994a: 200,6: "having fully passed beyond any perception of form, I dwell having directly attained external emptiness" (my translation), *rnam pa thams cad du gzugs kyi 'du shes las yang dag par 'das nas, phyi stong pa nyid skus mngon sum du mdzad nas bsgrubs te bzhugs pa.* Skilling 1997a: 379 notes an explanation given in the *Yogācārabhūmi,* cf. Delhey 2009a: 185,3 and T 1579 at T XXX 337b5, according to which giving attention to emptiness externally by overcoming all perceptions of material form stands for going beyond the five types of sense pleasure. This explanation does not seem to be applicable to the present context, since perceptions related to the

The Pāli commentary explains that the reference to the Buddha's abiding in emptiness internally intends his fruition attainment.[35] The fruition attainment of an arahant takes Nirvāṇa as its object and would indeed be an experience devoid of any signs.

In contrast, the need to overcome perceptions of material form, mentioned in the Chinese and Tibetan versions, recurs regularly in other discourses as the starting point for attaining the sphere of boundless space. The close relationship between overcoming perceptions of form and the attainment of boundless space is of such regularity in the discourses as to make it quite probable that the same attainment is meant in the present context.[36] The sphere of boundless space could indeed be reckoned as a dwelling in "external" emptiness, as such experience of all-pervading space is devoid of any material objects.[37]

Yet, the *Cūḷasuññata-sutta* and its parallels consider the sphere of boundless space as only an intermediate step in their gradual approach to emptiness,[38] a gradual approach that in all three versions leads up to the development of signlessness.[39] This suggests signless meditation to be superior to attaining the sphere of boundless space.

The Chinese and Tibetan parallels to the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* continue by indicating that abiding in the attainment reached after overcoming perceptions of form will lead

five types of sense pleasure are already left behind with the first *jhāna*, whereas in the present context the problem seems to be that despite *jhāna* attainment the monk is not able to successfully direct the mind to emptiness.

[35] Ps IV 160,11: "'emptiness' [refers to] the fruition attainment of emptiness", *suññatan ti suññataphala-samāpattiṃ*.

[36] Occurrences in the *Majjhima-nikāya* are: MN 8 at MN I 41,20, MN 25 at MN I 159,30, MN 26 at MN I 174,30, MN 30 at MN I 204,7, MN 31 at MN I 208,35, MN 52 at MN I 352,3, MN 59 at MN I 399,22, MN 64 at MN I 436,18, MN 66 at MN I 455,21, MN 77 at MN II 12,34, MN 111 at MN III 27,7, MN 113 at MN III 43,20, and MN 137 at MN III 222,16. I am not aware of a Pāli discourse where the formulaic expression about overcoming all perceptions of form, *sabbaso rūpasaññāṇaṃ samatikkamā*, does not introduce the sphere of boundless space. The same is the case in the *Madhyama-āgama*, where except for the present occurrence in MĀ 191 at T I 738b14, all other occurrences of the formulaic expression on overcoming all perceptions of form, 度一切色想, introduce the sphere of boundless space, cf. MĀ 86 at T I 563b23, MĀ 91 at T I 573c2, MĀ 97 at T I 581b20, MĀ 163 at T I 694b1, MĀ 164 at T I 695b7, MĀ 168 at T I 701a6, MĀ 176 at T I 714b1, MĀ 177 at T I 717c1, MĀ 196 at T I 720a19, MĀ 185 at T I 730b20, MĀ 192 at T I 743b28, MĀ 205 at T I 780a7, MĀ 211 at T I 792b7, MĀ 215 at T I 800b12, MĀ 217 at T I 802b26, and MĀ 219 at T I 803b22. The same formulation recurs also as the introduction to the sphere of boundless space in the *Daśottara-sūtra* fragment S 473 folio 17V2-3 in Mittal 1957: 48, cf. also Pauly 1957: 292, and in the *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1514 in Sakaki 1926: 117; for further references cf. Deleanu 2006b: 546 note 208.

[37] The attainment of boundless space does not necessarily imply any level of realization of emptiness, however, in fact, the *Brahmajāla-sutta* and its parallels indicate that the attainment of the sphere of boundless space could also lead to the arising of annihilationist views, cf. DN 1 at DN I 35,4, DĀ 21 at T I 93b4, T 21 at T I 269b25, fragment 4189R1 in Hartmann 1989: 54, and the Tibetan version in Weller 1934: 56,13.

[38] MN 121 at MN III 105,26, MĀ 190 at T I 737b6, and Skilling 1994a: 160,15.

[39] MN 121 at MN III 107,28, MĀ 190 at T I 737c3 (cf. the remark made above p. 274 note 54 regarding 無想心定), and Skilling 1994a: 172,5.

to the arising of joy, rapture, tranquillity, happiness, and concentration.[40] This passage thus depicts mental experiences that only lead up to the development of concentration. Feelings of joy and happiness, in particular, are long left behind when the sphere of boundless space is attained, as such feelings are experienced only during the lower *jhāna*s. Considered from this perspective, the present reference to overcoming perceptions of form in the Chinese and Tibetan versions would even fall short of being the attainment of boundless space.

In sum, the Chinese and Tibetan versions' reference to overcoming perceptions of form and experiencing joy and happiness combines an instruction usually related to the attainment of the first immaterial sphere with a state of mind that would correspond to the first or second *jhāna*. The two specifications are difficult to reconcile with each other and neither of them fits the present context, where the point at stake is a meditative dwelling "realized" by the Buddha.[41] From this perspective, only the Pāli version's reference to leaving behind all signs would fit a meditation that could indeed be reckoned as a personal discovery of the Buddha.

The reference to overcoming perceptions of form in the Chinese and Tibetan version could be the result of a reciter's error, perhaps caused by the reference to form in the immediately preceding statement of the Buddha, which explains that to delight in any manifestation of material form inevitably leads to *dukkha*.

The three versions next take up the Buddha's attitude towards visitors,[42] explaining that he would instruct them with a mind that inclines to seclusion.[43]

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[40] MĀ 191 at T I 738b15: "[when] I have been dwelling established in this sphere, joy arises ... rapture arises, tranquillity arises, happiness arises, concentration arises", 我行此住處已, 生歡悅 ... 生喜, 生止, 生樂, 生定, and its Tibetan counterpart in Skilling 1994a: 200,10: "when I abide in this abiding, I experience supreme joy ... rapture, tranquillity, happiness and concentration" (my translation), *nga gnas pa 'dis gnas pa na, mchog tu dga' ba skyes te ... dga' ba dang, shin tu sbyangs pa dang, bde ba dang, ting nge 'dzin skyes te*.

[41] MN 122 at MN III 111,6: *tathāgatena abhisambuddho*, MĀ 191 at T I 738b14: 我 ... 正覺盡覺, and the Tibetan version Skilling 1994a: 200,9: *rjes su rtogs shing rab tu rtogs so*.

[42] MN 122 at MN III 111,10 stands alone in mentioning as potential visitors also kings, ministers, sectarian teachers, and their disciples.

[43] According to MN 122 at MN III 111,16, the Buddha would deliver *uyyojaniyapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ yeva kathaṃ* (Be-MN III 153,14, Ce-MN III 274,11, and Se-MN III 235,8: *uyyojanikapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ*). Chalmers 1927: 218 renders this as "he frames his speech so as to be left alone once more", Horner 1959: 154 as "[he] speaks there as one intent only on inspiring them", and Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 972 as "he invariably talks to them in a way concerned with dismissing them"; cf. also the commentarial gloss at Ps IV 160,18, according to which dismissal is meant, *uyyojanikapaṭisaṃyuttan ti gacchatha tumhe ti evaṃ uyyojanikena vacanena paṭisaṃyuttaṃ*. The expression itself is ambiguous, as *uyyojeti* can mean "to dismiss" and to "send away", but also "to instigate" and "to urge", cf. CPD II: 547 s.v. *uyyojeti*, DP: 508 s.v. *uyyojana*, and PED: 155 s.v. *uyyojeti*. Examples where the sense of dismissal fits the context are Vin IV 92,32, where a monk sends another monk away, or Vin IV 94,32, where a layman asks a monk to leave. Horner 1959: 154 note 8 draws attention to the expression *uyyojanikapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ yeva kathaṃ* in AN 8:30 at AN IV 233,33, where the commentary offers a different gloss, explaining that *uyyojanikapaṭisaṃyuttā kathā* stands for talk that is going to be of support for the listeners, Mp IV 122,2: *tesaṃ upaṭṭhānagamanakaṃ yeva*. This alternative understanding, based on the meaning of *uyyojeti* as "incit-

The Pāli and Chinese versions continue by describing how a monk gives attention to emptiness internally, externally, and internally-and-externally.[44] The Tibetan version differs in so far as it begins with the external, followed by the internal, before coming to the external-and-internal.[45] The sequence from internal via external to internal-and-external is standard not only in the Pāli discourses,[46] but also in the Chinese *Āgama*s,[47] hence it is unusual for the Tibetan version to adopt a different sequence. MN III 112

The three versions precede this topic by taking up the need to develop concentration as a basis for dwelling in emptiness. While the Pāli version lists the four *jhāna*s as a way of settling and stabilizing the mind internally, the Chinese and Tibetan versions refer only to the first *jhāna*.[48]

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its parallels describe in similar ways that, after being unsuccessful in giving attention to emptiness internally, or externally, or internally-and-externally, the meditating monk is also unsuccessful in giving attention to imperturbability. According to the Pāli commentary, "imperturbability" here refers to the immaterial attainments.[49]

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ing", finds support in the Chinese and Tibetan parallels to MN 122, as according to MĀ 191 at T I 738b20 on such occasions the Buddha would "speak Dharma to advise and help" his visitors, 說法勸助, and according to the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 202,8 the Buddha would "exchange pleasant words" with his visitors and "proceed to give them a discourse on the Dharma" (my translation), *phan tshun kun dga' bar gtam 'dre bar smra, phebs par smra zhing chos kyi gtam yang zer ro*. Horner 1959: 155 note 8 remarks that for the Buddha to talk to others with the intention of dismissing them could seem "a certain selfishness" on his part. The commentary at Ps IV 160,20, however, explains that such dismissal would only take place when something else needed to be done at the time after the meal or at the time of the first watch of the night (the period usually allotted to meditation practice), *pacchābhattakiccavelāya vā purimayāmakiccavelāya vā.*

44 Paṭis II 181,3 explains that *ajjhattasuññaṃ* refers to the absence of a self or of anything permanent in the senses, while *bahiddhāsuññaṃ* intends the same in relation to sense-objects.

45 Skilling 1994a: 210,9: *phyi stong pa nyid*, ibid. p. 212,4: *nang stong pa nyid*, and ibid. p. 212,14: *phyi nang stong pa nyid.*

46 E.g., in DN 22 at DN II 292,1, MN 10 at MN I 56,27, SN 47:3 at SN V 143,13, SN 52:1 at SN V 294,19, SN 52:2 at SN V 297,6, and AN 6:118 at AN III 450,8.

47 E.g., in DĀ 2 at T I 13c27, DĀ 6 at T I 39a28, DĀ 9 at T I 50c9, DĀ 10 at T I 53b11, DĀ 11 at T I 57c20, DĀ 17 at T I 76b8, DĀ 20 at T I 85a6, MĀ 76 at T I 543c13, MĀ 98 at T I 582b22 (without the third aspect 內外), SĀ 176 at T II 46b12, SĀ 177 at T II 46c3, SĀ 298 at T II 85a18, SĀ 536 at T II 139c1, SĀ 537 at T II 139c24, SĀ 538 at T II 140a14, SĀ 539 at T II 140b5, SĀ 610 at T II 171b16, SĀ 624 at T II 175a9, SĀ 636 at T II 176b15, SĀ 639 at T II 177b3, SĀ 647 at T II 182c5, SĀ 733 at T II 196b23, SĀ 737 at T II 197a3, SĀ 1028 at T II 268c3, SĀ 1038 at T II 271a18, EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a11, EĀ 22.3 at T II 607b19, EĀ 41.3 at T II 745b15, and EĀ 47.7 at T II 783a21.

48 MĀ 191 at T I 738b26 and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 206,5 do so implicitly by describing the bodily experience of joy and pleasure that corresponds to the first *jhāna*, an experience they illustrate with the standard simile of the bath attendant found regularly in the Pāli discourses to describe the experience of the first *jhāna*, cf., e.g., DN 2 at DN I 74,1, DN 10 at DN I 207,17, MN 39 at MN I 276,23, MN 77 at MN II 15,11, MN 119 at MN III 92,28, and AN 5:28 at AN III 25,12.

49 Ps IV 161,14: *arūpasamāpattiṃ manasi karoti*. Skilling 1997a: 383 notes an alternative explanation in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, cf. Delhey 2009a: 185,10 and 354,22 as well as T 1579 at T XXX 337b12, accord-

The Chinese and Tibetan versions indicate that the problem when giving attention to internal, external, and internal-and-external emptiness was that the mind had been "perturbed".[50] This suggests that the attempt to develop emptiness in these different modes led to a loss of the level of concentration reached earlier. From this it would follow that the basis for developing the emptiness contemplations was indeed the fourth *jhāna*, as suggested by the Pāli version, a level of concentration with which mental stability becomes "imperturbable".[51]

The three versions agree that, once the basis of concentration has been stabilized again, the monk will be able to develop emptiness meditation. In regard to this and subsequent stages of the meditative development of emptiness, the parallel versions mention the presence of clear comprehension as a characteristic aspect of this way of practice.[52]

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its parallels continue by explaining that emptiness can be developed during walking and sitting. While the presentation in the Chinese and Tibetan versions describes formal meditation practice in the sitting and walking posture and thus only mentions these two postures,[53] the Pāli version adds standing and lying down, thereby covering all four postures.[54] The parallel versions agree that one who dwells in emptiness in this way will stay aloof from covetousness and dejection while being in any of these postures.[55]

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ing to which imperturbability in the present context refers to developing perception of impermanence and perception of *duḥkha*.

[50] MĀ 191 at T I 738c4+8+12: 心移動 and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 210,9: *sems rnam par g.yo bar 'gyur zhing*.

[51] To attain the fourth *jhāna* is equivalent to having "reached imperturbability", *āneñjappatte* (cf., e.g., MN 4 at MN I 22,10), a condition which then enables the development of the immaterial attainments. If the meditating monk had earlier only developed concentration up to the level of the first *jhāna*, it would not make sense for him to try to give attention to imperturbability at a junction of his practice where his earlier attempts to develop emptiness had failed. The point of the present passage in MN 122 rather seems to be that, in order to prepare himself for another attempt at meditating on emptiness, the monk at first has to re-establish the level of concentration he had earlier developed, but which during his attempts to develop emptiness meditation had become 'perturbed'.

[52] MN 122 at MN III 112,14+30: *itiha tattha sampājano hoti*, MĀ 191 at T I 738c27 and T I 739a3+7+12: 是謂正知, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 220,13: *shes bzhin can du 'gyur ro*, a qualification the Tibetan version combines with the presence of mindfulness, *dran pa*. MN 122 mentions clear comprehension already in regard to the earlier attempts to give attention to emptiness and imperturbability.

[53] The Chinese and Tibetan versions describe how a monk who intends to do walking meditation will get up and leave the place where he had been seated in meditation to go outside, MĀ 191 at T I 739a13: 彼比丘從禪室出, 在室影中露地經行 and Skilling 1994a: 222,1: *dge slong des gtsug lag khang gi phyi rol bla gab med pa'i 'chag sar*. These two versions continue by describing walking meditation in terms similar to AN 7:58 at AN IV 87,2, where it forms a method to overcome drowsiness. The Chinese and Tibetan discourses then describe how, once the monk wishes to sit again, he sits down cross-legged in meditation, MĀ 191 at T I 739a17: 若欲坐定者 ... 結跏趺坐 and Skilling 1994a: 224,4: *skyil mo krung bcas te ... 'dug par bya'o*. In this way, their exposition depicts formal meditation practice that alternates between walking and sitting meditation.

[54] MN 122 at MN III 113,3+10.

[55] The three versions introduce this exposition as an extension of the dwelling of emptiness to other activi-

According to the Pāli presentation, one who dwells in emptiness will refrain from unsuitable topics of conversation and will avoid the three unwholesome thoughts.[56] The Chinese and Tibetan versions present the same two issues in a similar way, although in the opposite order. As the general pattern in this part of the discourse is to move from formal meditation to less formal activities, the Chinese and Tibetan versions' progression from thoughts to conversation would fit this pattern better. MN III 113

The three versions next take up the five types of sensual pleasure.[57] While the Pāli version only indicates that a monk who is still attracted to these five types of sensual pleasure should know that he has not yet overcome desire, the Chinese and Tibetan versions also explain what should be done in order to go beyond such desire. For this purpose, the monk should contemplate sensual pleasures in terms of impermanence, decay, dispassion, cessation, and release.[58] MN III 114

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its parallels next turn to the five aggregates, instructing to contemplate their arising and passing away in order to go beyond the conceit 'I am'. The Tibetan version introduces these instructions by describing how the meditating monk at first examines himself to see if he has conceit, desire, or any underlying tendency towards 'I am' in regard to these five aggregates.[59]

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ties, thereby making it clear that what follows is an outcome of dwelling in emptiness and at the same time an integral part of its practice, MN 122 at MN III 112,31: *iminā vihārena viharato*, MĀ 191 at T I 739a12: 彼比丘 行此住處, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 220,14: *de gnas pa 'dis gnas pa na*. Ñāṇamoli 1982: 2 notes that Ps I 92,32 refers to the present discourse "as one of the '*paṭipadā*' suttas ... discourses ... which would be adopted by a bhikkhu as a guide in the particular mode of practice (*paṭipadā*)", a practice of which the presently described activities are obviously an integral part. Another point worthy of note is that the reference in MN 122 at MN III 112,34 to the absence of covetousness and dejection, *nābhijjhā domanassā pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvāssavissantī ti*, and to the presence of clear comprehension, *iti ha tattha sampajāno hoti*, recurs in a description of sense-restraint in AN 8:9 at AN IV 167,4. Judging from this parallelism, to maintain one's dwelling in emptiness would require the successful implementation of sense-restraint during various activities.

[56] MN 122 at MN III 113,15 and MN III 114,2 explains that unsuitable conversation and unwholesome thoughts are avoided because "it/they does/do not lead to disenchantment, dispassion, cessation, peace, direct knowledge, awakening, and Nirvāṇa", *na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānāya saṃvattati/saṃvattanti,* a point not made in the parallels.

[57] The Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 232 does not have the detailed examination of the five types of sensual pleasure according to each sense-door, given in the other versions. The Tibetan discourse in Skilling 1994a: 232,5 also changes from having as its subject a monk, *dge slong*, to the noble disciple, *'phags pa nyan thos pa*, a change not made in MN 122 or MĀ 191. In its examination of the five types of sense pleasure, the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 234,3+6+10 reverts to the monk, *dge slong*, an inconsistency which suggests that the change to the noble disciple found at the outset of this passage and again at the outset of the subsequent passage on the five aggregates could be a textual error.

[58] MĀ 191 at T I 739b12: 觀無常, 觀衰耗, 觀無欲, 觀斷, 觀滅, 觀斷捨離 and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 234,6: *mi rtag par rjes su blta zhing gnas par bya, zad par rjes su blta ba dang, 'dod chags dang bral bar rjes su blta ba dang, 'gog par rjes su blta ba dang, nges par 'byung bar rjes su blta zhing gnas par bya'o*. MĀ 191 differs from the Tibetan version by additionally mentioning "contemplation of eradication", 觀斷.

[59] Skilling 1994a: 236,7: *nga'o snyam pa'i nga rgyal dang, nga'o snyam pa'i 'dun pa dang, nga'o snyam*

The three versions conclude that all these phenomena are entirely outside of the reach of Māra.[60] The Pāli commentary explains that the expression 'phenomena' refers to the series of practices described up to this point.[61] The *Madhyama-āgama* version points out that all these phenomena have their root in diligence.[62] It continues with the Buddha explaining that all Tathāgatas reached unsurpassable awakening through diligence, followed by instructing Ānanda that he should also train himself in diligence. As the next topic in all versions is the proper conduct of a disciple, the *Madhyama-āgama* version's presentation provides a smooth transition from the meditation practices covered so far to the topic of the type of conduct that is appropriate for a disciple of the Buddha.

MN III 115 The Pāli version introduces this topic with the image of a disciple who follows the teacher even when the teacher sends him away.[63] While the Tibetan version proceeds similar to the Pāli account,[64] the Chinese discourse does not envisage the possibility that a disciple would follow the Buddha even when being sent away, speaking only of a faithful disciple who follows the Buddha and acts respectfully until the end of his life.[65]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version then describes how a disciple might follow the teacher for the sake of discourses, verses-with-prose, and explanations.[66] This statement thus takes up the first three of the nine or twelve *aṅga*s, listed regularly in early Buddhist

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pa'i bag la nyal ma spangs shing; cf. also D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 235b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 269a6 which, although differently worded, has the same reference to desire and an underlying tendency. The Tibetan version thus stands alone in speaking of "desire" and "underlying tendency", in addition to the "conceit" found also in MN 122 and MĀ 191. The Pāli commentary, Ps IV 163,14, in its gloss on the present passage similarly speaks of *asmī ti māno, asmī ti chando, asmī ti anusayo*. Skilling 1997a: 390 notes that the same threefold presentation recurs in SN 22:89 at SN III 130,29 (where this pattern is found similarly in the parallel version SĀ 103 at T II 30a24: 我慢, 我欲, 我使).

[60] A discourse quotation paralleling the reference to entirely wholesome things that are beyond Māra in MN 122 at MN III 115,8 can be found in Abhidh-k 4:60 in Pradhan 1967: 235,17, cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 83c11, T 1559 at T XXIX 239c13, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 235b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 269a4.

[61] Ps IV 163,17: "'phenomena is said in relation to the above spoken phenomena of tranquillity, insight, path, and fruit", *dhammā ti heṭṭhā kathite samathavipassanāmaggaphaladhamme sandhāy' āha.*

[62] MĀ 191 at T I 739b24: 不放逸, which would correspond to *appamāda*.

[63] MN 122 at MN III 115,10: "on seeing what reason is it proper for a disciple to follow the teacher, even if [he is] repulsed [by the teacher]", *kaṃ atthavasaṃ sampassamāno arahati sāvako satthāraṃ anubandhituṃ api panujjamāno* (following the reading in C[e]-MN III 278,41 against the *payujjamāno* in E[e] and in S[e]-MN III 241,10, while B[e]-MN III 156,27 reads *paṇujjamāno*)? The expression *panujjamāna* occurs in a similar context in MN 17 at MN I 108,9, where the commentary Ps II 72,26 suggests it to stand for being "thrown out", *api panujjamānenā pī ti api nikkaḍḍhīyamānenā pi.* The two *Madhyama-āgama* parallels to MN 17, MĀ 107 at T I 597c8 and MĀ 108 at T I 598b3, do not have such an expression.

[64] Skilling 1994a: 242,3: *nyan thos dad pa can dag ji srid 'tsho'i bar du, phyir bkag kyang ston pa'i phyi bzhin rjes su 'brang bar 'os pa ci'i phyir*?

[65] MĀ 191 at T I 739b28: 以何義故, 信弟子隨世尊行奉事至命盡耶? In fact, once the Buddha sends a disciple away, one would expect that the disciple follows such an order. This is indeed the case in the *Cātumā-sutta* and its parallels, where a whole group of disciples are sent away by the Buddha and only dare to come back after others have intervened on their behalf, cf. MN 67 at MN I 457,10 and its parallels EĀ 45.2 at T II 770c23 and T 137 at T II 860b3.

[66] MĀ 191 at T I 739c4 lists 正經, 歌詠, 記說.

discourse. The Pāli editions show some variations in their formulation of this passage, as a result of which their listings could refer to two or three out of these *aṅga*s.[67] The Tibetan version lists the whole set of twelve *aṅga*s.[68]

The reference in the Chinese parallel to the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* to the first three types of *aṅga*s – discourse, verses-with-prose, and explanations – has been taken by some scholars as reflecting an early stage in the evolution of this particular listing of canonical texts.[69]

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[67] E^e^-MN III 115,18 reads *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇassa hetu*, B^e^-MN III 157,4 and C^e^-MN III 280,4 read *suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ tassa hetu*, and S^e^-MN III 241,15 reads *sutta-geyya-veyyākaraṇassa sotuṃ*. Chalmers 1927: 220 renders this as "for the interpretation of canonical scriptures", Horner 1959: 159 as: "for the sake of an exposition of the discourses that are in prose and in prose and verse", and in note 3 remarks that "of the nine divisions ... only the first two are mentioned here, *sutta* and *geyya*", Ñāṇamoli 1982: 11 similarly translates: "for the sake of expositions of discourses and stanzas".

[68] Skilling 1994a: 242,13: *mdo'i sde dang, dbyangs kyis bsnyad pa'i sde dang, lung bstan pa'i sde dang, tshigs su bcad pa'i sde dang, ched du brjod pa'i sde dang, gleng gzhi'i sde dang, rtogs pa brjod pa'i sde dang, de lta bu byung ba'i sde dang, skyes pa rabs kyi sde dang, shin tu rgyas pa'i sde dang, rmad du byung ba'i chos kyi sde dang, gtan la bab par bstan pa'i sde'i chos de dag dang*. For a survey of the *aṅga*s and a discussion of their probable function cf. also above p. 149 and below p. 866 note 49.

[69] Yìnshùn 1971/1983: 788 considers the three *aṅga*s of discourse, verses, and exposition, 修多羅, 祇夜, 記說, to be the earliest organizing principle in the evolution of the early Buddhist canon. Choong 2010: 56-57 explains that according to this hypothesis these three *aṅga*s underlie the structure of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, considered to be "the foundation of all four āgamas (nikāyas) in the formation of early Buddhist texts", which then "subsequently expanded and yielded the other āgamas in the sequence *Madhyama-āgama, Dīrgha-āgama, Ekottarika-āgama*. Therefore, the ... SA [*Saṃyukta-āgama*] is the foundation of all four āgamas", in contrast to "the secondary nature of [the] *Madhyamāgama/Majjhima-nikāya, Dīrghāgama/Dīgha-nikāya,* and *Ekottarikāgama/Aṅguttara-nikāya*". This hypothesis is based on the description of the *Āgama*s given in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Although the indications made in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* have indubitably been of great importance for reconstructing the order of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99), which in the Taishō edition is in disarray (cf. also Bucknell 2006: 685), from a methodological viewpoint it would not be possible to use the reconstructed *Saṃyukta-āgama* in turn to prove that the indications given in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* are correct, since this would become a circular argument. Besides, it is also not clear if the description of the *Āgama*s in the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* has to be read as positing the *Saṃyukta-āgama* as a kind of 'Urkanon' in its own right. It might just intend to explain why the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is given pride of place in its listings of the four *Āgama*s. In the corresponding passage in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 407b27, cf. also Lévi 1916: 36, the point at stake does in fact not seem to be a temporal priority of the formation of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, but only a temporal priority of it being recited by Ānanda at the so-called first council, before he recited the other *Āgama*s. Although the idea that the early Buddhist oral transmission began by assembling discourses according to topics in a manner similar to what is not found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* is certainly appealing, there seems to be no reason why a numerical organisation could not have been in use as well, similar to what underlies the *Ekottarika-āgama* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*. The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* in fact emphasizes this numerical arrangement, T II 550b24, and hence gives pride of place among the four collections to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, with the *Saṃyukta-āgama* relegated to the last position in its list, cf. T II 549c29 (other listings that place the *Ekottarika-āgama* in first position and the *Saṃyukta-āgama* last can be found, e.g., in the (presumably) Haimavata *Vinaya*, T 1463 at T XXIV 820a23, the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 69c5, and the 入大乘論, T 1634 at T XXXII 36c15; for still other listings cf. below p. 864

Yet, in view of the variations among the Pāli editions of the *Mahāsuññata-sutta*, such a conclusion seems uncertain. A discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* presents still another variation, as in addition to discourses, verses-with-prose, and explanations it also mentions marvellous events, *abbhutadhamma*, thereby covering four out of the standard listing of nine *aṅga*s.[70]

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note 46). Perhaps more than one organizing principle was in use from the outset, since otherwise it would be difficult to explain what happened to those discourses that do not neatly fit into the topic-wise arrangement now found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya*. It seems improbable that these were just left to float around without being in any way organized at a time when other discourses were formally assembled according to topic. Alternatively, all such discourses must be considered to be of later origin, resulting in a presumption about the nature of earliest Buddhism that would be difficult to substantiate. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99) itself contains a number of passages and tales that in the Theravāda tradition are found only in commentarial literature. This makes it improbable that the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, at least in the form we have it now, should be assigned to a textual strata that is distinctively earlier than the other discourse collections (cf. also Choong 2010: 63, who notes that the discourse material found in this collection does not "all actually belong to the teachings of Early Buddhism"). Regarding the *aṅga*s, the description of the *Āgama*s in the passage under discussion from the *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* does not explicitly refer to the set of three *aṅga*s. The only tri-partite analysis found in the present passage distinguishes the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourses from the viewpoint of speaker, topic, and audience, T 1579 at T XXX 772c17: 一是能說, 二是所說, 三是所為說 and D (4039) *sems tsam, zi* 128a1 or Q (5540) *'i* 143b6: *su ston pa dang, ci ston pa dang, gang la ston pa dang* (cf. also Bucknell 2007: 19 and 32 note 78). This division does not naturally evoke the three *aṅga*s of *sutta*, *geyya*, and *veyyākaraṇa* (on the significance of the last of these three cf. also Anālayo 2009l). In fact, had this been the original intention, the three *aṅga*s could have been directly mentioned. Another argument in support of the significance of the threefold listing is presented by Sujāto 2005: 62, who notes that in a reference to the twelve *aṅga*s in a *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* fragment, cf. SN 362 folio 173R6-7 in Waldschmidt 1950: 62, "the twelve aṅgas are listed with the first three members declined as individual words, while the remaining members occur grouped together as one long compound", which he takes to point to a special emphasis on the first three. Although in the case of another *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* version, fragment 1024R5 in Waldschmidt 1968: 5, the remainder of the listing does not form a compound: *sūtraṃ geyaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ gāth-oddānā nidānāvadānā itivṛ(ttkajātaka)v[ai]pulyādbhutadharmopa(deśās)*, Sujāto notes that in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* listings of the *aṅga*s also follow the above pattern, cf., e.g., Shukla 1973: 100,18 or ŚSG 1998: 154,3. Yet, this form of presentation need not be interpreted as reflecting some underlying awareness of an ancient use of the three *aṅga*s at the time of the formation of the canonical collections, otherwise forgotten. It could just be the result of a standard procedure in Buddhist texts, where the first three members of listing are always mentioned, even when the rest is abbreviated (cf. also note 70 below). This pattern can in fact be observed in the same *Śrāvakabhūmi*, cf., e.g., Shukla 1973: 101,20 or ŚSG 1998: 154,25: *sūtraṃ geyaṃ vyākaraṇam iti vistareṇa pūrvavat*, a formulation that could easily have influenced the pattern noticed by Sujāto. In sum, it seems that the evidence brought forward so far in support of a special significance of the three *aṅga*s is not conclusive. Hence, the present passage in MĀ 191 (and presumably also in MN 122) might, after all, be just the result of a transmission error.

[70] AN 5:194 at AN III 237,17: *yadi suttaso yadi geyyaso yadi veyyākaraṇaso yadi abbhutadhammaso*. Von Hinüber 1994a: 129 explores the possibility that this fourfold presentation may point to a beginning stage of the list of nine *aṅga*s, suggesting that *sutta* could refer to the *Pātimokkha-sutta* as the basis for the later *Vinayapiṭaka* (for a critical reply to this suggestion cf. Klaus 2010: 516-518), *geyya* could stand for the verse, and *veyyākaraṇa* for the prose out of which later the *Suttapiṭaka* developed, while *abbhutadhamma* could stand for the beginnings of the Buddha legend. Von Hinüber 1994a: 124 supports his assump-

Thus, in spite of the sometimes ingenious hypotheses that scholars have developed based on single instances of such shorter listings,[71] the possibility that these two instances of a three-fold and a four-fold listing could simply be accidents of oral transmission needs to be seriously taken into consideration.

When considered within its context, the present passage is in fact to some extent puzzling, since the discourse, verses-with-prose, and (their?) explanations, for whose sake a disciple should not follow the teacher, are contrasted with beneficial types of talk for whose sake he should follow the teacher. Such beneficial types of talk are in all versions explained to be talk on morality, concentration, wisdom, liberation, and knowledge-and-vision-of-liberation.[72] These topics would be the very topics that are covered in the discourses, in the verses-with-prose, and in (their?) explanations, etc. In view of this, one may wonder about the nature of the contrast between the texts for whose sake the disciple should not follow the teacher and the topics for whose sake the disciple should follow the teacher.

Thus, consideration of the context indicates that the present passage should have something more specific in mind than the whole corpus of early Buddhist canonical texts, independent of whether this corpus be presented as two-fold, three-fold, four-fold, nine-fold, or twelve-fold. In other words, the original import of the present passage was probably not at all about a division of texts into *aṅga*s.

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tion that the nine-fold listing is later with the observation that whereas the listing *sutta*, *geyya, veyyākaraṇa*, *abbhutadhamma* follows the law of waxing syllables by having 2+2+5+5 syllables, the same is no longer true for the nine-fold listing: *sutta*, *geyya, veyyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivuttaka*, *jātaka*, *abbhutadhamma*, *vedalla*, resulting in 2+2+5+2+3+5+3+5+3 syllables, an irregularity that can be a sign of a later expansion of an earlier formula. However, in longer listings the principle of waxing syllables is often applied to subunits only, cf. also above p. 15 note 102. The survey of *aṅga* listings in Mayeda 1964 shows that in a considerable number of instances of the nine-fold listing, the last term is *adbhūtadharma*; cf. also Choong 2010: 60. If the same sequence were to be applied to the Pāli listing, assuming that perhaps the sequence got slightly jumbled during the process of transmission, then the Pāli listing of nine *aṅga*s would accord with the principle of waxing syllables by having three sub-groups: 2+2+5 syllables, 2+3+5 syllables, and 3+3+5 syllables. If this should indeed have been the original pattern, then the reference to four *aṅga*s in AN 5:194 could simply be the result of an intentional abbreviation, which often mentions the first three and the last member of a listing, a tendency already noted by von Hinüber 1994a: 124.

[71] In addition to the proposals discussed in the notes above, Mayeda 1964: 26 and 34 (cf. also Nakamura 1980/1999: 28) offers yet another hypothesis, according to which the starting point for the list of nine (and later twelve) types of text could have been a fivefold listing that comprised *sutta, geyya, veyyākaraṇa, gāthā*, and *udāna*. Yet another listing can be found in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932a: 161,8: *sūtraṃ geyaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ itivṛttaṃ gāthodānam*, a listing which is clearly due to a loss of text, as the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* continues by speaking of the nine types of canonical text, *evaṃ navāṅgaśāsanaṃ*. This evident instance of textual loss makes it stand to reason that a similar explanation could also be applicable to the listings in MN 122 and AN 5:194.

[72] MN 122 at MN III 115,25: *sīlakathā, samādhikathā, paññākathā, vimuttikathā, vimuttiñāṇadassanakathā*, MĀ 191 at T I 739c8: 戒論, 定論, 慧論, 解脫論, 解脫知見論, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 244,13: *tshul khrims kyi gtam dang, ting nge 'dzin gyi gtam dang, shes rab kyi gtam dang, rnam par grol ba'i gtam dang, rnam par grol ba'i ye shes mthong ba'i gtam dang*.

The Pāli commentators draw attention to a discourse found in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, according to which knowledge of the discourses forms the basis for overcoming what is unwholesome and developing what is wholesome.[73] This places the criticism levied in the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* in proper perspective. The Pāli commentary explains that the present passage only criticizes neglecting the practice for the sake of learning.[74]

From this perspective, then, the point of the present passage in the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* would simply be to depict a disciple who follows the teacher merely to receive ever more explanations of the discourses, etc., for the sake of mere learning. In contrast to such pursuits, a disciple should rather follow the teacher to receive just the type of talk that acts as a guide and inspiration for his or her own progress on the path to liberation.

Such an admonition would in fact suit an injunction addressed to Ānanda quite well, as in the early discourses he embodies the prototype of the learned disciple who has heard much, but who at the same time has not yet developed the path to liberation to its fullest potential.

In sum, it would fit the context best if the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its parallels were to simply speak of following the teacher for the sake of getting ever more "explanations" (instead of engaging in serious practice), without bringing up any listing of *aṅgas*, be it partial or complete.[75]

Such would also be in accordance with the general thrust of the discourse as a whole, which appears to be a warning to Ānanda that he should not neglect practice in seclusion for the sake of making robes or, in the present context, for the sake of acquiring more learning.

The three versions continue by examining three types of misfortune. The first of these three is the misfortune of a teacher who dwells in seclusion but who then excessively associates with visitors, with the result that he backslides and unwholesome states arise in him.[76]

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[73] AN 7:63 at AN IV 110,12: *sutāvudho ... ariyasāvako akusalaṃ pajahati, kusalaṃ bhāveti*.

[74] Ps IV 164,13 explains that this instruction refers to a person who "has taken up the study of the discourses and does not properly practise the path accordingly", *sutapariyattiṃ uggahetvā pi tad anucchavikaṃ anulomapaṭipadaṃ na paṭipajjati.*

[75] In analogy with the reading found in the E[e] and S[e] editions (cf. above p. 697 note 67), such an injunction might have just read *na ... arahati sāvako satthāraṃ anubandhituṃ yadidaṃ suttaṃ veyyākaranassa hetu* or *sutta-veyyākaranassa sotuṃ*. The occurrence of *sutta* and *veyyākarana* could easily have led to an accidental supplementation of the 'missing' part *geyya* during an early stage of the oral transmission of the discourse, early enough to affect the MN and MĀ versions. Subsequently, the same tendency of supplementing what is presumed to be missing would then have resulted in the twelve-fold listing found now in the Tibetan version.

[76] MĀ 191 at T I 739c14 and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 246,10 introduce this teacher as someone given to reasoning and intellectual speculation, 有策慮思惟 and *rtog ge pa dpyod pa can*. According to MĀ 191 at T I 739c18, while living in seclusion this teacher practised earnestly and reached the higher mind, 得增上心 (corresponding to *adhicitta*), dwelling in happiness here and now 現法樂居 (corresponding to *diṭṭhadhammasukhavihāra*), expressions which suggest that he had reached *jhāna* attainment. MĀ 191 at T I 739c26 and T I 740b6 applies the same qualifications also to the case of a disciple in general and to the case of the disciple of a Tathāgata.

The *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its parallels apply the same to the case of a disciple in general and to the case of a disciple of the Tathāgata, concluding that the last is the worst of these three types of misfortune.[77]

When examining the third case, the *Madhyama-āgama* version takes up in additional MN III 116
detail the reasons for the Tathāgata's secluded life style. In agreement with a standard specification found in other discourses, the *Madhyama-āgama* version explains that the Tathāgata dwells in seclusion out of compassion for others and because it constitutes a pleasant abiding for himself.[78]

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse also gives the warning that, because of engaging in excessive socializing, a disciple who has already reached the four *jhāna*s may lose them again.[79]

According to the *Mahāsuññata-sutta* and its parallels, a disciple who follows the MN III 117
teacher's compassionate instructions behaves towards the teacher with friendliness, whereas not to follow the teacher's instruction amounts to hostile behaviour on the side of the disciple.

The parallel versions report that the Buddha instructed Ānanda that he should show such friendly behaviour towards his teacher. The Buddha further explained that he was not going to treat Ānanda like a potter treats his material.[80] This image recurs in a *Jātaka* tale that describes a meeting between the Buddha and Ānanda in a former life. According to this tale, on that former occasion the Buddha had used the same simile to illustrate his way of teaching.[81]

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[77] MN 122 at MN III 117,13, MĀ 191 at T I 740b12, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 256,8. MN 122 at MN III 117,14 stands alone in suggesting that the third case not only has the most painful and bitter results, but even leads to rebirth in a lower realm, *vinipātāya saṃvattati.* The same dire prospect of rebirth in a lower realm recurs in similar terms in relation to ordaining under false pretences in SN 12:70 at SN II 128,19, where the parallel SĀ 347 at T II 98a10 also does not mention the prospect of any lower rebirth.

[78] MĀ 191 at T I 740a19: "because of dwelling in happiness here and now myself and because of compassion for later born people", 自現法樂居故 ... 慈愍後生人. The same two reasons recur in MN 4 at MN I 23,34 and in AN 2:3:9 at AN I 60,30 to explain the Buddha's secluded life style.

[79] MĀ 191 at T I 740b1: "even if because of former energetic and diligent practice he has reached the four higher states of mind and dwellings in happiness, the disciple can loose these because of much socializing", 若彼得四增上心現法樂居, 本為精勤無放逸遊行故, 此或可有失以弟子多集會故.

[80] MN 122 at MN III 118,3, MĀ 191 at T I 740b28, and the Tibetan version in Skilling 1994a: 260,10. Horner 1959: 162 note 1 comments: "whereas the potter gives, and can give, his vessels one chance only, the Teacher is undefeated by any initial failure there may be"; cf. also Cicuzza 2004: 391. Ps IV 166,11, however, suggests the point of this simile to be that a potter treats his raw products with much care, in order to avoid their breaking. Yet, once the products are burnt, he tests them again and again, just as the Buddha was willing to test his disciples again and again. The commentarial explanation does not fit the discourse too well, since the simile does not allude to a difference between raw and baked products and also does not relate the Buddha's way of handling disciples to the way a potter handles his finished products.

[81] Jā 406 at Jā III 368,16. The same image recurs in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1978a: 78,19, where it also serves to illustrate the Buddha's role as a teacher, although the occasion for this is a discourse given by the Buddha after Devadatta had requested the Buddha to retire and hand over the leadership of the Saṅgha; for yet another occurrence in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* cf. Przyluski 1914: 513.

MN 123 *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*[82]

The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*, the "discourse on [the Buddha's] wonderful and marvellous qualities", presents a description given by Ānanda of a range of various extraordinary qualities and events related to the birth of 'the bodhisattva', who was to become the Buddha Gotama. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[83]

MN III 118 The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* begins by relating that a group of monks had been conversing about the Buddha's detailed knowledge of Buddhas of the past. On being informed about the topic the monks had been discussing, the Buddha encourages Ānanda to continue by expounding other marvellous qualities of the Buddha. Ānanda thereon delivers an exposition of the wonderful qualities of his teacher, beginning each exposition by proclaiming that he had heard about the respective quality from the Buddha himself.[84]

According to the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse, however, after arising from seclusion and approaching the Buddha, Ānanda had on his own begun to proclaim the Buddha's marvellous qualities. The *Madhyama-āgama* version also does not specify the Buddha as the source from which Ānanda had received his information, as in its presentation Ānanda only remarks that he had heard about the Buddha's marvellous qualities.[85]

MN III 119 The list of wonderful and marvellous qualities in the two versions differs considerably and several qualities listed in one version are not found in the other (see table 13.2).[86]

The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* begins its account of wonderful and marvellous qualities with the bodhisattva's sojourn in the Tusita heaven, describing that he was mindful and clearly comprehending when arising in the Tusita heaven, during his stay, and when passing away from the Tusita heaven to enter his mother's womb.[87] The *Madhyama-āgama* version only mentions the bodhisattva's clear awareness when passing away from the Tusita heaven and entering his mother's womb.[88]

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[82] B^e-MN III 159,21 has the title *Acchariya-abbhuta-sutta* and C^e-MN III 286,1 the similar title *Acchariyabbhuta-sutta.*

[83] The parallel is MĀ 32 at T I 469c-471c and agrees with MN 123 on location and title (未曾有法經). An examination of MN 123 and MĀ 32, together with the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and its parallels, can be found in Bareau 1974a: 203-209, a comparison of MN 123 with MĀ 32 in Minh Chau 1964/1991: 66, 159-165, and 205, a study of the Sanskrit counterparts to MN 123 in Windisch 1908: 107-143. For a quotation in the *Tarkajvāla* that lists three of the *adbhutadharma*s in verse form cf. Skilling 1997b: 610-611; on the significance of the presentation in MN 123 cf. also Anālayo 2010f: 28-46.

[84] MN 123 at MN III 119,18: "I heard this, venerable sir, from the Blessed One's own mouth, I received it from his own mouth", *sammukhā me taṃ, bhante, bhagavato sutaṃ, sammukhā paṭiggahītaṃ* (B^e-MN III 161,1, C^e-MN III 288,1, and S^e-MN III 247,18: *paṭiggahitaṃ*). As the Buddha presumably had related these qualities on a previous occasion to Ānanda and now requests him to recount them in front of the monks, MN 123 could even give the impression that the Buddha was keen to hear his own praises. This is not the case in MĀ 32, according to which Ānanda extolled the Buddha on his own accord.

[85] MĀ 32 at T I 469c24: "I heard", 我聞.

[86] Minh Chau 1964/1991: 165 comments: "the accounts of the Buddha's ... marvellous qualities are not the same in both versions, each seems to derive from an independent source".

[87] MN 123 at MN III 119,19+25+35.

[88] MĀ 32 at T I 470a14 speaks of the presence of his "knowledge", 知. A presentation of the same quality

Table 13.2: Marvellous Qualities of the Bodhisattva in MN 123 and its Parallel

MN 123	MĀ 32
mindful birth in Tusita (1) mindful stay in Tusita (2) whole life span in Tusita (3) mindfully passes away from Tusita (4) great light and earthquake on conception (5) 4 deities guard foetus (6) mother is virtuous (7) mother is free from sensuality (8) mother is endowed with 5 sense pleasures (9) mother sees child in womb, like beryl (10) mother dies 7 days after birth (11) pregnancy lasts 10 months (12) mother gives birth standing (13) newborn first received by *deva*s (14) without touching ground received by *deva*s (15) newborn is unsullied, like gem (16) 2 streams of water appear (17) takes 7 steps and makes proclamation (18) great light and earthquake at birth (19) aware of feelings & perceptions (20)	initial vow as monk under Kassapa Buddha birth in Tusita (→ 1) excels other *deva*s in Tusita knowingly enters womb, great light, earthquake (→ 4, 5) stays knowingly on right side of womb remains with stretched body in womb is unsullied while in womb great light and earthquake at birth (→ 19) is born with body stretched is born without being sullied (→ 16) newborn received by *deva*s (→ 14, 15) fearlessly takes 7 steps (→ 18) in front of mother a pond manifests 2 streams of water appear (→ 17) divine music and shower of flowers 1st *jhāna* experience in youth shadow of tree does not move monkey offers honey rain cloud stops until mat is dry shadow of tree does not move meditates without hearing storm during flood earth emerges for walking Māra followed him for 6 years in vain 7 years mindfulness of body aware of feelings and perceptions (→ 20) (≠ 2-3, 6-13)

The presence of mindfulness on the occasion of departing from the Tusita heaven recurs in the description of the qualities of former Buddhas in the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and its *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel.[89]

Instead of describing the bodhisattva's stay in the Tusita heaven from the perspective of his possession of mindfulness and clear comprehension, the *Madhyama-āgama* version highlights that, during this stay in the Tusita heaven, the bodhisattva excelled all

in the *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā*, Okano 1998: 113, speaks of his possession of mindfulness, *smṛti*. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 165 notes that MĀ 32 does not use the expression bodhisattva, but instead refers to the Buddha even before his awakening with the expression the "Blessed One", 世尊; for other comparable instances cf. Anālayo 2010f: 16 note 3.

[89] DN 14 at DN II 12,4: *sato sampajāno*. While DĀ 1 at T I 3c16 records the bodhisattva's unmuddled mindfulness on entry into the womb, 正念不亂, T 2 at T I 152b26 does not mention mindfulness or clear comprehension. According to *Jiṇacariya* 3 in Jacobi 1879/1966: 34,7 (translated Jacobi 1884/1996: 219), Mahāvīra was aware of being about to descend into his mother's womb and of having descended, only at the actual moment of descending he was not aware, *caissāmi 'tti jāṇai, cayamāṇe na jāṇai, cue 'mi 'tti jāṇai*.

the other previously born *deva*s in regard to such qualities as length of life, beauty, and glory.[90]

The *Madhyama-āgama* account precedes its depiction of the bodhisattva's sojourn in the Tusita heaven by proclaiming that another marvellous and wonderful quality of the Buddha, which comes as the first in its listing, was the bodhisattva's initial vow to become a Buddha when he lived the holy life under Kassapa Buddha.[91] Notably the *Ghaṭīkāra-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, whose topic is the lifetime of the bodhisattva under Kassapa Buddha, do not mention such a vow at all.[92]

MN III 120 According to the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, the bodhisattva's entry into his mother's womb was accompanied by the manifestation of a great light and an earthquake.[93] The presence of a great radiance on this occasion is also reported in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* that is concerned with four marvellous qualities of the Buddha, of which the other three are the manifestation of a great light when the bodhisattva left the womb, when he reached awakening, and when he started to teach.[94] According to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and its Chinese and Sanskrit

[90] MĀ 32 at T I 470a2. The bodhisattva's excellence in this respect is also recorded in DN 30 at DN III 146,3, which adds his excellence in happiness, power, divine sights, divine sounds, divine smells, divine tastes, and divine touches.

[91] MĀ 32 at T I 469c24: "the Blessed One at the time of Kassapa Buddha made his initial vow to [realize] Buddhahood [while] practising the holy life", 世尊迦葉佛時, 始願佛道, 行梵行. For a more detailed examination of this passage and its implications cf. Anālayo 2010f: 84-92.

[92] MN 81 MN II 45-54 and MĀ 63 at T I 499a-503a; although the *Mahāvastu* does adopt this perspective and even reports that he received a corresponding prediction from Kassapa Buddha, cf. in more detail above p. 450. MĀ 32 at T I 469c27 presents the life of the bodhisattva under Kassapa Buddha as the last life before his stay in the Tusita heaven, as does the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 21,1, while according to Jā I 47,16 and Ps IV 169,7 the life that preceded his stay in the Tusita heaven was as Vessantara, described, e.g., in Jā 547 at Jā VI 479,1 (the *Saṅghabhedavastu*'s counterpart to this tale can be found in Gnoli 1978a: 119,10).

[93] MN 123 at MN III 120,8+15 and MĀ 32 at T I 470a15. According to the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1963a: 251,6 or in Senart 1882a: 206,16 and in Basak 1965: 14,9 or in Senart 1890: 10,9, the bodhisattva's mindful and clearly comprehending descent into his mother's womb was accompanied by six earthquakes, a number of earthquakes also recorded in the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 376,4 or in Lefmann 1902: 51,19 or in Vaidya 1958b: 39,10, whereas the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 41,7 only reports a single great earthquake accompanied by light. For a study of earthquakes in Buddhist literature cf. Ciurtin 2009. Reynolds 1985: 214 comments that "the Buddha's birth is presented as a cosmic event in which his character as a *mahāpurisa* ... is evident to those who have the eyes to see".

[94] AN 4:127 at AN II 130,20. According to AN 1:13:6 at AN I 22,28, with the manifestation of a Tathāgata, a great eye, a great clarity, and a great light manifest, *mahato cakkhussa ... mahato ālokassa ... mahato obhāsassa pātubhāvo hoti.* Judging from this reference to a "great eye", the manifestations mentioned in this passage may not be meant literally, but may rather intend to symbolically depict the effect of the teaching activities of a Tathāgata. Could the descriptions of actual light that accompanied the bodhisattva's entry into the womb or his birth, such as found in MN 123 or in AN 4:127, have their origin in a literal interpretation of a similar passage? On the other hand, however, such notions appear to be part of a shared heritage, in fact the Jain *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 4.324 in Jambūvijaya 1985: 141,4 also lists four occasions for the manifestation of a great radiance, namely when [future] arahants take birth, when they go forth, when they attain realization, and when they attain final Nirvāṇa.

counterparts, the manifestation of a great light and an earthquake are the rule on the occasion when a bodhisattva's descends into his mother's womb.[95] In fact, most of the qualities of Gotama Buddha described in the remainder of the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* are, according to the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and its parallels, normative for Buddhas in general.[96]

The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* next takes up the outer conditions of the bodhisattva's sojourn in his mother's womb, describing that four *deva*s protected him,[97] and that his mother was virtuous, free from sensual thoughts and affliction, but at the same time enjoyed the five types of sense pleasure and was able to see the bodhisattva in her womb.[98]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version does not mention these circumstances. Instead, it focuses on the bodhisattva's condition inside the womb by describing that he rested in the womb on his right side, was able to stretch his body, and was not sullied by blood or any other bodily filth.[99]

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[95] DN 14 at DN II 12,6, DĀ 1 at T I 3c14, and the Sanskrit version in fragment 420dR6 in Fukita 2003: 53 (93.6) or in Waldschmidt 1953: 45. Gokhale 1994/2001e: 98 explains that "these events are explained as the result of *dhammatā* ... implying that they are not causally connected with the [respective] Buddha as such, but occur because it is the nature or order of things".

[96] Bareau 1974a: 240, 245, and 254 suggests that several elements of the account of Gotama's youth may at first have been developed as part of a fictional account of the former Buddha Vipassī. Subsequently this fictional account would have been understood to exemplify the rule for all Buddhas and would then have been applied to the case of Gotama as well.

[97] MN 123 at MN III 120,22. The presence of four guardian deities is also recorded in the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 372,5 or in Lefmann 1902: 50,5 or in Vaidya 1958b: 38,3, in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 15,5 or in Senart 1890: 10,19, and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 42,3. Ps IV 179,5 explains that these were the Four Great Kings, *catunnaṃ mahārājānaṃ vasena vuttaṃ*, to whom the *Lalitavistara* refers as the four "protectors of the four directions", *caturdiśāsu pālāḥ*, and the *Mahāvastu* as the four "world protectors", *lokapālā*. In the *Saṅghabhedavastu* the protectors are instead Śakra together with four *devaputra*s.

[98] MN 123 at MN III 120,30 and MN III 121,3+10+17+19. According to the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 352,1 or in Lefmann 1902: 41,18 or in Vaidya 1958b: 29,26, as well as according to the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 8,3 or in Senart 1890: 6,2, the virtuous conduct of the bodhisattva's mother had already begun before the bodhisattva descended into her womb. MN 123 at MN III 121,20 illustrates the ability of the mother to see the child in her womb with the image of a coloured thread strung through a beryl gem, an image found in the same context also in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 42,16. The *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 418,16 or in Lefmann 1902: 72,9 or in Vaidya 1958b: 53,20 compares her vision of the bodhisattva to looking at one's own face in a clean mirror. According to the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 23,10 or in Senart 1890: 16,16, she saw him as if she were seeing a body of gold, a vision comparable to a beryl placed in a crystal casket. On the parallelism that these descriptions establish between the mother and a *caitya* cf. Drewes 2007: 107-110. Durt 2003: 44 notes that as part of "a larger programme of quasi-deification of the Buddha ... Māyā appears as a living tabernacle sheltering her son". Rhys Davids 1910: 10 note 1 remarks that "the myth of the visible embryo recurs in medieval Christian art".

[99] MĀ 32 at T I 470a27. That the bodhisattva was not sullied while staying in the womb is also recorded in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 42,7. For a study of marvels related to the bodhisattva's birth, in contrast to ancient Indian perceptions of the average conditions of being born, cf. Hara 1980.

MN III 122 Another marvellous quality of the Buddha, listed in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*, is that the bodhisattva's mother passed away seven days after giving birth and was reborn in the Tusita heaven.[100] The *Madhyama-āgama* version does not mention the mother's death at all.

In relation to this difference, it is noteworthy that the two parallel versions present the qualities they enumerate in a chronological order. Thus, the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* begins with the bodhisattva's arising in the the Tusita heaven, then mentions the qualities related to his sojourn in the Tusita heaven, followed by taking up his departure from the Tusita heaven and entry into the mother's womb, after which it turns to the qualities related to his stay in the mother's womb. In continuation of this pattern, qualities related to the mother's pregnancy and her giving birth should come next. Instead, the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* takes up the death of the bodhisattva's mother, after which it continues by describing her pregnancy and giving birth.

Thus, the reference to the death of the bodhisattva's mother comes out of sequence, a circumstance that points to a later addition. In fact, as part of a list of wonderful and marvellous qualities of the Buddha, the premature death of his mother does not fit the context too well.

The *Udāna* dedicates a whole discourse to the premature death of the bodhisattva's mother. This discourse, which also has the Buddha and Ānanda as its protagonists, qualifies the mother's premature death as something that is wonderful and marvellous as such.[101] That is, unlike the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*, the *Udāna* discourse does not reckon her early death as a marvellous quality of the Buddha, but only as something marvellous in general. This way of presentation seems more natural than the inclusion of her death in a list of wonderful and marvellous qualities of the Buddha.

In view of the out-of-sequence placing of the mother's death in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*, it could be that, at some point during the transmission of the Pāli discourses, this passage from the *Udāna* came to be added to the account of the marvel-

[100] MN 123 at MN III 122,2: "seven days after the bodhisattva has been born, his mother passes away and arises in the Tusita heaven ... this too, venerable sir, I remember as a wonderful and marvellous quality of the Blessed One", *sattāhajāte ... bodhisatte bodhisattamātā kālaṃ karoti, tusitaṃ kāyaṃ uppajjatī ti ... idam p' ahaṃ, bhante, bhagavato acchariyaṃ abbhutadhammaṃ dhāremi.* References to the death of the mother seven days after giving birth can also be found in the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 470,5 or in Lefmann 1902: 98,3 or in Vaidya 1958b: 70,25, in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 5,1 or in Senart 1890: 3,18 (in this instance the same is implicit in the indication that she would live only for seven days in addition to the time of pregnancy), in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 51,18, and in several biographies of the Buddha, preserved in Chinese, cf., e.g., T 184 at T III 465a23, T 185 at T III 474b7, T 188 at T III 618b14, and T 189 at T III 623b9. Obeyesekere 1997: 475 suggests that "the death of Māyā seven days after the Buddha's birth cannot be taken literally, or even to mean that 'she died soon after' ... rather, Māyā's death is a structural requirement of the myth: the pure womb from which the Buddha was born could not thereafter be contaminated by childbirth or sexual pollution". Regarding the name of the bodhisattva's mother, which DN 14 at DN II 52,10 gives as *māyā devī*, von Hinüber 1995b: 189 suggests that perhaps this "was not originally meant to be a personal name, but simply is the eastern form corresponding to *mātādevī*".

[101] Ud 5:2 at Ud 48,4.

lous qualities of the Buddha in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta*, an addition made without proper regard for the chronological sequence of the qualities in this discourse.

After referring to the death of the bodhisattva's mother, the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* continues by noting the length of her pregnancy and by describing that she remained standing while giving birth,[102] details not mentioned in its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart. This unusual manner of giving birth recurs regularly in various Buddha biographies, often accompanied by the further specification that the bodhisattva issued from the right side of his mother.[103] The *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravāda *Vinaya* reports the same and then takes up the question how he managed to come out without hurting her, a dilemma the *Mahāvastu* solves with the ingenious suggestion that a Tathāgata takes birth through a mind-made body.[104]

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[102] MN 123 at MN III 122,7+15. The length of her pregnancy is also recorded in the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 420,15 or in Lefmann 1902: 73,11 or in Vaidya 1958b: 54,7, as well as in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 25,11 or in Senart 1890: 18,7. Franke 1914b: 337 note 1 and Printz 1925: 120 explain that the reference to ten months of pregnancy would refer to lunar months; cf. also Durt 2002: 46, who speaks of a ten month period of gestation "according to the classical Indian method of calculation".

[103] This is recorded, e.g., in the *Buddhacarita* 1:9 in Johnston 1936/1995a: 1, in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1963a: 250,8 or in Senart 1882a: 206,4, in T 184 at T III 463c13, in T 185 at T III 473c1, in T 188 at T III 618a17, in T 189 at T III 625a24, in T 193 at T IV 58b21, and in Bu ston's "History of Buddhism" in Obermiller 1932/1986: 11. For Ajaṇṭā cave paintings that represent the same event cf. Schlingloff 1988a: 4 and id. 2000a: 4-5 and 60-61; for sculptural representations in Gandhāran art cf., e.g., Dehejia 1997: 51 fig. 42, Foucher 1905: 301-321, Kurita 1988: 12 plates P1-V to VI and pp. 31-38 plates 31-53, Klimburg-Salter 1995: 274 and figure 157, Luczanits 2008a: 217 plate 147, Stoye 2008a: 186 plate 4, id. 2008b: 194 plate 3, Tanabe 2007: 18-20 figures I-6 to I-9.1, Zwalf 1996: 89-95 plates 145-152 and 154; for a representation in the art of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa cf., e.g., Rama 1995: 50-51 and plate 4 or Rao 1956: 84-85 plate 25, on the iconography of the Buddha's nativity in general cf. also Foucher 1934/1991. That the Buddha issued from the side of his mother was also known to Hieronymus, cf. Dihle 1965: 38. EĀ 48.3 at T II 788b2 predicts that the future Buddha Maitreya will take birth in the same manner. Bollée 2005: 15 suggests that "the lateral birth idea ... perhaps ... originated in the custom of carrying children on the hip". Dayal 1932/1970: 298 notes that "the idea of being born from the mother's side is referred to in a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* (iv, 18.1)". Printz 1925: 125 explains that, according to ancient Indian beliefs, when a foetus is on the right side of the mother's womb it will be a boy, while a foetus on the left side shows that it will be a girl, which would explain why according to the traditional account the bodhisattva dwelled on the right side of his mother's womb and issued from her right side (that he dwelled on the right side of his mother's womb is explicitly mentioned as one of the marvellous qualities in MĀ 32 at T I 470a27). The association of a male child with the right side occurs, e.g., in the *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell 1886: 2,7 or Vaidya 1999: 1,17: *saced dārako bhavati dakṣiṇaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati, saced dārikā bhavati vāmaṃ kukṣiṃ niśritya tiṣṭhati*; cf. also Abhidh-k 3:15 in Pradhan 1967: 126,24, T 1558 at T XXIX 46c17 or T 1559 at T XXIX 203b27. Bucknell 1980: 40 explains that in ancient Indian religious thought the female is associated with the left side of the body, as well as with the moon, water, the out-breath, and vowels, while the male is associated with the right side of the body, with the sun, fire, the in-breath, and consonants.

[104] The *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1963a: 266,14 or Senart 1882a: 218,15 and Basak 1965: 29,3 or Senart 1890: 20,16 explains that *manomayena rūpeṇa prādurbhonti tathāgatā*, a proposition which Jones 1949/1973: 174 note 1 classifies as a typical "tenet of the Lokottaravādins". Rahula 1978: 74 notes that, soon after giving this explanation, "the justification is forgotten in an attempt to reason the seven strides, which

The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* and its parallel agree that, on being born, the bodhisattva was received by gods.[105] The two versions describe that his body was not sullied by any dirt, but nevertheless two fountains of cold and warm water appeared miraculously to bathe him.[106] To this the *Madhyama-āgama* version adds the miraculous appearance of a lake so that the mother could also take a bath, as well as a rain of heavenly flowers showered on the newborn baby.[107]

MN III 123 The two parallel discourses agree that a great radiance and an earthquake accompanied the bodhisattva's birth, after which he took seven steps.[108] The Pāli commentary explains, in agreement with two Chinese biographies of the Buddha, that the seven steps taken by the bodhisattva right after his birth symbolize his later revelation of the seven factors of awakening (*bojjhaṅga*).[109]

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse, not only was the bodhisattva able to walk right after being born, he even spoke at this point, proclaiming that he was the

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was necessary, according to the tradition (*āgama*), because the *bodhisattva* was tired of the ten months' uterine confinement", cf. Basak 1965: 29,10 or Senart 1890: 21,3.

[105] MN 123 at MN III 122,21 considers this as two qualities, as it distinguishes between the circumstance that the bodhisattva was first received by *deva*s and the circumstance that, without touching the ground, he was received by four gods and presented to his mother. MĀ 32 at T I 470b22 present this issue as a single quality and does not explicitly mention that he did not touch the ground. For an early depiction of this event in art cf. Schlingloff 1981a: 186-188 (with references to other representations).

[106] MN 123 at MN III 122,33 and MN III 123,11, with its counterparts in MĀ 32 at T I 470b2 and T I 470c7, in the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 440,16 and 442,8 or in Lefmann 1902: 83,10+22 or in Vaidya 1958b: 61,21 and 62,1, in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 33,3 and 34,4 or in Senart 1890: 24,1+20 (the miraculous appearance of the two fountains of water comes up again in Basak 1968/2004: 228,8 or in Senart 1897: 380,13), and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 45,5+16. The *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 40,6 expands on the theme of the purity of the mother's womb, as it reports that, already before the bodhisattva descended into the womb, Śakra had cleaned up the mother's womb to make it ready for receiving the bodhisattva (for a Jain counterpart to this motif cf. Alsdorf 1947: 125 and Roth 1983: 182). Klimkeit 2000: 222 explains that the emphasis in these passages is to contrast the purity of the bodhisattva with the defilement of worldliness symbolized by the mother's womb. Robinson 1970/1982: 7 remarks that "the purpose of all the mythical elements in the nativity cycle is to show that the Bodhisattva was innately different from ordinary man". Schlingloff 1962b: 86 explains that descriptions of the Buddha's life were not meant as historical records, hence to treat them as such misunderstands their purpose ("die Lebensbeschreibungen wollten nicht historische Reminiszenzen an tatsächliche Ergeinisse ... überliefern; sie wollten auch nicht etwa durch erfundene Berichte Authentizität vortäuschen. Wenn wir derartige Absichten voraussetzen, unterstellen wir den Erzählern ein historisches Bewußtsein, daß jener Zeit völlig fremd war"); cf. also Klimkeit 1990: 35. Thus, e.g., the appearance of fountains of water to bathe the anyway unsullied bodhisattva has simply a symbolic function.

[107] MĀ 32 at T I 470c3+11; cf. also the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 45,18. According to MN 123 at MN III 122,14, the two fountains of water were for the use of the bodhisattva and of his mother, so that in its account there is no need for an additional source of water for the mother to clean herself.

[108] MN 123 at MN III 123,19+30 and MN III 124,4, with its counterpart in MĀ 32 at T I 470b6+29.

[109] Ps IV 186,1: *sattapadagamanaṃ sattabojjhaṅgaratanapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ*, T 193 at T IV 59a8, and T 194 at T IV 122c3; cf. also the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 69,4+5 or in Senart 1897: 112,12+13. Dayal 1932/1970: 299, commenting on the symbolic nature of these seven steps, notes that in "Hindu marriage ceremony, the bride and the bridegroom take seven steps together round the sacred fire".

highest being in the world and that this was his last birth.[110] The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse does not record any proclamation made on this occasion. Other biographies of the Buddha preserved in Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan concur with the *Majjhima-nikāya* report that the newborn bodhisattva made a proclamation.[111] While some only record his proclamation of being supreme,[112] others agree with the *Acchariyabbhuta-dhamma-sutta* that the bodhisattva also claimed that this was his last birth.[113]

Numerous other discourses associate the proclamation to have reached the last birth with the Buddha's awakening.[114] For the bodhisattva to make such a proclamation already right after his birth would imply that he was inevitably destined to awakening. From this perspective, his struggle to reach awakening by various methods was anyway destined to end successfully. The assumption that the Buddha's awakening was inevitable already at his birth shows the beginning of tendencies that in the course of time led some traditions to assume that he was already awakened at birth and that his activities were merely an illusory display for the sake of saving sentient beings.[115]

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[110] MN 123 at MN III 123,21: *aggo 'ham asmi lokassa ... ayam antimā jāti, n' atthi dāni punabbhavo.* According to DN 3 at DN I 93,6 and its parallel DĀ 20 at T I 83a8, the ability to speak right after birth was not a prerogative of the bodhisattva, as the boy Kaṇha had also been able to speak right after his birth. Unlike the bodhisattva, however, instead of making a majestic proclamation he asked his mother to wash him, because he had such dark skin. For another instance where a baby is able to speak right on being born cf. Ud. 2:8 at Ud 17,27; for accounts of the future Buddha's ability to speak as a newly born baby in former lives cf. Jā 546 at Jā VI 331,15 and Jā 547 at Jā VI 485,14. Derrett 1992: 54 notes occurrences of the motif of a newly-born baby able to walk and speak in ancient Greek mythology. Karetzky 1992: 16 comments that "because no child can immediately walk or talk, let alone make proclamations at birth, it is by these acts that the Buddha's prodigious nature, even as an infant, is revealed". On the significance of this event cf. also, e.g., Anālayo 2010f: 38-46, Eliade 1948, and Irwin 1981.

[111] Gaffney 1996: 84 notes that in MN 123 "the description of his [the Buddha's] birth is full of what might almost be called doecetic tendencies". Nakamura 1980/1999: 18 comments that "the verse ... proclaimed by the Buddha at his birth was composed very late". Silk 2003: 864 comments that according to the proclamation of supremacy the bodhisattva "is virtually fully awakened ('enlightened') from the moment of his birth", highlighting the resulting contrast where "the infant, upon his birth, knows everything; the young man he becomes knows nothing".

[112] T 184 at T III 463c14, T 185 at T III 473c2, and T 188 at T III 618a19.

[113] T 189 at T III 625a27, the *Buddhacarita* 1:15 in Johnston 1936/1995a: 2, the *Lalitavistara* in Hokazono 1994: 444,8 or in Lefmann 1902: 85,1 or in Vaidya 1958b: 62,18, the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 33,10 or in Senart 1890: 24,8, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 45,13, and Bu ston's "History of Buddhism" in Obermiller 1932/1986: 11.

[114] DN 29 at DN III 134,12, MN 26 at MN I 167,28 and at MN I 173,19, MN 128 at MN III 162,25, SN 14:31 at SN II 171,2, SN 14:32 at SN II 172,12, SN 22:26 at SN III 28,33, SN 22:27 at SN III 29,29, SN 35:13 at SN IV 8,2, SN 35:14 at SN IV 8,26, SN 35:15 at SN IV 9,30, SN 35:16 at SN IV 10,21, SN 48:21 at SN V 204,12, SN 48:28 at SN V 206,6, SN 56:11 at SN V 423,10, AN 3:101 at AN I 259,11+32, AN 7:47 at AN IV 56,15, AN 8:64 at AN IV 305,4, and AN 9:41 at AN IV 448,19. Only the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* and its Sanskrit parallel associate such a statement with the birth of a bodhisattva, cf. DN 14 at DN II 15,12 and fragment 360 folio 123V4 in Fukita 2003: 9 or in Waldschmidt 1953: 19. According to the Chinese parallel, DĀ 1 at T I 4c2, after proclaiming to be supreme the newly born bodhisattva said: "[my] aim is to deliver sentient beings from birth, old age, disease, and death", 要度眾生生老病死.

[115] Kv-a 172,4 refers to such a view, attributed to the Vetullakas, according to which the Buddha did not

While in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version Ānanda's account of wonderful and marvellous qualities of the Buddha comes to an end at this point, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse continues to explore the same theme in relation to later events in the Buddha's life, describing that:

- on several occasions the shadow of a tree did not move in order to give protection to the Buddha who was seated at its roots in meditation,[116]
- a monkey took the Buddha's bowl, filled it with honey, and offered it to him,[117]
- a cloud did not rain until the Buddha had recovered his sitting mat, which he had put out in the sun to dry,[118]
- the Buddha was in such deep meditation that he did not hear a storm that killed four oxen and two men,[119]
- after a great rain and flooding the path for the Buddha to practise walking meditation stayed dry,[120]
- Māra followed the Buddha for six years,[121]
- the Buddha practised mindfulness of the body uninterruptedly for seven years.[122]

MN III 124 The *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart agree that, in reply to Ānanda's exposition of wonderful and marvellous qualities, the Buddha also came out with one of his outstanding qualities. This was his ability to know clearly the arising, the presence, and the disappearance of feelings, perceptions, and thoughts, there-

really leave the Tusita heaven and what was seen in the human world was only a magical apparition, *bhagavā tusitabhavane nibbatto tatth' eva vasati, na manussalokaṃ āgacchati, nimmitarūpamattakaṃ pan' ettha dasseti.* According to Guang Xing 2004: 45, MN 123 "provides some vital statements that served as repositories of the transcendental Buddha" conception.

[116] MĀ 32 at T I 470c16 (this is the first meditation while still being a bodhisattva), T I 471a1, and T I 471b8.

[117] MĀ 32 at T I 471a16; cf. also the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1978a: 47,21.

[118] MĀ 32 at T I 471a29.

[119] MĀ 32 at T I 471b18. The same event recurs in DN 16 at DN II 131,20 and its parallels DĀ 2 at T I 19a25, T 5 at T I 168b13, T 6 at T I 183c24, T 7 at T I 198a17, and in fragment 360 folio 190R and 191V in Waldschmidt 1950: 27-28.

[120] MĀ 32 at T I 471c9, an event also recorded in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 796a16, in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 109a21, in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1450 at T XXIV 133b16 (cf. also the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* fragment S 362 (56)V5 in Waldschmidt 1952: 34, also in Gnoli 1977: 227,32), and in the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin I 32,6.

[121] MĀ 32 at T I 471c14. Sn 3:2 at Sn 446 speaks instead of seven years, while the *Lalitavistara* in Lefmann 1902: 260,17 or in Vaidya 1958b: 191,2 agrees with MĀ 32 on six years. Oldenberg 1881/1961: 366 note 50 suggests that references to seven years may intend the whole period of going forth, while those to six years may only cover the period spent in ascetic practices. Nakamura 2000a: 170 instead explains that "in ancient India periods of time were expressed both in terms of full years (how much time had actually elapsed) and calendar years. The difference in the number of years mentioned may arise from different methods of counting".

[122] MĀ 32 at T I 471c17: 七年念身, 常念不斷. This brings to mind the prediction in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* and its parallels, according to which non-returning or awakening can be reached within a maximum period of seven years of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice, cf. DN 22 at DN II 314,11, MN 10 at MN I 62,34, and MĀ 98 at T I 584b16.

by presenting a quality related to meditative mastery of the mind as the culmination point of the present listing of marvellous qualities.[123]

Thus, even though a major part of the description of wonderful and marvellous qualities in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma-sutta* is different from its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel and appears to be reflecting later tendencies and ideas, the final point made in both versions remains the same, in that attention is directed back to the ability to observe the functioning of the mind.[124]

MN 124 *Bakkula-sutta*[125]

The *Bakkula-sutta*, the "discourse [spoken by] Bakkula", sets forth the exemplary conduct of the monk Bakkula. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[126]

The *Bakkula-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by relating that the monk MN III 125
Bakkula was visited by a former friend from the time before he had gone forth. This former friend wanted to know how often Bakkula had engaged in sex during the eighty years he had been a monk.

In reply, in both versions Bakkula made it clear that he had not even had a perception related to sensuality during this entire period.[127] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version adds that, during the entire period of his monkhood, Bakkula also never had a perception related to aversion and cruelty, nor any thought related to sensuality, aversion, or cruelty.[128]

In both versions, Bakkula continues by listing various other qualities he possesses, MN III 126
which show some divergences between the two versions (see table 13.3). The *Bakkula-*

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[123] MN 123 at MN III 124,11 and MĀ 32 at T I 471c21, which speaks of feelings, thoughts/intentions, and perceptions, 覺, 思 and 想, as the objects of such knowledge. This type of contemplation recurs in other Pāli discourses, cf., e.g., DN 33 at DN III 223,11 and AN 4:41 at AN II 45,17, where the counterpart passage in the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 395c21, agrees with the Pāli versions on speaking of feelings, perceptions, and thoughts, 受, 想, 尋 (the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* restored in Stache-Rosen 1968: 113 only lists the four types of *samādhibhāvanāḥ*, without giving details of their implications). Another occurrence is AN 8:9 at AN IV 168,12, in which case the parallels SĀ 275 at T II 73b24 and SĀ[2] 6 at T II 375b10 list "feelings", 受, "perceptions", 想, and then 覺, which judging from the context might stand for "thought", in fact a Sanskrit fragment of the same discourse, SHT VI 1226 folio 5V2 (p. 22) has preserved *(vi)[d](i)tā vivar[k]ā [u]tpadyanti*, which, as the editors in footnote 43 suggest, should be corrected to *vitarkā*, "thoughts".

[124] A minor difference is that in MN 123 Ānanda repeats this statement, wherefore MN 123 concludes with the monks rejoicing in Ānanda's statement, while MĀ 32 concludes with the monks and Ānanda rejoicing in the Buddha's exposition.

[125] B[e]-MN III 165,25 has the title *Bākula-sutta* and S[e]-MN III 255,1 *Bakkulattheracchariyabbhūta-sutta*. The Burmese edition continues to refer to its protagonist as Bākula.

[126] The parallel is MĀ 34 at T I 475a-c and agrees with MN 124 on location and title (薄拘羅經, which uses the same way or rendering Bakkula's name as *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1065 in Sakaki 1926: 81). On MĀ 34 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 75 and 207, for a translation of MĀ 34, together with extracts from the present discussion, cf. Anālayo 2007a.

[127] MN 124 at MN III 125,17 and MĀ 34 at T I 475b5.

[128] MN 124 at MN III 125,22.

sutta and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel agree that for the entire period of his monkhood Bakkula could claim that he:

- never wore or accepted robes from householders,
- never cut robes,
- never made robes for another monk,
- never sewed robes with a needle.[129]

The two versions continue with Bakkula's proclamation that he never accepted an invitation to a meal. According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, he also:

- never hoped for such an invitation,
- never partook of a meal inside a house,
- never sat down inside a house,
- never interrupted the practice of begging for alms,
- never went to beg in superior households in order to get better food.[130]

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, Bakkula never mentally grasped at the signs and secondary details of women.[131] The *Madhyama-āgama* version explains that he never looked women in the face.[132] The two versions agree that he never visited the nuns' quarters.

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* report, Bakkula never taught nuns or female novices, while according to the *Madhyama-āgama* description he never spoke to nuns, not even when meeting them on the road.[133]

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[129] MN 124 at MN III 126,6: *nābhijānāmi sūciyā cīvaraṃ sibbitā* and MĀ 34 at T I 475b12: 未曾用針縫衣. For Bakkula to claim never having used a needle is surprising, since whether he wore rag robes or robes made by householders, both types of robe would need to be mended from time to time (in fact EĀ 23.2 at T II 611c4 describes him mending his own set of robes, on this discourse cf. also Legittimo 2009 and Anālayo 2010j). According to MN 124 at MN III 126,8, Bakkula also never dyed a robe, which similarly would be difficult to avoid in a hot and humid climate like India, where the natural dye used for robes requires renewal from time to time. The commentary, Ps IV 193,24, explains that his relatives made rag robes for him and dyed them, leaving them out for him when he went to bathe. Bakkula then dressed in those new robes and gave his old robes to other monks, so that a need to mend his robes never arose. It is not easy to see how such conduct could be considered a particularly praiseworthy way of obtaining robes.

[130] MĀ 34 at T I 475b19.

[131] MN 124 at MN III 126,17: *nābhijānāmi mātugāmassa anubyañjanaso nimittaṃ gahetā.*

[132] MĀ 34 at T I 475b21: 未曾視女人面. The commentary Ps IV 195,7, similarly explains that he never looked at women.

[133] MĀ 34 at T I 475b22. MN 124 at MN III 126,19 also mentions that he never taught even four phrases to a woman, while according to MĀ 34 at T I 475b26 he never spoke even four phrases towards laity in general. This brings to mind a *pācittiya* or *pātayantika* rule according to which a monk should not speak more than five or six phrases to a woman when alone with her, cf. the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 640b14, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 336a17, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 38c24, the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 771b18, the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 70c8, and the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin IV 21,37, all of which agree on formulating the rule in terms of speaking not more than "five or six phrases", 五六語, *chappañcavācāhi* (the sequence "six or five" in the Pāli version would be due to the law of waxing syllables). Horner 1930/1990: 368 is of the opinion that "it is likely that this pācittiya offence ... is a later interpolation of the editors", as it

Table 13.3: Bakkula's Qualities in MN 124 and MĀ 34

MN 124	MĀ 34.
never sensual perception (1)	no conceit on account of 80 years monkhood
never perception of ill will, cruelty (2)	never sensual perception (→ 1)
never sensual thought (3)	no conceit on account of wearing rag robes
never thought of ill will, cruelty (4)	never robes from householders, never cut robe material, never got robe made by others, never sewed a robe, never sewed a bag (→ 5, 6, 7)
never robes from householders (5)	no conceit on account of begging
never cut robe material (6)	never accepted invitation, never skipped alms round, never begged at superior house (→ 11)
never sewed a robe (7)	never looked at woman's face, never entered nunnery, never greeted nun, never spoke to nun (→ 15?, 17, 18?)
never dyed a robe (8)	never had novice attendant, never taught laity (→ 24, 16?)
never sewed a *kaṭhina* robe (9)	never got sick, never took medicine (→ 28, 29?)
never made robes for others (10)	never used a support (→ 30)
never accepted invitation (11)	full awakening after 3 days (→ 33)
never wished for invitation (12)	
never sat down in a house (13)	
never ate in a house (14)	
never grasped sign of woman (15)	
never taught woman (16)	
never entered nunnery (17)	
never taught nun (18)	
never taught female probationer (19)	
never taught female novice (20)	
never gave going forth (21)	
never gave full ordination (22)	
never gave dependence (23)	
never had novice attendant (24)	
never bathed in a bathroom (25)	
never used bath powder (26)	
never received a massage (27)	
never got sick (28)	
never carried medicine along (29)	
never used a support (30)	
never lay down (31)	
never spent rainy season in village (32)	
full awakening after 7 days (33)	(≠ 2-4, 8-10, 12-14, 19-23, 25-27, 31-32)

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version, moreover, highlights that Bakkula never ordained or gave dependence, nor did he ever have a novice as his attendant, while the *Madhyama-āgama* version only records that he never trained a novice.[134]

stands in contrast to the importance given elsewhere in the discourses to teaching laity, both men and women. Yet, to appreciate the significance of this rule, it needs to be kept in mind that according to the explanation given at Vin IV 23,6 there is no problem if a monk teaches in reply to a question, that is, the regulation only refers to a monk who on his own approaches a woman and wants to give her teachings in private. Besides, the same rule applies vice versa to a nun, who similarly should not give private teachings to a male on her own initiative.

[134] MĀ 34 at T I 475b26: 未曾憶畜沙彌.

MN III 127 The two versions continue by recording that Bakkula never became sick and therefore never made use of any medicine.[135] According to the list of eminent disciples in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, Bakkula was indeed foremost among the monks in matters of health.[136] The *Majjhima-nikāya* account also notes that Bakkula:

- never engaged in bathing in a bath house,
- never used bathing powder,
- never gave a massage,
- never used a reclining board or a bed,
- never observed the rains retreat period within a village.[137]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version concludes its list of Bakkula's qualities with his attainment of final knowledge a week after going forth,[138] while the *Madhyama-āgama* version reports that Bakkula attained the three realizations within three days and nights.[139]

After hearing this account of Bakkula's marvellous qualities, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version his former friend Acela Kassapa decided to go forth and, having received the higher ordination, in due time became an arahant. This series of events is not recorded in the *Madhyama-āgama* version, which also does not give the name of Bakkula's friend and only indicates that he was a heterodox practitioner.[140]

The going forth of Acela Kassapa recurs also in the *Kassapasīhanāda-sutta*. This discourse records that Acela Kassapa felt so inspired on hearing an exposition on the topic of asceticism by the Buddha that he requested ordination and eventually became an arahant.[141] The *Dīrgha-āgama* parallel to the *Kassapasīhanāda-sutta* reports the same out-

[135] MN 124 at MN III 127,1 and MĀ 34 at T I 475c1, a statement also quoted in the *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 166,4 and 167,4 or in Lévi 1932a: 76,11; cf. also the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 82c25, the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 121c4 and again T XXVII 908b26, and the 佛五百弟子自說本起經, T 199 at T IV 194c5.

[136] AN 1:14 at AN I 25,6: *etad aggaṃ ... mama sāvakānaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ appābādhānaṃ yadidaṃ bakkulo* (B^e-AN I 25,20: *bākulo*), cf. also the *Aśokarājāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 396,5 or in Vaidya 1999: 253,21, SĀ 604 at T II 168a22, and T 2043 at T L 138c5. The list of eminent disciples in EĀ 4.5 at T II 557c16 presents Bakkula as foremost in longevity, 我聲聞中第一比丘, 壽命極長, 終不中夭, 所謂婆拘羅比丘是. Mil 215,12 also refers to Bakkula's health in one of its dilemmas.

[137] MN 124 at MN III 126,29. Only the fourth of these qualities has a counterpart in MĀ 34 at T I 475c4, which describes that, in order to sit in meditation, Bakkula never leaned against a wall or a tree, 未曾倚壁倚樹 (adopting the 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading 倚 instead of 猗).

[138] MN 124 at MN III 127,7: "for seven days I ate the country's alms as a debtor, but on the eighth day final knowledge arose", *sattāhaṃ ... sāṇo raṭṭhapiṇḍaṃ bhuñjiṃ, atha aṭṭhamiyaṃ aññā udapādi* (B^e-MN III 168,3 and C^e-MN III 300,20 read *saraṇo*, S^e-MN III 258,1 reads *sāraṇo*), which the commentary Ps IV 196,14, explains to refer to his attainment of full awakening. SN 16:11 at SN II 221,1 records Mahākassapa making the same proclamation.

[139] According to MĀ 34 at T I 475c7, Bakkula proclaimed that "within three days and nights, I attained the three realizations", 我於三日夜中得三達證. His attainment of the three higher knowledges recurs in the Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan versions of his stanzas, cf. T 199 at T IV 194c1, Bechert 1961: 145,10, Dutt 1984a: 193,12, Hofinger 1954: 81,11, and Wille 1990: 94, while the same is not mentioned in his stanzas at Th 225-227.

[140] MĀ 34 at T I 475a15: 異學.

[141] DN 8 at DN I 177,1.

come of this meeting, differing in so far as it gives the name of its protagonist just as Kassapa.[142]

The going forth of Acela Kassapa recurs again in a discourse in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya.* Similar to the *Bakkula-sutta*, this discourse begins with Acela Kassapa meeting a former friend, which in this case was the householder Citta. When during the ensuing discussion Acela Kassapa found out that, as a householder, Citta had progressed further than he had been able to do as a wanderer, he decided to go forth as a Buddhist monk and eventually became an arahant.[143]

The *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel agrees with the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* version that after a similar exchange Citta's former friend decided to go forth and became an arahant.[144] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version differs in so far as it does not give the name of the former friend of Citta, but only indicates that he was an *acela*, a naked ascetic.[145]

The going forth of Acela Kassapa recurs once more in yet another discourse in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, where he inquired from the Buddha whether pleasure and pain were caused by oneself, others, both, or neither. In this case, too, Acela Kassapa was so satisfied with the Buddha's reply that he requested ordination and eventually became an arahant.[146]

This discourse has three parallels, one of which is found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, one parallel is an individual translation, and another parallel has been preserved in Sanskrit fragments. These three parallels agree with the Pāli version that the protagonist of this discourse was indeed Acela Kassapa, although according to their report he only became a stream-enterer during the discourse and was soon after killed by a cow.[147]

Thus, in the Chinese *Āgama*s these four instances seem to be concerned with different persons, the *Dīrgha-āgama* discourse with a certain Kassapa, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse with an unnamed wanderer, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* with an unnamed naked ascetic, while only the last of these four instances, preserved in Chinese and Sanskrit, has Acela Kassapa as its protagonist. In the corresponding Pāli discourses, in contrast, four times Acela Kassapa went forth and became an arahant, each time after receiving a different discourse. Unless one were to assume that the name Acela Kassapa refers to four different persons, the presentation in the Pāli tradition would be self-contradictory.

Returning to the *Bakkula-sutta*, which in agreement with its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel reports that Bakkula announced his impending final Nirvāṇa to the other monks,[148]

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[142] DĀ 25 at T I 104c12: 迦葉.

[143] SN 41:9 at SN IV 302,9; cf. also von Hinüber 1997: 68.

[144] SĀ 573 at T II 152b24.

[145] SĀ 573 at T II 152a24: 阿耆毘外道.

[146] SN 12:17 at SN II 22,6.

[147] SĀ 302 at T II 86b3+10, T 499 at T XIV 768c20+27, and fragment S 474 folio 14R2+5 in Tripāṭhī 1962: 47; cf. also SHT V 1133aA3 (p. 128).

[148] MN 124 at MN III 127,24 adds that he had made a tour of the dwelling places of the other monks to make this announcement. Regarding the reference to his taking a "door-opener", *apāpuraṇaṃ ādāya* (B^{e}-MN III 168,16: *avāpuraṇaṃ*), in order to announce his impending final Nirvāṇa to the other monks, helpful information can be found in von Hinüber 1992: 14-18, who explains that this expression proba-

followed by then passing away seated amidst the congregation of monks. According to the account of this event given in the Pāli commentary, Bakkula had attained the fire element and cremated himself.[149]

Looking back on the two versions of the present discourse, it is noteworthy that according to both versions at the time of this discourse Bakkula had been ordained for eighty years.[150] For Bakkula to be a monk for eighty years implies that the meeting recorded in the present discourse must have taken place after the Buddha's passing away. Even if Bakkula should have been one of the first monks ordained by the Buddha, for him to reach eighty years of monkhood implies that the forty-five years period of the Buddha's teaching activities was long over.[151]

That is, the events described in the *Bakkula-sutta* and its parallel would have to be placed considerably later than the so-called first council, which according to the traditional account was convened soon after the Buddha's demise.[152]

It is also noteworthy that the listings of his qualities in the two versions shows numerous divergences and that both versions follow each of the declarations made by Bakkula with a narrator's acclamation, which praises each quality of Bakkula for its wonderful and marvellous nature.[153] This type of repeated acclamation is an unusual feature for a discourse and further supports the impression of the comparative lateness of the *Bakkula-sutta*.[154]

The Pāli commentary in fact explains that the *Bakkula-sutta* was included in the canonical collection only at the so-called second council.[155] This explanation is remarkable in so far as it shows that the commentators were conscious of the fact that the *Nikāya*s on which they were commenting could not have been recited in this form at the first council or rehearsal, *saṅgīti*.

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bly refers to a simple type of lock, found at the inside of a door, whose bolt can be closed from the outside with the help of a rope that is connected to this bolt and then put through a small hole in the door so as to be accessible from the outside. The same rope does, however, not allow opening the door from the outside, for which an *apāpuraṇa* is required, a simple type of "key" that allows opening any lock of such a type. Hence, with the help of an *apāpuraṇa* any door with this kind of lock in a monastery could be opened in order to enter and convey some message to the monk(s) staying inside.

149 Ps IV 196,21.

150 MN 124 at MN III 125,6: *asīti me ... vassāni pabbājitassa* and MĀ 34 at T I 475a21: 我於此正法, 律中學道已來八十年.

151 According to MĀ 34 at T I 475a13, however, this discourse took place soon after the Buddha's final Nirvāṇa, 佛般涅槃後不久. Since a period of over thirty-five years would not be "soon", 不久, this seems to be a case of applying a standard pericope without consideration of the context.

152 Vin II 285,4.

153 Ps IV 193,10 explains that these remarks were added by the reciting elders, *dhammasaṅgāhakattherā*. Fukita 1986: 488 (in relation to another text) explains that "the addition of [such a] refrain is a spontaneous interpolation occurring when a sūtra is passed down by oral ... transmission".

154 The image of the ideal monk depicted in the two versions shows also distinct signs of lateness, for a more detailed examination of which cf. Anālayo 2007a: 11-16.

155 Ps IV 197,2: "this discourse was recited at the second council", *idaṃ pana suttaṃ dutiyasaṅgahe saṅgahītaṃ*.

MN 125 *Dantabhūmi-sutta*

The *Dantabhūmi-sutta*, the "discourse on the [progressive] stages of [being] tamed", compares the gradual training of a monk to the gradual taming of a wild elephant. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[156] A small section of the present discourse has also a counterpart in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[157]

According to the *Dantabhūmi-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, the novice MN III 128
Aciravata had unsuccessfully attempted to explain to Prince Jayasena how a monk by dint of diligent practice could reach unification of the mind. As his explanation had not met with the prince's approval, Aciravata approached the Buddha to report what had happened.

The two versions record that the Buddha replied by pointing out that it was impossi- MN III 129
ble for Prince Jayasena, who was living immersed in sensual pleasures, to come to know what can be realized only by renouncing sensual pleasures. By way of illustration, the Buddha contrasted tamed animals with their untamed counterparts.[158] Another example to illustrate the same point depicts a man who takes his friend to the top of a mountain in order to show him the scenery that lies on the other side of the mountain, a scenery whose existence the friend earlier, before getting on top of the mountain, had put into doubt.[159]

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, the Buddha told Aciravata that, if he had MN III 131
used these two similes, he would have fared better in his meeting with Prince Jayasena. Aciravata replied that he had never heard these similes before, hence, he could not have been able to make use of them. This exchange is not found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version.

The *Dantabhūmi-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel continue by comparing the MN III 132
gradual training of a disciple to the gradual taming of a forest elephant.[160] The two

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[156] The parallel is MĀ 198 at T I 757a-759a and agrees with MN 125 on location and title (調御地經). A translation of MĀ 198, together with extracts from the present study, can be found in Anālayo 2006c.

[157] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 40b3-41b1 or Q (5595) *thu* 79a5-80a7, which corresponds to MN 125 at MN III 135,20 to MN III 136,19; cf. also Abhidh-k 6:70 in Pradhan 1967: 384,22, paralleling MN 125 at MN III 136,15, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 133a5 and T 1559 at T XXIX 284b2.

[158] MN 125 at MN III 130,2 contrasts two tamed elephants, two tamed horses, and two tamed oxen with two untamed elephants, two untamed horses, and two untamed oxen. MĀ 198 at T I 757b13 instead mentions four tameable beings, namely an elephant, a horse, an ox, and a man. Out of these four, it then contrasts two untamed beings with two tamed beings. A similar pattern can be found in MĀ 212 at T I 794a29, which also has men in addition to the elephants, horses, and oxen mentioned in its counterpart MN 90 at MN II 129,4, cf. above p. 522 note 388.

[159] A minor difference between the otherwise fairly similar presentations of this image in the two versions is that, according to MN 125 at MN III 131,19, the Buddha explained that the mass of ignorance covering Prince Jayasena was even greater than the mountain described in the simile, a remark not found in MĀ 198.

[160] A minor difference is that in MN 125 at MN III 132,2+15 the king gives detailed instructions to the elephant trainer on how he should undertake the task of catching and taming the elephant, whereas in MĀ 198 at T I 757c14+20 the king merely tells the elephant tamer to catch an elephant and to tame it, with-

versions agree in comparing the moment when the disciple decides to go forth to the moment when the forest elephant has been caught and is brought out of the forest into the open.[161]

MN III 134 The *Dantabhūmi-sutta* next mentions the need to observe the rules and see danger in the slightest transgression,[162] while its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart simply instructs to purify body, speech, and mind.[163]

This in itself relatively minor difference is part of a recurring pattern, where the Pāli discourses appear to have a predilection for the injunction to scrupulously observe the rules, while their *Madhyama-āgama* counterparts place more emphasis on the purpose of observing the rules in terms of the need to develop bodily, verbal, and mental purity.[164]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues by taking up the practices of:

- sense-restraint,
- moderation with food,
- wakefulness,
- mindfulness and clear comprehension,
- the removal of the five hindrances,
- the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version instead directly turns to the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s, without mentioning any of the other practices of the gradual path (see table 13.4). The discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary, however, precedes its description of the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s with an account of the removal of the five hindrances.[165]

MN III 136 From the perspective of textual transmission, it would be easier to imagine that a reference to the arising of a Tathāgata caused the reciters to supplement a full account of the gradual path of practice, detailing the undertaking of sense-restraint, moderation with food, wakefulness etc., than to assume that considerable parts of an account of the gradual path have been lost. On the hypothesis that the other practices of the gradual path may have been added to an originally briefer account during the transmission of the

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out getting involved in the details of how this should be done. For a description given by Arrian of the procedure adopted in ancient India to catch wild elephants cf. McCrindle 1877: 213-216.

[161] MN 125 at MN III 134,4 and MĀ 198 at T I 758a26.

[162] MN 125 at MN III 134,8: "seeing fear in the slightest fault, train [by way of] having undertaken the training rules", *aṇumattesu vajjesu bhayadassāvī, samādāya sikkhassu sikkhāpadesu.*

[163] MĀ 198 at T I 758a29.

[164] The same difference of emphasis recurs between MN 6 at MN I 33,5 and its parallel MĀ 105 at T I 595c19, cf. above p. 47, and between MN 107 at MN III 2,7 and its parallel MĀ 144 at T I 652b1, cf. above p. 618.

[165] D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 40b6 or Q (5595) *thu* 79a8. According to MN 10 at MN I 60,11 (or DN 22 at DN II 300,10) and MĀ 98 at T I 584a24, awareness of the presence of the five hindrances is a task that forms part of *satipaṭṭhāna*, so that *satipaṭṭhāna* practice would not necessarily require the previous removal of the five hindrances; cf. also AN 9:64 at AN IV 458,5, which presents *satipaṭṭhāna* as the tool for overcoming the five hindrances. Nevertheless, for advanced stages of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice the removal of the five hindrances would be required.

Pāli version, it would be quite understandable how *satipaṭṭhāna* was consequently displaced from its original location and came to stand after the removal of the five hindrances and thereby in a position that would better fit the attainment of the *jhāna*s.

Table 13.4: Gradual Training in MN 125 and MĀ 198

MN 125	MĀ 198
moral restraint (1)	purity of body, speech, mind (→ 1)
sense-restraint (2)	*satipaṭṭhāna*, no household thoughts (→ 7)
moderation with food (3)	*satipaṭṭhāna* without any thought (→ 8)
wakefulness (4)	1st to 4th *jhāna* (→ 9)
clear comprehension of activities (5)	
removal of 5 hindrances (6)	
satipaṭṭhāna, no household thoughts (7)	
satipaṭṭhāna without any thought (8)	
2nd to 4th *jhāna* (9)	
recollection of past lives (10)	
divine eye (11)	
destruction of influxes (12)	(≠ 2-6, 10-12)

The Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan versions agree in comparing the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* to a strong post to which the elephant trainer binds the forest elephant, explaining that the function of the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s is to overcome thoughts related to the household life. This specification further supports the *Madhyama-āgama* version's presentation, since if the practice of *satipaṭṭhāna* were to take place after the five hindrances have already been removed, there would be little need for it to perform the function of overcoming thoughts related to the household life.[166]

The *Dantabhūmi-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel continue with *satipaṭṭhāna* practice undertaken without thinking certain thoughts. The Pāli editions differ on the nature of these thoughts, as some editions speak of not thinking thoughts related to sensuality, while others instruct not to think thoughts related to the four objects of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice, that is, body, feelings, mental states, and dharmas.[167]

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[166] Ps IV 199,12 explains that the expression "habits [related to] the household life" (cf. MN 125 at MN III 136,16) refers to habits based on the [enjoyment of] the five sensual pleasures, *gehasitasīlānan ti pañcakāmaguṇanissitasīlānaṃ*. With the removal of the hindrances, such concern with the five types of sensual pleasure would have been already left behind.

[167] Ee-MN III 136,21 and Se-MN III 269,16 instruct, in relation to contemplation of the body: "do not think a thought related to the body", *mā ca kāyūpasaṃhitaṃ vitakkaṃ vitakkesi*, and continue in the same way for the remaining three *satipaṭṭhāna*s by enjoining *mā vedanūpasaṃhitaṃ vitakkaṃ ... mā cittūpasaṃhitaṃ vitakkaṃ ... mā dhammūpasaṃhitaṃ vitakkaṃ vitakkesi*. Be-MN III 175,20 and Ce-MN III 316,16 instead instruct in all four cases: "do not think a thought related to sensuality", *mā ca kāmūpasamhitaṃ vitakkaṃ vitakkesi*. The *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in Dutt 1934/2000: 204,2 has preserved a similar instruction, which describes an undertaking of body contemplation without forming any thoughts associated with the body, *na ca kāyasahagatān vitarkān vitarkayati*; cf. also the *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra*, Harrison 1978b: 130,13 (cf. also p. 155,22), translated in

The *Madhyama-āgama* version instructs to avoid thoughts related to sensuality when contemplating the body and to avoid thoughts that are "against the Dharma" or perhaps "not rightful", *adharma*, when contemplating dharmas.[168] Unfortunately, the instructions for contemplation of feelings and states of mind are only abbreviated in the Chinese version, so that in these two cases it remains open to conjecture what type of thoughts are better avoided.

The need to avoid sensual thoughts would fit the context in the *Madhyama-āgama* version well, where *satipaṭṭhāna* comes right after the disciple has established a basis of moral purity. Thus, from the perspective of the *Madhyama-āgama* account, the present stage would be a further development of *satipaṭṭhāna* contemplation with particular emphasis given to overcoming any trace of sensuality.[169]

In the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, in contrast, the injunction to avoid sensual thoughts seems a little out of place, as here *satipaṭṭhāna* takes place after the five hindrances, including the first hindrance of sensual desire, have already been removed. For *satipaṭṭhāna* to take place at such a point, the injunction to avoid any type of thought in relation to the object of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice would fit the context better, thereby leading to a level of thought-free mindfulness that can serve as a foundation for the subsequent development of the *jhāna*s.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version compares this stage of *satipaṭṭhāna* to the elephant trainer's instruction to the forest elephant to lie down and get up, to go forward and backward, to take something up and put it down.[170] Although this stage of taming the forest elephant is also depicted in the *Dantabhūmi-sutta*, the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse does not relate this stage of the elephant's training to any of the stages of the gradual path.[171]

Harrison 1990: 125 (cf. also p. 144), which applies the instruction not to think any thoughts to all four *smṛtyupasthāna*s.

[168] MĀ 198 at T I 758b15: 莫念欲相應念, 乃至觀覺, 心, 法如法, 莫念非法相應念. This instruction recurs in MĀ 144 at T I 652b7, parallel to MN 107, cf. above p. 620 note 174. An extract from the present discussion already appeared in Anālayo 2005c: 103-104.

[169] Such practice could then be understood to lead up to *satipaṭṭhāna* being "well-established" (*supatiṭṭhita*) to such an extent that sensual thoughts no longer arise, cf., e.g., SN 22:80 at SN III 93,21 and its parallel SĀ 272 at T II 72a24.

[170] MĀ 198 at T I 758b20: 臥起, 去來, 取捨, which it follows with the order to bend and stretch, 屈伸, two activities not mentioned in MN 125. By including bending and stretching, MĀ 198 provides an even closer relation between these instructions to the elephant and the *satipaṭṭhāna* practice of being aware and pratising clear comprehension in relation to bodily activities, described in MN 10 at MN I 57,5 (or DN 22 at DN II 292,25) and MĀ 98 at T I 582b25, which in addition to mentioning the activities of going forward and backward, *abhikkante paṭikkante*/出入, of carrying (a bowl, etc.), *dhāraṇe*/著, and of sitting and lying down, *nisinne sutte*/坐臥, also take up the activities of bending and stretching, *samiñjite pasārite*/屈伸.

[171] In MN 125 at MN III 133,7+10+14 the elephant trainer tells the elephant to take something up and put it down, to go forward and back, to get up and sit down, *ādissa bho, nikkhipa bho ... abhikkama bho, paṭikkama bho ... uṭṭhaha bho, nisīda bho* (B^e-MN III 173,16 and C^e-MN III 310,23 read *ādiya* instead of *ādissa*, S^e-MN III 266,19 reads *nipajja* instead of *nisīda*). Since the interrelation between the image of tam-

The two versions continue with the attainment of the four *jhāna*s. While the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse directly approaches the second *jhāna*, without mentioning the first *jhāna*,[172] the *Madhyama-āgama* version takes the first *jhāna* into account (see above table 13.4).[173]

In relation to this difference, it strikes an unfamiliar note when the *Dantabhūmi-sutta* presents a progression of practice that leads from *satipaṭṭhāna* meditation directly to the second *jhāna*, without prior attainment of the first *jhāna*. Although *satipaṭṭhāna* can serve as a foundation for the development of the *jhāna*s,[174] in itself it does not constitute a form of *jhāna* practice. Perhaps the occurrence of the word *vitakka* in the passage on *satipaṭṭhāna* without thought has led to a lapse on the part of the reciter(s) of the discourse, who continued straight away with the calming of *vitakka* (*vitakka-vicārānaṃ vūpasamā*), mentioned at the outset of the second *jhāna* formula, thereby unintentionally dropping the first *jhāna* in between.[175]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version indicates that, by attaining the four *jhāna*s, the disciple has reached a level of mental imperturbability that is comparable to the stage of imperturbability reached in the training of the elephant.[176] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version does not relate this stage of the gradual path to the training of the elephant, even though it earlier explicitly introduced this part of the elephant's taming as a training in "imperturbability", a stage of training during which, according to the description given in both versions, the elephant has to remain unmoved even when being put in a situation that resembles an actual fight.[177]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version explains that the imperturbability reached by the disciple also covers external circumstances, such as being able to bear hunger and thirst, mosquitoes and gadflies, the vicissitudes of the climate, unpleasant words, and disease,[178] just as the elephant, on reaching imperturbability, was able to endure the blows and noise of a battle situation. The *Dantabhūmi-sutta* later on does take up the disciple's ability in endurance, although without relating it to the elephant's endurance.[179]

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ing a forest elephant and the gradual path is a central topic of both discourses, it seems probable that MN 125 lost this interrelation during the process of transmission.

172 MN 125 at MN III 136,26. Notably, E^{e} also does not mention the fourth *jhāna*, although the same is found in B^{e}-MN III 175,25, C^{e}-MN III 316,20, and S^{e}-MN III 269,20.

173 MĀ 198 at T I 758b25.

174 The foundational role of *satipaṭṭhāna* for deeper levels of concentration can be seen, e.g., in DN 18 at DN II 216,12, SN 52:6 at SN V 299,19, and SN 52:11-24 at SN V 303-305.

175 For a similar case cf. above p. 140; cf. also Anālayo 2012d.

176 MĀ 198 at T I 758b29.

177 MN 125 at MN III 133,16: "the elephant trainer makes him furthermore perform the task called imperturbability", *tam enaṃ hatthidamako uttariṃ ānejjaṃ nāma kāraṇaṃ karoti* (B^{e}-MN III 173,24, C^{e}-MN III 310,31, and S^{e}-MN III 267,2 read *āneñjaṃ nāma kāraṇaṃ*, B^{e} also reads *uttari*), MĀ 198 at T I 758a8: "I will now train you in imperturbability, you must not move", 我今治汝令不移動治, 汝勿動搖!

178 MĀ 198 at T I 758c8 differs from the Pāli version in as much as it also envisages the possibility that the disciple may be attacked with sticks, 捶杖.

179 MN 125 at MN III 136,32.

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse concludes by declaring that a disciple, who in this way patiently bears up with difficulties, has reached a superb degree of taming and become a supreme field of merit, comparable to an elephant who, by reaching a superb degree of taming, has become worthy of being put into service by a king.

In its account of the training of the elephant, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version similarly indicates that after mastering the stage of imperturbability the elephant has become worthy of being put into service by a king.[180] Otherwise, the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse proceeds quite differently, since before turning to the disciple's ability to bear up with various vicissitudes, it describes how the disciple attains the three higher knowledges (see above table 13.4).[181]

MN III 137 The *Dantabhūmi-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel agree in concluding their account by comparing a young, middle aged, or elder monk, who passes away untamed, to a young, middle aged, or old elephant, who passes away untamed, followed by applying the same image to the corresponding cases of tamed monks or elephants.[182] In keeping with the different compass of the training of the disciple in each version, the *Madhyama-āgama* version simply speaks of a disciple who is well trained,[183] while the *Majjhima-nikāya* version speaks of a disciple who has destroyed the influxes.[184]

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[180] MN 125 at MN III 133,28: *rājaraho rājabhoggo.*

[181] In regard to this difference, it does strike a somewhat unusual note to find MĀ 198 praising the disciple's superior degree of taming without in any way relating such taming to the development of liberating wisdom. From this perspective, MN 125 would be more in accord with the general tendency of an account of the disciple's training in the discourses to culminate in awakening. In the present case, however, the topic of both versions is how a disciple by dint of diligent practice reaches unification of the mind. From this perspective, it would make sense to only give an account of the disciple's training until the attainment of the fourth *jhāna*, with which the development of unification of the mind has been accomplished. The presentation in MĀ 198 would also receive support from AN 4:114 at AN II 117,31 and AN 5:140 at AN III 163,28, which compare qualities of a trained elephant to qualities of a disciple. These two discourses describe how a disciple overcomes unwholesome thoughts and develops the ability to bear patiently the vicissitudes of climate, etc., an ability they compare to an elephant's ability to bear patiently a battle situation. AN 4:114 and AN 5:140 continue by comparing a disciple who swiftly approaches liberation to the elephant's ability to approach swiftly any place that the trainer wants it to go to. From the perspective of these two discourses, the stages of taming an elephant described in MN 125 and its parallel only illustrate the stages that lead up to the point when the disciple is ready to approach liberation, but do not correspond to his actual attainment of awakening. The actual attainment of realization, judging from AN 4:114 and AN 5:140, would correspond to the elephant swiftly going to whatever place he is being told to go, something not mentioned in the description of the elephant's training in MN 125 or MĀ 198. From the perspective of transmission, it could more easily be imagined that a reciter supplied the 'missing' attainment of the three higher knowledges to an account of the gradual path, than to assume that the higher knowledges were lost. Since already at an earlier point MN 125 appears to have been expanded along the lines of a full account of the gradual path, it would not be surprising if the same should have happened also at this point.

[182] Wayman 1982: 282 notes that the image of passing away untamed or tamed recurs in a listing of six types of death in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 1579 at T XXX 776c14: 不調伏死, 調伏死.

[183] MĀ 198 at T I 759a6: 少 ... 中 ... 老聖弟子善調御.

[184] MN 125 at MN III 137,24: *thero ... majjhimo ... navo ... bhikkhu khīṇāsavo*.

MN 126 *Bhūmija-sutta*

The *Bhūmija-sutta*, the "discourse to Bhūmija", examines if an aspiration is required for the holy life to bear fruit. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[185] Parts of the introductory narration to this discourse appear to also have been preserved in a Sanskrit fragment.[186]

The *Bhūmija-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by reporting that the monk Bhūmija visited Prince Jayasena.[187] According to both versions, Prince Jayasena wanted to know the opinion of Bhūmija's teacher on whether the fruitfulness of living the holy life depends on making an aspiration. The two versions present this proposal in the tetralemma form, by distinguishing between: MN III 138

- making an aspiration,
- making no aspiration,
- making both an aspiration and no aspiration,
- neither making an aspiration nor no aspiration.

They differ in as much as in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version the four possibilities of this tetralemma are concerned with the outcome that no fruit is produced, whereas in the *Madhyama-āgama* version the tetralemma is concerned with the result that a fruit will be produced.

The use of the tetralemma scheme in both versions is to some extent puzzling, since it is difficult to imagine how someone makes an aspiration and at the same time makes

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[185] The parallel is MĀ 173 at T I 709c-711b and agrees with MN 126 on the location and on taking the name of its main protagonist, Bhūmija/浮彌, as its title. On MĀ 173 cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 69-70. The *Ekottarika-āgama* list of eminent disciples reckons Bhūmija as outstanding for never being separated from his three robes (according to *Nissaggiya Pācittiya* rule 2 at Vin III 198,22, it is an offence for a monk to be separated from any of his three robes over night, a regulation found similarly in the other *Vinayas*, cf. Pachow 1955: 98) and for being content with food, EĀ 4.3 at T II 557b29: 守持三衣不離, 食息 (literally being "peaceful in regard to food"). The *Aṅguttara-nikāya* does not include Bhūmija in its list of eminent disciples.

[186] SHT VIII 1919Bw-z (p. 100, identified in Skilling 2001b: 249). SHT VIII 1919Bw agrees with MN 126 and MĀ 173 on the location of the discourse. Instead of Prince Jayasena, however, SHT VIII 1919Bz speaks of Abhaya, which makes the identification of this fragment as a parallel to MN 125 and MĀ 173 uncertain. Skilling 2001b: 249 comments that "the fragment cannot be identified with certainty ... although there seems to be a chance that Jayasena and Abhaya denote the same person".

[187] While MN 126 at MN III 138,4 simply reports that Bhūmija went to Prince Jayasena's place and sat down, MĀ 173 at T I 710a1 relates that Bhūmija had been on his way into town to collect alms but then had changed his mind and decided to rather pay a visit to the prince. MĀ 173 at T I 710a5 also depicts Prince Jayasena's behaviour in more detail, reporting that he respectfully welcomed Bhūmija by getting up, arranging his clothes so as to bare one shoulder and holding his hand in a gesture of reverence towards Bhūmija, followed by inviting him to sit down. According to Ps IV 199,20, Bhūmija was the uncle of Prince Jayasena, in which case it would indeed have been appropriate for the prince to show a more respectful behaviour than he had displayed according to MN 125 and MĀ 198 when meeting the novice Aciravata. Regarding the rendering of the name of the prince given in MĀ 173 at T I 710a4 as 耆婆先那, the 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition p. 1555 note 9 notes that this suggests an original like Jīvasena instead of Jayasena.

no aspiration, or else how someone neither makes an aspiration nor no aspiration.[188] The commentary suggests that to make an aspiration and make no aspiration refers to someone who at times makes an aspiration and at other times makes no aspiration.[189] On adopting this commentarial explanation, one would still be at a loss to explain the other alternative, where someone neither makes an aspiration nor makes no aspiration.

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, Bhūmija replied that he would expect the Buddha to state that rightly living the holy life will be fruitful independent of an aspiration.[190] The prince was pleased with this reply, concluding that on making such a statement the Buddha was superior to other teachers. The two versions record that Prince Jayasena was so pleased that he invited Bhūmija for a meal, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version he went so far as to offer Bhūmija the food that had been prepared for himself.[191] The *Madhyama-āgama* version additionally reports that after the meal Bhūmija delivered a talk on the Dharma that satisfied and pleased the prince.[192]

MN III 139 According to both versions, Bhūmija reported his conversation with Prince Jayasena to the Buddha.[193] Having heard Bhūmija's report, the Buddha explained that a holy life undertaken by developing the wrong path factors will be fruitless,[194] independent of an aspiration, just as one will not obtain oil by pressing sand, milk by milking a cow's horn, butter by churning water, or fire by rubbing wet sticks. On developing the right factors of the noble eightfold path, however, the holy life will be fruitful, independent of an aspiration, just as oil, milk, butter, and fire can be obtained by adopting the proper methods for producing them.[195] The two versions present these similes in a different sequence (see table 13.5).

[188] MN 126 at MN III 138,15: *āsañce anāsañ ce pi karitvā ... n' ev' āsaṃ nānāsañ ce pi karitvā* and MĀ 173 at T I 710a14: 或願無願, 或非有願非無願. The idea of making an aspiration recurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* stanza 7:14:2 in Radhakrishnan 1953/1992: 481 (noted by Neumann 1896/1995: 1141 note 452), according to which, by making an aspiration, all desires will reach fulfilment, *āśayāsya sarve kāmāḥ samṛdhyanti*. Quite possibly some idea similar to this proposition would be implicit in Prince Jayasena's inquiry.

[189] Ps IV 199,22: *āsañ ca anāsañ cā ti, kālena āsaṃ kālena anāsaṃ*; cf. also Hoffman 1982: 333.

[190] In MĀ 173 at T I 710a18 he merely repeats the words used by the prince. Since such a reply would be meaningless and would hardly have evoked approval, this appears to be a textual error, where the specification that the holy life is lived "rightly", 正, has accidentally made its way from Bhūmija's reply to the prince's question that elicited this reply. For a similar case cf. above p. 508 note 323.

[191] MN 126 at MN III 139,13 specifies that the prince served Bhūmija from his own dish of milk rice, *saken' eva thālipākena parivisi*.

[192] MĀ 173 at T I 710a27.

[193] While in MĀ 173 at T I 710b1 Bhūmija merely reports the conversation, in MN 126 at MN III 139,29 he inquires whether he has presented the Buddha's position correctly, which the Buddha confirms.

[194] MĀ 173 at T I 710b5 literally speaks of "wrong view, wrong view concentration", 邪見, 邪見定. In analogy with MN 126 at MN III 140,7, which lists all eight path-factors, I assume the passage in MĀ 173 to be an abbreviation of the same, i.e., 邪見乃至邪見定, where the implications of "wrong view concentration", 邪見定, could intend "concentration [based on] wrong view", similar to a formulation found in MĀ 64 at T I 503c9: 邪見成就邪見業.

[195] MN 126 applies the four negative similes to the fruitless holy life, followed by taking up the fruitful

Table 13.5: Similes in MN 126 and MĀ 173

MN 126	MĀ 173
wrongly searching for oil (1)	wrongly searching for milk (→ 2)
wrongly searching for milk (2)	rightly searching for milk (→ 6)
wrongly searching for butter (3)	wrongly searching for butter (→ 3)
wrongly searching for fire (4)	rightly searching for butter (→ 7)
rightly searching for oil (5)	wrongly searching for oil (→ 1)
rightly searching for milk (6)	rightly searching for oil (→ 5)
rightly searching for butter (7)	wrongly searching for fire (→ 4)
rightly searching for fire (8)	rightly searching for fire (→ 8)

According to the *Bhūmija-sutta* and its parallel, the Buddha told Bhūmija that, if he MN III 144 would have employed these similes, the prince would have acquired confidence in him and also shown his confidence.[196] Bhūmija replied that he had never heard these similes before, so that it could not really be expected of him to make use of them.[197]

The Buddha's suggestion is slightly puzzling, since in both versions Bhūmija's explanation had inspired confidence in the prince, so much so that he treated Bhūmija to a meal. This suggests that the prince had understood the point made by Bhūmija, even though the matter had not been illustrated by similes.

A similar remark by the Buddha is found also in the *Dantabhūmi-sutta*, where it fits the context better, since in this case the exposition given by another Buddhist monk to Prince Jayasena had not convinced the prince.[198]

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holy life and illustrating it with the four corresponding positive versions of the same similes (i.e., pressing sesame to get oil, milking a cow's udder to get milk, churning curd to get butter, and rubbing dry sticks to get fire). MĀ 173 instead takes up each image from its negative and positive side and applies it to the fruitless and the fruitful holy life, before proceeding to the next image. The similes of trying to get oil from sand and ghee from water recur in T 203.113 at T IV 493c7, translated in Willemen 1994: 228, while the image of milking a cow's horn can also be found in the *Saundaranandakāvya* 16:50 in Johnston 1928: 118,2.

[196] MN 126 at MN III 144,16 explains that if Bhūmija had spoken these four similes to the prince, "it would not have been surprising if Prince Jayasena had developed confidence in you and, being confident, would have acted in such a way as to express his confidence", *anacchariyaṃ te jayaseno rājakumāro pasīdeyya, pasanno ca te pasannākāraṃ kareyyā ti*. According to MĀ 173 at T I 710b3, even before delivering the four similes the Buddha asked: "why did you not think of expounding the four similes to the prince", 何意不為王童子說四喻耶? After completing his exposition, according to MĀ 173 at T I 711b10 the Buddha explained that if Bhūmija had delivered these four similes to the prince, "on having heard them, the prince would certainly have been greatly pleased and would have offered you his support", 王童子聞已, 必大歡喜, 供養於汝, followed by suggesting that the prince would have supported Bhūmija for all his life with the four requisites.

[197] According to MN 126 at MN III 144,20, Bhūmija explained that the similes were *anacchariyā pubbe assutapubbā*. In MĀ 173 at T I 711b12 he similarly states that "before I had never heard these four similes", 我本未曾聞此四喻. Von Hinüber 1970/1994: 22-23 explains that "*an-acchariyā* ... can be derived from *an-akṣar-ikā*" and suggests to render the expression as "unarticulated before, unheard before".

[198] MN 125 at MN III 131,28.

The *Dantabhūmi-sutta* and the *Bhūmija-sutta* show several similarities:

- both have as their protagonist a monk who does not feature prominently in other discourses,
- this monk has a discussion with Prince Jayasena and later reports this discussion to the Buddha,
- this discussion causes the Buddha to deliver a series of illustrative similes.

From the perspective of oral transmission, the similarity between the two discourses could have caused the reciters to apply, perhaps quite accidentally, the *Dantabhūmi-sutta* passage, in which the Buddha reproves the monk for failing to convince Prince Jayasena, to the *Bhūmija-sutta* as well.[199] Such an application would then have to have occurred at a relatively early stage in the transmission of the discourse, as it is now found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions.

MN 127 *Anuruddha-sutta*

The *Anuruddha-sutta*, the "discourse by Anuruddha", takes up differences between various types of mental liberation and various *deva*s. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[200]

MN III 145 The *Anuruddha-sutta* begins by reporting that the carpenter Pañcakaṅga invited Anuruddha together with three other monks for a meal.[201] The *Madhyama-āgama* account

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[199] Alternatively, even though Bhūmija's exposition was basically correct and did convince the prince, perhaps he had not explored the situation to its fullest potential. In support of this alternative explanation, another discourse concerned with Bhūmija could be taken up. According to SN 12:25 at SN II 38,6, Bhūmija had approached Sāriputta and inquired about the Buddha's position in regard to recluses and Brahmins who propose happiness and pain to be caused by oneself, by an external agency, by both, or by neither. The Chinese and Sanskrit fragment versions of this discourse report that, before approaching Sāriputta with this question, Bhūmija had been confronted with this query by heterodox practitioners. In reply, he had proclaimed that, according to his teacher, pleasure and pain were conditionally arisen phenomena, SĀ 343 at T II 93c14: "they are produced through dependent arising", 從緣起生, fragment S 474 folio 15V9 in Tripāṭhī 1962: 48: *pratītyasamutpannaṃ ... bhagavatā sukhadukhaṃ prajñaptam* (which ibid. note 13 suggests to correct to *sukhaduḥkhaṃ*). On hearing this reply, the heterodox practitioners had left without further ado. Thus, according to the Chinese and Sanskrit versions of this discourse, on this other occasion Bhūmija had also been unable to present the teachings convincingly. In this particular case, his brief reference to conditionality would not have been sufficient as an explanation, as his visitors would have been unfamiliar with the early Buddhist conception of the nature of conditionality and thus unable to appreciate fully the implications of the reply given by Bhūmija. Hence in this case, too, Bhūmija's reply was correct, yet, if he had explained a little more, his visitors might have understood better.

[200] The parallel is MĀ 79 at T I 549b-551c, which agrees with MN 127 on the location and has the title "discourse on the existence of superior *deva*s", 有勝天經. On MĀ 79 cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 146.

[201] According to MN 127 at MN III 145,5, Pañcakaṅga told his messenger to ask the monks to come *pagevatara*, which Horner 1959: 190 and Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1002 translate as "punctually". According to MĀ 79 at T I 549b20, the monks had been asked to come "early", 早. For a householder to invite monks and then tell them to be punctual strikes an unusual note, whereas to ask them to come early because he has work to attend to would be more natural. In line with the sense suggested by the Chi-

differs in as much as its protagonist is not the carpenter Pañcakaṅga, but rather Isidatta, one of the chamberlains of King Pasenadi.[202] The ensuing meal offering provided the occasion for asking Anuruddha if "immeasurable" liberation of the mind (*appamāṇā cetovimutti*) was the same as liberation of the mind that has "become great" (*mahaggatā cetovimutti*).[203]

According to both versions, Anuruddha corrected the assumption of his host that these two mental liberations have the same meaning, explaining that "immeasurable" liberation of the mind stands for practising the *brahmavihāra*s,[204] whereas liberation of the mind that has "become great" refers to pervading an area of a size ranging from [the shade provided by] a single tree root to the whole earth with one's meditation object, which could be quite different from the *brahmavihāra*s.[205] MN III 146

The *Anuruddha-sutta* and its parallel differ in the sequence of their presentation. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version first examines the immeasurable liberation of the mind, and then takes up the liberation of the mind that has become great, whereas the *Madhyama-āgama* version adopts the opposite sequence (see below table 13.6).[206]

The *Anuruddha-sutta* next takes up four types of heavenly rebirth, distinguishing between *deva*s that are endowed with: MN III 147

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nese translation, *pageva* + the comparative suffix *°tara* could also be translated as "earlier", in the sense of asking the monks to come earlier than they would usually come.

[202] MĀ 79 at T I 549b6: 仙餘財主, which Akanuma 1930/1994: 231 explains to refer to the chamberlain Isidatta, with 財主 rendering "chamberlain", 仙 rendering "sage" (*isi*), while 餘 according to ibid. should rather be 與 (a confusion between these two characters would be facilitated by their similar Early Middle Chinese pronunciation, cf. Pulleyblank 1991: 380 and 382), on which assumption 與, "to give", would render *datta* (cf. also the 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition p. 667 note 6).

[203] The narration in MĀ 79 that leads up to this question is more detailed, as according to MĀ 79 at T I 549b6 the messenger was to approach first the Buddha and inquire after the latter's health, before approaching Anuruddha. After describing the actual exchange that took place between the Buddha and the messenger, MĀ 79 at T I 549c3 continues by reporting that Kaccāna, who was present when Anuruddha was invited for the meal, suggested that Anuruddha should accept the invitation. MĀ 79 at T I 549c19 also narrates in detail the respectful reception of Anuruddha (and implicitly of his companions), when they arrived for the meal. While in MN 127 at MN III 145,22 Pañcakaṅga first offered the food, according to MĀ 79 at T I 549c26, when Anuruddha arrived, his host immediately put his question and the offering of the meal took place only after the discussion was completed, cf. MĀ 79 at T I 551c16. Another difference is that, while according to MN 127 at MN III 145,29 elder monks, *therā bhikkhū*, had recommended to develop these two liberations of the mind, according to MĀ 79 at T I 549c29 this recommendation came from recluses and Brahmins.

[204] MN 43 at MN I 297,20 also identifies *appamāṇā cetovimutti* with the *brahmavihāra*s; cf. also the similar distinction between these two types of liberation of the mind in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Delhey 2009a: 189,5 and T 1579 at T XXX 338a3.

[205] Besides a possible difference in the meditation object, another difference could also be that a mind that has become great may pervade areas of various size, whereas a mind that has become immeasurable pervades a quite literally no longer measurable area. That the latter would be superior to the former suggests itself from a listing of four progressively subtler types of *saññā* in AN 10:29 at AN V 63,17, where *mahaggata* precedes *appamāṇa*.

[206] MN 127 at MN III 146,13 and MĀ 79 at T I 550a9.

- a limited radiance,
- a boundless radiance,
- a defiled radiance,
- a pure radiance.[207]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version instead examines three types of heavenly rebirth, distinguishing between *deva*s that are endowed with:

- radiance,
- pure radiance,
- all-pervasive pure radiance.[208]

The two versions agree that, when these different *deva*s come together, their radiance is the same, comparable to numerous lamps placed together in a single room.

MN III 148 The *Anuruddha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel explain that those *deva*s delight wherever they are, comparable to a fly that delights wherever it settles down.[209] While according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version these *deva*s do not have the thought that their existence is permanent,[210] according to the *Madhyama-āgama* version they do not think of the realm where they have arisen as "mine".[211]

Another difference is that, while the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse first describes the similarity of the radiance when the *deva*s congregate (illustrated with the simile of the lamps) and only then turns to their mental attitude towards their existence (illustrated with the simile of the fly), the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse covers these two topics in the opposite sequence (see table 13.6).

Both versions report that the monk Kaccāna intervened at this point, asking Anuruddha why *deva*s that have arisen in the same realm differ from each other.[212] While in

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[207] MN 127 at MN III 147,17 lists *parittābhā devā, appamāṇābhā devā, saṃkiliṭṭhābhā devā*, and *parisuddhābhā devā* (Ce-MN III 334,40 and Se-MN III 287,19: *saṅkiliṭṭhābhā*). The first two could refer to two sub-realms of the Brahmā world of the second *jhāna*, cf. MN 120 at MN III 102,27.

[208] MĀ 79 at T I 550b4: 光天, 淨光天, 遍淨光天. According to Hirakawa 1997: 1155, 遍淨天 stands for the *śubhakṛtsna deva*, representative of the Brahmā world that corresponds to the third absorption, cf. also Soothill 1937/2000: 414.

[209] A minor difference in relation to this image is that, according to MN 127 at MN III 148,14, the flies are "being carried away on a carrying pole or a basket", *kājena vā piṭakena vā harīyamānānaṃ*, whereas according to MĀ 79 at T I 550b7 the fly is "on a piece of meat", 在肉段. The commentary at Ps IV 202,7 explains that such a carrying pole is employed for the purpose of carrying various victuals, among them also meat, so that the idea behind the two versions of the simile would be quite similar.

[210] MN 127 at MN III 148,11: "this [existence] of ours is permanent, stable, and eternal", *idaṃ amhākaṃ niccan ti vā duvan ti vā sassatan ti vā*.

[211] MĀ 79 at T I 550b6: "this is mine", 此我所有.

[212] The Pāli editions vary on his name. While Ee-MN III 148,22 and Se-MN III 289,10 refer to this monk as Abhiya Kaccāna, Be-MN III 187,22 and Ce-MN III 336,26 speak of Sabhiya Kaccāna. The name *sabhiya* was, according to Th-a II 113,29, given to an (apparently different) Sabhiya because his mother had given birth to him out on the road, in an inn, *antarāmagge sabhāyaṃ vijāyi, ten' assa sabhiyo tveva nāmaṃ akakaṃsu.* The same explanation recurs in the *Mahāvastu* in Senart 1897: 394,7, according to which *sabhāye jāto ti sabhiko 'tti nāma kṛtaḥ* (Basak 1968/2004: 235,33 and Oguibénine 1996: 69,41: *kṛtaṃ*); cf. also Jones 1956/1978: 394 note 2. The version of this story found in the 佛本行集經, T 190

the *Majjhima-nikāya* version his question takes up the difference between *deva*s of limited radiance and *deva*s of boundless radiance,[213] in the *Madhyama-āgama* version his question is about differences in subtlety among radiant *deva*s.[214]

In reply, Anuruddha explained that *deva*s reborn in the same realm differ due to the different size of the area that they had been able to pervade with their meditation practice in their former existence.[215]

Table 13.6: Progression of Topics in the First Part of MN 127 and MĀ 79

MN 127	MĀ 79
immeasurable liberation of the mind (1)	great liberation of the mind (→ 2)
great liberation of the mind (2)	immeasurable liberation of the mind (→ 1)
list of 4 types of re-arising as a *deva* (3)	list of 3 types of *deva*s (→ 3)
*deva*s' radiance like lamp (4)	*deva*s' attitude like fly (→ 5)
*deva*s' attitude like fly (5)	*deva*s' radiance like lamp (→ 4)

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, Kaccāna asked the same question again about *deva*s with a defiled radiance or a pure radiance,[216] while according to the *Madhyama-āgama* version he inquired about differences in subtlety among *deva*s of pure radiance.[217] The two versions agree that the difference between these *deva*s was also due to their former lifetime's meditation practice. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version explains MN III 151

at T III 832b5, explains that he received his name because he was "born inside of the district", 在縣內生, which Beal 1875: 281 understands to mean the he was born in the "district-hall" (according to Mathews 1963: 400, however, 縣 means just "district"). MĀ 79 at T I 549c3 speaks of 真迦旃延, "real" Kaccāna, which the 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition p. 668 note 1 relates to 詵陀迦旃延所, the protagonist of SĀ 959 at T II 244c25, a discourse counterpart to an occurrence of Sabhiya Kaccāna in SN 44:11 at SN IV 401,13.

[213] MN 127 at MN III 149,1 contrasts *devatā parittābhā* with *devatā appamāṇābhā.*

[214] MĀ 79 at T I 550b19 examines "radiant devas", 光天, that differ in their respective "subtlety", 妙, a character that often renders *sukhuma* or *sūkṣma.* It is also noteworthy that in both versions Anuruddha and Kaccāna address each other in the way that according to DN 16 at DN II 154,8 and EĀ 42.3 at T II 752c17 (translated in Bareau 1987: 28) was instituted only immediately before the Buddha's demise, with Kaccāna addressing Anuruddha as *bhante*/尊者, while Anuruddha in reply uses *āvuso*/賢者, cf. also above p. 212. As a description of a conversation that according to both versions took place during the Buddha's lifetime, this would be an anachronism. For this discourse to be located after the Buddha's demise would, however, conflict with the introductory reference to the Buddha staying at Jeta's Grove, found in MN 127 at MN III 144,25 and MĀ 79 at T I 549b5.

[215] While MN 127 at MN III 149,6 simply speaks of "dwelling having pervaded and resolved as 'become great'", *mahaggatan ti pharitvā adhimuccitvā viharati*, MĀ 79 at T I 550b26 speaks of "making the mental resolve to put into operation perception of light, mentally creating the acme of perception of light", 意解作光明想成就遊, 心作光明想極盛. In its recapitulation, MĀ 79 at T I 550c28 adds that practice undertaken in this way can be refined or crude, 修便有精麤, a point MĀ 79 at T I 551b3 and at T I 551c4 makes also in relation to the subsequent examination of the remaining two types of *deva*.

[216] MN 127 at MN III 151,6 contrasts *devatā saṅkiliṭṭhābhā* with *devatā parisuddhābhā.*

[217] MĀ 79 at T I 551a2 inquires after the respective "subtlety", 妙, of the "pure radiant *deva*s", 淨光天.

that the inferior *deva*s had not been able to overcome bodily inertia and the hindrances of sloth-and-torpor and restlessness-and-worry.[218] The *Madhyama-āgama* version does not mention any hindrance, but simply indicates that the inferior types of *deva* did not fully develop their meditation practice.[219]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse illustrates this case with the example of an oil lamp whose wick and oil are not pure, due to which the oil lamp burns only dimly. The *Madhyama-āgama* version uses a different image at this point, as it compares the differences among pure radiant *deva*s to various lotus flowers, some of which remain in the water while others rise above the surface of the water.[220]

At this point the examination of the relation between meditation practice and subsequent rebirth in the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse has taken into account all of the four types of *deva* mentioned in its version, the *deva*s with a limited radiance, with a boundless radiance, with a defiled radiance, and with a pure radiance. In the *Madhyama-āgama* version, however, the examination so far has only covered two out of its three types of *deva*, namely the radiant *deva*s and the pure radiant *deva*s. So the *Madhyama-āgama* version continues by examining differences to be found among *deva*s that are of an all-pervasive pure radiance.

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse relates such differences to the influence of the hindrances sloth-and-torpor and restless-and-worry during former life meditation practice, hindrances the *Majjhima-nikāya* version had mentioned in its discussion of *deva*s with a defiled radiance or a pure radiance.[221] To illustrate the effect of these two hindrances, the *Madhyama-āgama* version makes use of the same image of an oil lamp found earlier in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version.

MN III 152 According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, Kaccāna remarked that Anuruddha had described those *deva*s as if he had personal experience of them. Anuruddha explained that he had personally met those *deva*s, so that he indeed spoke from personal experience. Before giving this reply, Anuruddha noted that Kaccāna's remark was discourteous, perhaps because it was made in an ironic tone.[222] The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse

[218] MN 127 at MN III 151,15: "bodily inertia has not been fully allayed, sloth-and-torpor have not been fully removed, and restlessness-and-worry have not been fully dispelled", *kāyaduṭṭhullam pi na suppaṭippasaddhaṃ hoti, thīnamiddham pi na susamūhataṃ hoti, uddhaccakukkuccam pi na suppaṭivinītaṃ hoti* (B^e^-MN III 190,7: *thinamiddham*, S^e^-MN III 293,1: *supaṭivinītaṃ*).

[219] MĀ 79 at T I 551a10: "they did not cultivate this concentration, did not practise it, did not widely [undertake] it, did not fully put it into operation", 彼此定不修, 不習, 不廣, 不極成就.

[220] MĀ 79 at T I 551a14+25. The same image recurs in other Pāli discourse, cf., e.g., DN 14 at DN II 38,24, MN 26 at MN I 169,10, MN 85 at MN II 93,25, and SN 6:1 at SN I 138,8 (or SN^2 172 at SN^2 I 302,3).

[221] MĀ 79 at T I 551b14, which does not mention the bodily inertia listed in MN 127 at MN III 151,15.

[222] MN 127 at MN III 152,14: *addhā kho te ayaṃ, āvuso kaccāna, āsajja upanīya vācā bhāsitā* (B^e^-MN III 190,29 and S^e^-MN III 294,4 without *te*). A similar remark was according to MN 36 at MN I 240,5, AN 3:60 at AN I 172,20, and AN 4:35 at AN II 37,1 made by the Buddha on other occasions. In each case, the respective visitor had just acknowledged some accomplishment of the Buddha. In MN 36 the debater Saccaka stated his belief that the Buddha was developed in body and mind; in AN 3:60 a Brahmin proclaimed that the Buddha must be endowed with supernormal powers, telepathic knowledge, and the

concludes with Kaccāna turning to the host and congratulating him on being able to hear such an exposition.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version proceeds differently, as it begins with this comment by Kaccāna to the host. Anuruddha then explained that there were even more *deva*s whom he had not mentioned, but had personally met.[223] Thus, in the *Madhyama-āgama* version there seem to be nothing inappropriate in Kaccāna's behaviour. Unlike the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the *Madhyama-āgama* version concludes with the delight of the host and the assembled monks.[224]

MN 128 *Upakkilesa-sutta*

The *Upakkilesa-sutta*, the "discourse on [minor] defilements", records the Buddha's attempt to settle a quarrel among the monks at Kosambī and his subsequent visit to another group of monks, a visit during which the Buddha gave a detailed description of various mental obstacles to the development of deeper stages of concentration. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and a partial parallel in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[225] The first part of the *Upakkilesa-sutta*, which records the Buddha's attempt to settle the Kosambī quarrel, has also counterparts in the Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika, Mahīśāsaka, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda *Vinaya*s.[226] Parts of the *Upakkilesa-sutta* have also been preserved in Sanskrit and Uighur fragments,[227] and in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[228]

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ability to teach how to develop the mind; and in AN 4:35 a Brahmin expressed his belief that the Buddha was acting for the benefit of mankind, had control over his mind, was able to attain the *jhāna*s, and had destroyed the influxes. In all these cases, the reply given by the Buddha gives the impression as if the earlier statements by his visitors were made in an ironic manner.

[223] MĀ 79 at T I 551c12.

[224] MĀ 79 at T I 551c23, preceded by describing the offering of food to the monks, which in its account took place only at the end of the discussion.

[225] The parallels are MĀ 72 at T I 532c-539b and EĀ 24.8 at T II 626b-630a. MĀ 72 has the title "discourse on the *apadāna* of King Long Lifespan", 長壽王本起經. The summary verse at T II 630b16 refers to EĀ 24.8 as "Long Lifespan", 長壽, the name of the king put to death by King Brahmadatta. MĀ 72 and EĀ 24.8 agree with MN 128 on locating the discourse at Kosambī. For remarks on MĀ 72 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 36, 64-65 and 204; a brief survey of MN 128 can be found in Anālayo 2008l.

[226] T 1428 at T XXII 879b-882c, T 1425 at T XXII 333c-335b, T 1421 at T XXII 158c-160b, Dutt 1984b: 177-186, and Vin I 337-353.

[227] The Sanskrit fragment is SHT VI 1384 (p. 109), which parallels sections of what is found in MN 128 at MN III 157 to MN III 161, referring, e.g., to the disappearance of light, to vision of forms, and to the arising of mental defilements, cf. V2: *avabhāso-[nta]rhi(to)*, V5: *(avabh)[ā]saṃ saṃjānāmi da(r)śa(naṃ ca rūpānaṃ)*, R5: *[darśa]naṃ ca rūpāṇāṃ*, R2: *upakleśā u[da]pā[di]*. Parts of what seems to be yet another parallel to MN 128 can be found in Uighur fragment T II S 59 in von Gabain 1954: 25-29.

[228] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 275b6-276b2 or Q (5595) *thu* 19b7-20b3, which corresponds to MN 128 at MN III 157,20 to MN III 158,6; cf. also Abhidh-k 5:27 in Pradhan 1967: 300,12, with its Chinese parallels T 1558 at T XXIX 105c29 and T 1559 at T XXIX 259b5.

MN III 153 The *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its parallels begin by recording that the Buddha attempted to stop a quarrel that had arisen among the Kosambī monks.[229] According to the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* versions, in order to inspire the Kosambī monks to forgiveness, the Buddha delivered the tale of Prince Dīghāvu's patience.[230] This tale reports that, wishing to avenge the cruel killing of his father by King Brahmadatta, Prince Dīghāvu had under cover enrolled in the services of King Brahmadatta. When an occasion arose to carry out his plan, however, he remembered his father's advice to be patient and decided to spare King Brahmadatta's life.

The accounts of the Kosambī quarrel in the Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika, Mahīśāsaka, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda *Vinaya*s,[231] together with records of the same incident in two Pāli *Jātaka* tales and a Chinese *Udāna-(varga)* tale,[232] agree with the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* versions that the Buddha related this tale to the quarrelling monks at Kosambī.

MN III 154 When the monks of Kosambī were unwilling to follow his advice, the Buddha decided to leave them.[233] According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions, as well as the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda *Vinaya*s, the Buddha spoke a set of stanzas on this occasion.[234]

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[229] On this quarrel cf. also above p. 204. How the Buddha took the quarrelling Kosambī monks to task is also described in MN 48, according to which he taught them six factors conducive to communal harmony. MN 48 at MN I 325,28 ends by reporting that the monks delighted in what the Buddha had said, so that this discourse gives the impression that he had been successful in settling the quarrel. Perhaps the Kosambī monks were at first delighted with the Buddha's instruction, but after he had left them, their quarrel nevertheless flared up again. On this interpretation, the Buddha's intervention described in MN 128 and its parallel would have taken place at a later point in time, after the events described in MN 48.

[230] According to the version of this tale found in the Theravāda *Vinaya*, the father's name was Dīghīti and his son's name Dīghāvu, cf. Vin I 342,6 and Vin I 343,30. Most of the Chinese versions of this tale give the name of the father as "Long Lifespan", 長壽, corresponding to *dīgha* + *āyu*, and the name of the son as "Long Life", 長生, corresponding to *dīgha* + *jāti*, cf. MĀ 72 at T I 532c16 and T I 534a3, EĀ 24.8 at T II 626c5 and T II 627a29, T 152.10 at T III 5a20, T 161 at T III 386a8, T 212 at T IV 693b26 and T IV 694a11, and T 1421 at T XXII 159a15 and T XXII 159b7. T 1428 at T XXII 880b19 and T XXII 880c26 instead introduces the father as "Long Life", 長生, and gives the name of the son simply as "Long", 長. T 152.10 at T III 6a14 and T 161 at T III 387b21 identify the father as a former life of the Buddha and the son as a former life of Ānanda. Fragments of a version of this tale can also be found in SHT X 3306 (p. 36). For a representation of this tale on a dome-slab in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa cf. Ahir 2000: 21, Duroiselle 1912/1990: 98 and plate 7, Lal Nagar 1993: 178 and plate 72 (cf. also plate 41), Longhurst 1938/1991: 55 and plate 47a, Rama 1995: 118 and plate 43, or Ray 1965: 23 plate 26.

[231] T 1428 at T XXII 880b18, T 1425 at T XXII 335a16 (which only refers to the tale, without giving it in full), T 1421 at T XXII 159a14, Dutt 1984b: 182,7 (which also only refers to the tale, indicating that it should be supplied from the *Dīrghila-sūtra* of the *Madhyama-āgama*), and Vin I 342,3; cf. also Lévi 1908: 132-135. Von Hinüber 1998: 187 note 553 suggests that the Theravāda *Vinaya* account was taken from MN 128, with the Dīghāvu tale subsequently added to this extract.

[232] *Jātaka* tales 371 and 428 at Jā III 211,3 and Jā III 486,8, as well as T 212 at T IV 693b25.

[233] According to MĀ 72 at T I 535c17, T 212 at T IV 694c26, and T 1421 at T XXII 160a9, the Buddha departed by rising up in the air.

[234] MN 128 at MN III 154,1, MĀ 72 at T I 535b24, T 1428 at T XXII 882b19, T 1421 at T XXII 160a11,

In spite of some differences in formulation and sequence, the stanzas in the *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel touch on the same themes. Thus, both versions highlight that anger can never be overcome by anger, but only by abstaining from anger, a point also made in the *Vinaya* versions of these stanzas.[235] The same two discourses and the Dharmaguptaka, Mahīśāsaka, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda *Vinaya*s contrast the ability of thieves to act in concord with the inability of the monks to live in harmony.[236] In the *Upakkilesa-sutta*, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, and in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda *Vinaya*s, the verses spoken by the Buddha culminate in three stanzas in praise of a solitary life style.[237]

According to the *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, after leaving the Kosambī monks the Buddha went to visit the monk Bhagu.[238] On being asked by the Buddha if he was living at ease, Bhagu affirmed that this was the case. According MN III 155

Dutt 1984b: 182,13, and Vin I 349,25; for a more detailed study of these stanzas cf. Dietz 1998. EĀ 24.8 at T II 629a8 records only a single stanza spoken by the Buddha as part of his third attempt to convince the monks to stop quarrelling, a stanza that recommends developing loving kindness instead of disputing. Vin I 350,15 continues similar to MN 128 by reporting the Buddha's visit to Bhagu and to Anuruddha, without, however, giving a full record of the instruction that, according to MN 128 at MN III 157,20, the Buddha thereon delivered to Anuruddha and his companions.

[235] MN 128 at MN III 154,10, MĀ 72 at T I 535c3, T 1428 at T XXII 882b27, T 1421 at T XXII 160a21, Dutt 1984b: 184,5 (for the Tibetan counterpart cf. Dietz 1998: 16), and Vin I 349,34. This stanza recurs in the tale of Dīghāvu in MĀ 72 at T I 532c14 and in EĀ 24.8 at T II 627b23 and T II 628a27, it also forms the theme of the corresponding tale in T 212 (with some variations), found at the beginning and conclusion of this tale at T IV 693b19 and T IV 694c28. Other parallels are Dhp 5, Jā 371 at Jā III 212,10, Jā 428 at Jā III 488,9, Patna *Dharmapada* stanza 253 in Cone 1989: 169 or stanza 254 in Roth 1980b: 120, Sanskrit and Tibetan *Udāna-(varga)* stanza 14:11 in Bernhard 1965: 210 and in Beckh 1911: 47 or in Zongtse 1990: 148, T 153 at T III 69a6, T 210 at T IV 562a19, T 212 at T IV 697a4, and T 213 at T IV 784b1.

[236] MN 128 at MN III 154,14, MĀ 72 at T I 535b26, T 1428 at T XXII 882b21, T 1421 at T XXII 160a13, Dutt 1984b: 183,1 (for the Tibetan counterpart cf. Dietz 1998: 11), and Vin I 350,1. This stanza recurs in Jā 428 at Jā III 488,13, in the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Udāna-(varga)* stanza 14:6 in Bernhard 1965: 209 and in Beckh 1911: 47 or in Zongtse 1990: 146; cf. also T 212 at T IV 696c13.

[237] MN 128 at MN III 154,17, MĀ 72 at T I 535c9, Dutt 1984b: 185,1 (for the Tibetan counterparts cf. Dietz 1998: 18-20), and Vin I 350,4; cf. also T 1428 at T XXII 882c16. These stanzas recur in Jā 428 at Jā III 488,16, in Dhp 328-330, Patna *Dharmapada* stanzas 9-11 in Cone 1989: 106-107 or in Roth 1980b: 98-99, *Udāna-(varga)* stanzas 14:13-14 and 14:16 in Bernhard 1965: 211-212 (cf. also stanza 166 in Nakatani 1987: 42-43 and the study of 14:16c-d in Schmithausen 1970: 67-68) and in Beckh 1911: 48 or in Zongtse 1990: 149-150, T 212 at T IV 697a16+27 and T IV 698a2, and T 213 at T IV 784b5. The first two stanzas can also be found in the *Paccekabuddhāpadāna* Ap 2:19-20 at Ap I 9,15; cf. also T 210 at T IV 559c6. Sn 1:3 at Sn 45-46 and its Gāndhārī counterpart in Salomon 2000: 109 also have these two stanzas, differing in so far as, instead of comparing such solitary dwelling to an elephant, these stanzas speak of a rhinoceros. On the question of whether the expression *khaggavisāṇakappa* refers to the horn of the rhinoceros or to the rhinoceros itself cf. BHSD: 202 s.v. *khaḍga-viṣāṇa*, Caillat 2003: 38, Jayawickrama 1977: 22-23, Jones 1949/1973: 250 note 1, Kloppenborg 1974: 59-60, Norman 1996/2001, Salomon 2000: 10-14, Schmithausen 1999: 233 note 13, and Wright 2001: 3-5. For a description of the Indian rhinoceros according to Megasthenes cf. McCrindle 1877: 59.

[238] MN 128 at MN III 154,28 and MĀ 72 at T I 535c18. EĀ 24.8 does not report this visit.

to the *Madhyama-āgama* account, the Buddha further inquired in what way Bhagu lived at ease, to which Bhagu replied by describing his diligent meditation practice.[239]

Thus, while the *Majjhima-nikāya* version presents Bhagu simply as a well-behaved monk who lives on his own, the *Madhyama-āgama* depicts him as a serious meditator. In this way, the present passage seems to be yet another instance of a tendency in Chinese *Āgama* discourses to give emphasis to the practice of meditation.[240]

According to the *Madhyama-āgama* account, after leaving Bhagu the Buddha went to live alone in a forest with only an elephant as his company. This elephant had left the herd of elephants in order to be at ease on his own.[241]

The Mahīśāsaka and the Theravāda *Vinaya*s also relate that, after leaving the Kosambī monks, the Buddha dwelled in the company of an elephant that had left his herd.[242] While in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* this took place right after the Buddha had left the quarrelling monks, according to the Theravāda *Vinaya* this happened after the Buddha had visited Anuruddha.

MN III 157 The *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart report that, on visiting Anuruddha and his companions, the Buddha asked them about their meditative development, a part of the discourse also preserved in the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[243] In reply, Anuruddha described that he and his companions experienced meditative light and saw forms, which then disappeared again. They failed to penetrate or apprehend the 'sign' responsible for this.[244]

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[239] MĀ 72 at T I 535c26: "I day and night energetically practise the path without drowsiness, being resolved to practise concentration continuously and to be established in the requisites of awakening (*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*)", 我晝夜不眠, 精勤行道, 志行常定, 住道品法. MĀ 72 adds that, in approval of Bhagu's practice, the Buddha decided to give him a discourse. The expression 道品法 recurs in SĀ 733 at T II 196b15 and SĀ 737 at T II 196c25 with the further specification "seven", introduced as an equivalent to 七覺分者, the seven *bojjhaṅga*s. In *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses, however, the expressions 道品 or 道品之法 are introduced as a set of "thirty-seven", cf., e.g., EĀ 1.1 at T II 551a4, EĀ 16.4 at T II 579c26, EĀ 23.3 at T II 612a19, EĀ 26.2 a T II 635b27, EĀ 26.4 at T II 635c21, EĀ 34.5 at T II 696c9 (cf. also MĀ 120 at T I 609c10, where the expression 七道品 has a 元, 明, and 知 variant reading which turns the seven into thirty-seven). In the Pāli discourses, references to "seven" *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā* can be found in DN 27 at DN III 97,8, It 3:4:3 at It 75,13, and It 3:5:8 at It 96,20, while in several discourses in the *Indriya-saṃyutta* the expression *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā* stands for the five faculties (cf. SN 48:51 at SN V 227,21, SN 48:55 at SN V 231,23, SN 48:67 at SN V 237,24, SN 48:68 at SN V 238,6, SN 48:69 at SN V 238,19, SN 48:70 at SN V 239,1), for a discussion of which cf. Gethin 1992a: 295, who also notes that Vibh 249,40 defines the *bodhipakkhikā dhammā* to stand for the seven *bojjhaṅga*s.

[240] Cf. also above pp. 206, 404, 516, and 540.

[241] MĀ 72 at T I 536a7.

[242] T 1421 at T XXII 160a24 and Vin I 353,7. Another reference to the Buddha dwelling in solitude in the company of a solitary elephant is recorded in Ud 4:5 at Ud 41,4 which, judging from the parallel version T 212 at T IV 762c3 and Ud-a 248,18, is also related to the Kosambī incident.

[243] For a discussion of the introductory narration to this meeting cf. above p. 203. As the later part of EĀ 24.8 parallels MN 31, for a comparative study of this part of MN 128 only MĀ 72 is of relevance.

[244] MN 128 at MN III 157,27: *tañ ca nimittaṃ na paṭivijjhāmā ti* (B^e-MN III 195,29: *nappaṭivijjhāmā*, S^e-MN III 302,4: *appaṭivijjhāmā*). MĀ 72 at T I 536c18 (which differs by having the Buddha point this out

The use of the expression 'sign' in the present context is to some extent ambiguous. The Pāli word for sign is *nimitta*, a term that can also have a plain causal sense. On following this causal sense, the idea behind the need to 'penetrate the sign' would be that Anuruddha and his companions needed to discover the 'cause' for the disappearance of their meditative visions.

This way of understanding fits the context well, since in both versions the Buddha continued by describing a set of mental obstructions that were the cause for the disappearance of these meditative visions. The Pāli commentary on the present passage in fact takes *nimitta* in a causal sense.[245]

A related meaning of the same term *nimitta* is 'sign' as a 'mark', in the sense of the characteristics of phenomena by which perception recognizes an object. This meaning preserves the causal nuance, since it is due to the *nimitta* that recognition takes place. In a more specific sense, such a 'sign' also plays a role in relation to the practice of meditation. The use of *nimitta* in the sense of a meditative 'sign' as a causal factor in the development of concentration comes to the fore particularly in the commentaries, where it regularly stands for the meditative object used for entering into deeper stages of concentration.[246]

The use of the term *nimitta* in a context related to the development of concentration is, however, not confined to the commentaries, but can already be found in the discourses, which repeatedly speak of the "sign of tranquillity", *samathanimitta*,[247] or of the "sign of concentration", *samādhinimitta*.[248]

This sense of *nimitta* as a mental 'sign' or object used for the development of concentration would also fit the present context well, which describes meditative visions and the development of concentration. At a later point of its exposition, the *Upakkilesa-sutta* in fact explicitly uses the term *nimitta* in order to refer to the vision of light and forms that Anuruddha and his companions had been unable to stabilize, a usage where *nimitta* clearly stands for a mental sign, for something that is perceived.[249]

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to them): 汝等不達此相. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 276a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 20a3: *bdag gis gzugs mthong zhing shes pa de'i rgyu mtshan legs par yid la byas te rtogs par nus pa ma yin la*.

[245] Ps IV 207,13 glosses *nimitta* with *kāraṇa*, thereby indicating that in the present context *nimitta* should be understood as "cause"; on the term *nimitta* cf. also Anālayo 2003b.

[246] Vism 125,1 describes the progress of concentration, based on a *kasiṇa* object, as proceeding from a first apperception of the meditation object, via the ability to remember and thereby mentally see this meditation object with closed eyes, the *uggahanimitta*, to the stage when this memory image becomes a very bright, clear, and stable mental image, the *paṭibhāganimitta*, heralding the entry into *jhāna*.

[247] DN 33 at DN III 213,14, SN 46:2 at SN V 66,31, and SN 46:51 at SN V 105,3.

[248] DN 33 at DN III 226,29, DN 33 at DN III 242,23, DN 34 at DN III 279,11, MN 36 at MN I 249,29, MN 44 at MN I 301,14, MN 122 at MN III 112,15, AN 3:19 at AN I 115,26, AN 3:100 at AN I 256,31, AN 4:14 at AN II 17,2, AN 5:26 at AN III 23,19, and AN 6:28 at AN III 321,4.

[249] MN 128 at MN III 161,12 refers to giving attention to the meditative experience of forms in terms of the "sign of form", *rūpanimitta*, and to giving attention to the meditative experience of light in terms of the "sign of light", *obhāsanimitta*. Cousins 1973: 119, in the context of examining the commentarial usage of *nimitta* as a mental sign that leads to deeper concentration, comments that "the most striking evidence for the antiquity of the concept is to be found in the *Upakkilesa-sutta*".

That the development of deeper stages of concentration forms a central theme in this part of the *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its parallel can also be seen from the mental obstructions listed in both versions. This list of mental obstructions does not mention the first two of the five hindrances, sensual desire and aversion. Their absence indicates that the meditative development described in the present discourse sets in at a more advanced stage, when these two comparatively gross mental defilements have been subdued and a minimum degree of mental tranquillity has already been established. It is precisely at this point, when the gross hindrances of sensual desire and aversion have been overcome and the mind becomes increasingly concentrated, that according to the *Visuddhimagga*'s account the mental sign, the *nimitta*, will manifest to the meditator.[250] Thus it seems that the present passage covers the same phenomena described in the *Visuddhimagga* in terms of a *nimitta* that needs to be stabilized and mastered in order to be able to attain *jhāna*.[251]

MN III 158 According to the *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its parallel, the Buddha told Anuruddha and his companions that during the time before his awakening he similarly experienced meditative visions of light and forms, which then again disappeared. On investigating this phenomenon, he found out that a series of eleven mental obstructions had been responsible for the disappearance of these meditative visions. The two versions list these mental obstructions with a few differences (see below table 13.7).[252]

The *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its parallel agree in listing the mental obstructions doubt, lack of attention, sloth-and-torpor, fear,[253] elation,[254] inertia,[255] excess of energy,[256] lack of energy,[257] and perception of diversity.[258]

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[250] Vism 125,32.

[251] This is not the way the commentary understands this passage, however, as Ps IV 207,11 takes the expression "vision of forms" to stand for seeing forms with the divine eye, *dassanañ ca rūpānan ti dibbacakkhunā rūpadassanañ ca sañjānāma.* The commentarial explanation could be inspired by AN 8:64 at AN IV 302,14, where to see forms and perceive lights leads to being able to converse with *deva*s. In the present context, however, the commentarial explanation does not seem to fit the context, pace Schlingloff 1985: 330, since the exercise of the divine eye requires the concentrative stability of the fourth *jhāna*, whereas in MN 128 and MĀ 72 the level of concentration achieved through stabilizing the vision of lights and forms is evidently lower, leading at MN 128 at MN III 162,14 and MĀ 72 at T I 538c3 to concentration with initial and sustained mental application, *savitakka savicāra samādhi*/有覺有觀定, which corresponds to the first *jhāna* only.

[252] The overall count of eleven mental obstructions recurs in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Delhey 2009a: 193,3 and T 1579 at T XXX 338c10, which continues with detailed explanations on their respective significance. A similar listing of *upakkilesa*s can also be found in the Path to Liberation (*Vimuttimagga*/解脫道論), in the context of a description of the development of the divine eye, cf. T 1648 at T XXXII 444b1.

[253] MN 128 at MN III 158,25: *chambhitatta* and MĀ 72 at T I 537c16: 恐怖, which both versions compare to being attacked while travelling.

[254] MN 128 at MN III 159,4: *ubbilla* (B^e-MN III 197,5: *uppilla*, S^e-MN III 303,19: *ubbila*) and MĀ 72 at T I 538a4: 喜悅. While MN 128 illustrates this obstruction with the image of coming across five entrances to a treasure when searching for only one entrance, MĀ 72 speaks of coming across four treasure deposits when searching for only one treasure deposit (the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Delhey 2009a: 194,4 and T 1579 at T XXX 338c23, just speaks of obtaining two).

They differ on two of the mental obstructions that prevent stabilizing the meditative light and forms. Where the *Majjhima-nikāya* version speaks of longing, its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart lists conceit;[259] where the *Majjhima-nikāya* version mentions excessive contemplation of forms, the *Madhyama-āgama* version speaks of not contemplating forms.[260]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version also differs in as much as, according to its account, the Buddha explained why the first obstruction of doubt arose in him. Apparently doubt arose due to his reflection whether he might be seeing something that does not exist.[261]

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[255] MN 128 at MN III 159,15: *duṭṭhulla*. MĀ 72 at T I 537a20 speaks of "body disease perception", 身病想, where 身病 could be rendering an equivalent to *kāyaduṭṭhulla*, to which the translator may have added 想 in order to indicate that the point at stake was not a physical disease (in the case of the corresponding expression *kāyadauṣṭhulya* in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Delhey 2009a: 193,11, the Chinese version, T 1579 at T XXX 338c18, employs the rendering 身麁重). Hecker 1994: 169 notes that in *saṅghādisesa* rule 3 at Vin III 128,22 and in *aniyata* rule 2 at Vin III 191,27 *duṭṭhulla vācā* refers to speaking lewd words to a woman, and in SN 8:2 at SN I 187,4 (or SN[2] 210 at SN[2] I 402,8) *duṭṭhullabhāṇi* occurs in a set of stanzas spoken by Vaṅgīsa after overcoming lust in his mind (the subcommentary at B[e]-Spk-pṭ I 283 glosses *duṭṭhulla* in this context as referring to talk that is "related to sensuality", *duṭṭhullavacanaṃ kāmapaṭisamyuttakathā*). These occurrences invest the word *duṭṭhulla* with a strong nuance of being related to sensuality (although Vin IV 31,17 explains *duṭṭhullā āpatti* to stand for any grave offence, i.e. *pārājika* or *saṅghādisesa*). In the present context, however, the nuance of sensuality would not fit, as the word occurs in the context of a series of refined mental obstructions. While the rendering in MĀ 72 is far from conclusive, it suggests the term *kāyaduṭṭhulla* instead of *duṭṭhulla*. The same meaning is also reflected in the commentary at Ps IV 208,10, which glosses *duṭṭhulla* in the present context as "bodily inertia, bodily distress, bodily sloth", *kāyaduṭṭhullaṃ kāyadaratho kāyālasiyaṃ*. The term *kāyaduṭṭhulla* recurs in MN 64 at MN I 435,29 and in MN 127 at MN III 151,15 in the context of a development of deeper stages of concentration, which indicates that this term would fit the present examination of stages bordering on deep concentration better than *duṭṭhulla*. The term *kāyaduṭṭhulla* occurs also in Th 114 and in Vibh 352,16, where it seems to stand for some form of bodily inertia or sloth. The idea of bodily inertia would suit the present context well, as in this part of the exposition in MN 128 the obstacles appear to come in pairs that contrast opposite qualities, the preceding pair being sloth-and-torpor in contrast to the [agitation] of fear, and the next pair being excess of energy in contrast to lack of energy. In this pair-wise presentation, the contrast to the term under discussion is provided by elation, *ubbilla*. *Kāyaduṭṭhulla* in the sense of bodily inertia or sloth would fit as a contrast to elation (although this argument does not hold for the different sequence in MĀ 72). Thus, perhaps the original treatment spoke of an equivalent to *kāyaduṭṭhulla* instead of *duṭṭhulla*, as suggested by the use of 身 in MĀ 72.

[256] MN 128 at MN III 159,21: *accāraddhaviriya* (B[e]-MN III 197,19: *accāraddhavīriya*) and MĀ 72 at T II 537b13: 過精勤. While MN 128 compares this to gripping a quail so tight that it will die, MĀ 72 speaks of gripping a fly so tight that it will die. The Uighur fragments refer to a bird, cf. T II S 59 14 in von Gabain 1954: 27, as does the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Delhey 2009a: 194,1 and T 1579 at T XXX 338c22, in relation to lack of energy.

[257] MN 128 at MN III 159,32: *atilīnaviriya* (B[e]-MN III 197,28: *atilinavīriya*) and MĀ 72 at T II 537b29: 太懈怠, which the two versions compare to gripping a quail or a fly so loosely that it will fly away.

[258] MN 128 at MN III 160,13: *nānattasaññā* and MĀ 72 at T I 538b5: 若干想.

[259] MN 128 at MN III 160,8: *abhijappā* and MĀ 72 at T I 538a21: "conceited mind", 自高心.

[260] MN 128 at MN III 160,23: *atinijjhāyitattaṃ rūpānaṃ* and MĀ 72 at T I 538b18: 不觀色.

[261] MĀ 72 at T I 536c27: "'what in the world does not exist, can I see and know that?', in my mind this

This statement further supports the assumption that the stages of meditation described at this point are related to the manifestation of the mental sign, the *nimitta*. It is precisely the shift from the commonly experienced world of the senses to mental visions and signs during the progress towards deeper stages of concentration that easily can cause the arising of such doubt and uncertainty, as it entails a shift from the known world of sensory experience to an unknown terrain consisting of purely mental visions and experiences, something that from the perspective of normal experience does not really seem to exist.

Table 13.7: Mental Obstructions to Concentration in MN 128 and MĀ 72

MN 128	MĀ 72
doubt (1)	doubt (→ 1)
lack of attention (2)	lack of attention (→ 2)
sloth-and-torpor (3)	inertia (→ 6)
fear (4)	sloth-and-torpor (→ 3)
elation (5)	excess of energy (→ 7)
inertia (6)	lack of energy (→ 8)
excess of energy (7)	fear (→ 4)
lack of energy (8)	elation (→ 5)
longing (9)	conceit (→ 9?)
perception of diversity (10)	perception of diversity (→ 10)
excessive meditation on forms (11)	not contemplating forms (→ 11?)

After surveying the obstructions to deeper concentration, in the *Madhyama-āgama* version the Buddha continues by describing his development of three types of concentration. Although the *Majjhima-nikāya* version does not take up these three types of concentration at the present junction of its account, the same threefold development of concentration comes up again towards the end of both versions. The two versions agree that these three types of concentration cover:

- concentration with initial and sustained mental application,
- concentration without initial but with a remainder of sustained mental application,
- concentration free from both.[262]

doubt arose", 若世中無是, 我可見可知彼耶, 我心中生此疑患 (adopting the 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading 是 instead of 道). The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* quote of this statement actually denies the possibility that something non-existent can be seen or known, cf. Abhidh-k 5:27 in Pradhan 1967: 300,12: *yat tat loke nāsti tad ahaṃ jñāsyāmi vā drakṣyāmi vā, nedaṃ sthānaṃ vidyata iti*; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 105c29: 世間所無, 我知, 我見, 無是處者, T 1559 at T XXIX 259b5: 若法於世間無, 我應知, 我應見, 無有是處, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 276a6 or Q (5595) *thu* 20a8: *gang yang 'jig rten na med pa gang yin pa de ni bdag gis shes pa 'am mthong ba'i gnas med do*. On the relation of this statement to Sarvāstivāda doctrine cf. Enomoto 1986: 21.

[262] MĀ 72 at T I 538c3 lists 有覺有觀定, 無覺少觀定, and 無覺無觀定, corresponding to the *savitakka savicāra samādhi*, *avitakka vicāramatta samādhi*, and *avitakka avicāra samādhi* mentioned in MN 128 at MN III 162,14. Stuart-Fox 1989: 93 suggests that the descriptions of the second type of concentration

The first of these three types of concentration corresponds to concentration up to the level of the first *jhāna*, while the last of these three corresponds to the second, third, and fourth *jhāna*s. Concentration without initial but with still a remainder of sustained mental application represents a level of concentration situated between the first and the second *jhāna*, a level not explicitly taken into account in the usual fourfold reckoning of the *jhāna*s found in the discourses.[263]

In relation to these three types of concentration, according to the *Madhyama-āgama* account the Buddha realized that, while dwelling in one of them and inclining the mind to another of these three types of concentration, the knowledge and vision (of light and forms) would certainly not get lost.[264] On realizing this, he developed each of these con-

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in MN 128 and MĀ 72 differ, as according to him in MĀ 72 "the second *samādhi* is described as one in which *vitakka* is absent and *vicāra* is *reduced*. In the Pāli version, *vicāra* is simply stated to be present". This does not appear to be the case, as the 少 used in MĀ 72 to qualify 觀 seems to render an equivalent to the qualification *matta* appended to *vicāra* in the Pāli version, the translator apparently taking *matta* in the sense of qualifying *vicāra* to be reduced in strength, so that the two versions rather seem to agree in their description; cf. also Bucknell 2010: 49-50. In fact, the expressions *saddhāmattakena* and *pemamattakena* in MN 65 at MN I 444,28 have their counterpart in MĀ 194 at T I 749a3 in 少信 and 少愛, which confirms that in the *Madhyama-āgama* 少 corresponds to *matta* or *mattaka* (cf. also Hirakawa 1997: 398, who under 少 lists *mātra* and *mātraka*).

263 Although this type of presentation comes to the fore mainly with the Abhidharma and the commentaries, references to a stage of concentration where *vitakka* has been overcome but *vicāra* still persists can be found already in several discourses, cf. DN 33 at DN III 219,18, SN 43:3 at SN IV 360,11, and AN 8:63 at AN IV 300,5. SN 43:3 and AN 8:63 do not appear to have a Chinese parallel. In the case of DN 33, the fragments of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* have preserved a reference to these three *samādhi*s, K 484Vc in Stache-Rosen 1968: 23, cf. also the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 389b4: 三定者, 一有尋有伺三摩地, 二無尋唯伺三摩地, 三無尋無伺三摩地. The same three *samādhi*s recur in Abhidh-k 8:23 under the heading of an exposition given in a discourse, cf. Pradhan 1967: 448,18: *trayaḥ samādhayaḥ uktāḥ sūtre, savitarkaḥ savicāraḥ samādhiḥ, avitarko vicāramātraḥ, avitarko 'vicāra*, T 1558 at T XXIX 149c4: 經說等持總有三種, 一有尋有伺, 二無尋唯伺, 三無尋無伺, T 1559 at T XXIX 301a24: 於經中說有三定, 一有覺有觀三摩提, 二無覺有觀三摩提, 三無覺無觀三摩提. Whether the stage where *vitakka* has been overcome but *vicāra* still persists is taken into account explicitly or only covered implicitly in a description of the development of deeper concentration depends on the perspective taken in regard to this stage of development. The threefold way of presentation found in MN 128 focuses on the role of *vitakka* and *vicāra* in particular, and thus explicitly takes up the intermediate stage where the former has disappeared and the latter still persists. In contrast, the presentation by way of the four *jhānas* has a stronger emphasis on the affective tone of the progress through the *jhāna*, a progress that proceeds from the rapture and happiness of seclusion (1st *jhāna*), via the rapture and happiness of concentration (2nd *jhāna*) and the happiness devoid of rapture (3rd *jhāna*) to equanimity (4th *jhāna*). This more affectively oriented perspective does not need to take into account the stage where *vicāra* still persists, as this stage still falls under the category of "rapture and happiness related to seclusion" and, although being more refined than the rapture and happiness of seclusion experienced when *vitakka* is still present, still falls short of being the "rapture and happiness of concentration" experienced with the second *jhāna*. Thus, these two modes of reckoning *jhāna* experience do not entail a substantial difference in regard to actual *jhāna* experience, but are complementary perspectives on the same process of deepening concentration.

264 MĀ 72 at T I 538c8: "in this way I will certainly not lose that knowledge and vision [of light and forms]",

centrations for a whole day, a whole night, or even a whole day and night. This description is not found in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version.

MN III 161 The undertaking of practice for a whole day, a whole night, or even a whole day and night comes up in both versions again as part of an examination that investigates why at times only light is experienced and at other times only forms are seen.[265] The *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel explain that in each case attention has been given to only one of these two aspects of the meditative experience, thereby neglecting to give corresponding attention to the other aspect.

The two versions continue by explaining that to experience limited light and forms is due to having developed only a limited degree of concentration.[266] They indicate that, once concentration has become immeasurable, the experienced light and forms will similarly become immeasurable. That is, the nature of the experienced light and forms is simply a reflection of the degree to which the mind has become concentrated. This presentation further supports the impression that the point at stake is the development of a *nimitta* in the sense of a mental sign, whose form and brilliancy reflects the depth of concentration.

MN III 162 The *Upakkilesa-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel round off their exposition by recapitulating the mental obstructions to be overcome, after which they take up the development of concentration by way of initial and sustained mental application, absence of initial but presence of sustained mental application, and absence of both. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues by listing concentration with and without rapture, concentration with enjoyment, and concentration with equanimity.[267] The *Madhyama-āgama* account instead lists one-sided and variegated concentration, as well as limited and immeasurable concentration.[268]

如是我必不失此智見. MĀ 72 continues by examining the possibility that the mind may incline towards another of the three types of concentration for all possible cases, that is, not only in the ascending and descending order of these three levels of concentration, but also for the possibility that the mind may incline from initial and sustained mental application directly to the absence of both, and vice versa.

[265] MN 128 at MN III 161,4 and MĀ 72 at T I 539a2.

[266] MN 128 at MN III 161,30 explains that "at the time when concentration is limited, at that time my [mental] eye is limited", *yasmiṃ kho samaye paritto samādhi hoti, parittaṃ me tamhi samaye cakkhu hoti* (B^{e}-MN III 200,8 and C^{e}-MN III 356,39 add *me* after *kho* and read *tasmiṃ*, S^{e}-MN III 308,18 adds *me* after *paritto*), which then results in experiencing limited light and forms. MĀ 72 at T I 539a18 offers a small but noteworthy additional detail in this respect, as it indicates that "because of entering concentration to a limited degree, the purity of the [mental] eye is limited, and because of the limited purity of the [mental] eye, I experience light and see forms to a limited degree", 少入定故, 少眼清淨, 少眼清淨故, 我少知光明, 亦少見色. The reference to "purity" helps to clarify the idea behind the reference to a "limited [mental] eye" in MN 128.

[267] MN 128 at MN III 162,17: *sappītikam pi samādhiṃ ... nippītikam pi samādhiṃ ... sātasahagatam pi samādhiṃ ... upekhāsahagatam pi samādhiṃ* (B^{e}-MN III 201,8, C^{e}-MN III 358,24, and S^{e}-MN III 310,8: *upekkhāsahagatam*). The same series of concentrations recurs in AN 8:63 at AN IV 300,8, preceded by the three types of concentration (with and without *vitakka*).

[268] MĀ 72 at T I 539b4: "one-sided concentration", 一向定, "variegated concentration", 雜定, "limited concentration", 少定, and "immeasurable concentration", 廣無量定. The expressions "one-sided con-

The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse introduces this survey of concentrations with an announcement by the Buddha that he will develop a threefold concentration.[269] This suggests the three types of concentration mentioned in both versions to be the more original part of the exposition, while the other concentrations listed subsequently in each version, which are without a counterpart in the parallel version, could be later additions.

The *Upakkilesa-sutta* concludes with the Buddha's explanation that, after developing these types of concentration, he attained awakening.[270] The *Madhyama-āgama* version makes explicit what is only implicit in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, as it mentions that after developing these types of concentration the Buddha practised the requisites of awakening and thereby reached awakening, clarifying that the present passage is not meant to imply that *jhāna* alone will suffice for awakening.[271]

MN 129 *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta*

The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta*, the "discourse on the wise and the fool", examines what makes the difference between a fool and a wise person. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and another parallel in an individual translation.[272] A smaller part of the discourse has also been preserved as a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[273] Moreover, a counterpart

centration" and "variegated concentration" recur in Paramartha's translation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, T 1559 at T XXIX 168a11, which uses 一向定 in the context of discussing the three types of concentration mentioned also in MN 128 and MĀ 72, while T 1559 at T XXIX 277b2 explains that the development of 雜定 leads to rebirth in the Akaniṭṭha Brahmāloka, 若修雜定, 此人必生阿迦尼師吒天.

269 MN 128 at MN III 162,13: "let me now develop concentration in three ways", *handa dānāhaṃ tividhena samādhiṃ bhāvemī ti* (S[e]-MN III 310,4: *bhāvesin ti*). Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1340 note 1195 suggests this expression to stand for the three types of concentration (with and without *vitakka*), as DN 33 at DN III 219,19 lists the same three under the heading *tayo samādhi*.

270 According to Ps IV 209,26, the development of this threefold concentration took place during the last watch of the night of the Buddha's awakening, *mahābodhimūle nisinno pacchimayāme*. This explanation does not fit MN 128 at MN III 161,5 and its parallel MĀ 72 at T I 538c9, according to which the Buddha repeatedly spoke of developing these different types of concentration for a whole day, a whole night, and a whole day and night, *kevalam pi rattiṃ kevalam pi divasaṃ kevalam pi rattindivaṃ* (B[e]-MN III 199,20: *divaṃ* instead of *divasaṃ*), 竟日, 竟夜, 竟日夜, indicating that this whole development was not confined to a single night.

271 MĀ 72 at T I 539b6: "progressing in this concentrative dwelling, I diligently cultivated the requisites of awakening [until] birth was destroyed", 趣向定住, 精勤修道品, 生已盡.

272 The parallels are MĀ 199 at T I 759a-763a and T 86 at T I 907a-919b. MĀ 199 and T 86 agree with MN 129 on the location. MĀ 199 has the title "discourse on the stages of the fool and the wise", 癡慧地經, while T 86 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on hell", 佛說泥犁經. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 86 was translated by Dharmarakṣa. Several parts of MĀ 199 have been compared to MN 129 by Minh Chau 1964/1991: 132-139.

273 Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 66b5-67b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 74a8-75b5; cf. also Abhidh-k 2:37 in Pradhan 1967: 63,6, paralleling MN 129 at MN III 172,10, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 22b1 and T 1559 at T XXIX 181a6; for another quote from a description of a wheel-turning king cf. Abhidh-k 3:96 in Pradhan 1967: 184,12, with its parallels in T 1558 at T XXIX 64c3 and T 1559 at

to the *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta*'s description of suffering in hell can be found in the *Divyāvadāna*, explicitly identified as belonging to a version of the present discourse.[274]

MN III 163 The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* and its Chinese parallels begin by defining the fool as one who performs evil by way of body, speech, and mind.[275] They differ to some degree in their description of what such evil conduct entails (see table 13.8).

The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* illustrates performance of evil with the examples of killing, stealing, sexual misconduct, false speech, and indulgence in intoxicating liquors.[276]

Table 13.8: Evil Conduct in MN 129 and its Parallels

MN 129	MĀ 199	T 86
killing (1) stealing (2) sexual misconduct (3) false speech (4) taking liquor (5)	killing (→ 1) stealing (→ 2) sexual misconduct (→ 3) false speech (→ 4) (etc. up to) wrong view (≠ 5)	killing (→ 1) stealing (→ 2) sexual misconduct (→ 3) cheating divisive speech harsh speech false speech (→ 4) envy covetousness no faith in Buddha no faith in discourses no faith in karmic retribution no faith in rebirth (≠ 5)

The *Madhyama-āgama* version agrees with the *Majjhima-nikāya* version on the first four, from killing to false speech, but then continues with the remaining actions found in the standard expositions of the ten unwholesome courses of action (although it presents these in an abbreviated manner).[277] The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse thereby does not include indulgence in intoxicating liquors in its exposition. The same type of indulgence is also absent from the individual translation, which in addition to the evil

T XXIX 222b15. Abhidh-k-ṭ gives the title of the discourse as *byis pa dang mkhas pa'i mdo*, "discourse on the wise and the fool", corresponding to the title of MN 129. The quoted extract parallels the illustration of the pleasures of a heavenly rebirth with the example of a wheel-turning king in MN 129 at MN III 171,35 to MN III 177,33. For another discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 292.

274 Cowell 1886: 375,7 or Vaidya 1999: 236,11, reading: *Bālapaṇḍitaḥ sūtraṃ*. For a survey of hell realms in the Buddhist traditions cf., e.g., Demoto 2009: 67-70, Feer 1892, Haldar 1977: 50-64 and 183-185, Kirfel 1920: 199-206, Masson 1942: 89-98, Matsunaga 1972: 41-45, Sadakata 1997/2004: 41-54, van Put 1999/2000, id. 2007, and Witanachchi 1992: 429-430. On hell realms in the Jain tradition cf. von Glasenapp 1925/1999: 258-262, for some descriptions of hell tortures cf., e.g., the *Uttarājjhayaṇa* 19.47ff in Charpentier 1922: 147,10 or the *Sūyagaḍa* 1.5.1-2 in Vaidya 1928: 30-35.

275 This part of MN 129 recurs in AN 3:2-3 at AN I 102,1+16.

276 MN 129 at MN III 163,19.

277 MĀ 199 at T I 759b4 (with the courses of action between false speech and wrong view abbreviated).

deeds listed in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version mentions other unwholesome modes of speech, envy and covetousness, as well as lack of faith in the Buddha, in the discourses, in the karmic retribution for evil and meritorious deeds, and in the possibility of being reborn in hell.[278]

The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* and its Chinese parallels take up three instances where the fool experiences retribution for evil conduct during the same lifetime. Two of these three instances take place when the fool hears others speak about such evil conduct and when he sees the punishments inflicted on someone who has been caught for performing such evil conduct,[279] situations which make him realize that the same awaits him if he is found out.

The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* illustrates the third instance of retribution in the present life MN III 164
by describing how a fool is overwhelmed by memories of his deeds when taking a rest, just as towards evening the shadow of a great mountain covers the whole ground in its vicinity.[280] The *Madhyama-āgama* version differs in so far as here the fool is not simply taking a rest, but is sick and in pain.[281]

Although the individual translation also takes into account that the fool will not find peace when lying down to rest,[282] it agrees with the *Madhyama-āgama* account on associating the manifestation of such regret to an occasion when the fool is affected by disease. A discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* similarly relates the regretful reflection described in the *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* to the time of being sick and on the verge of death.[283]

The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* and its Chinese parallels next turn to the retribution to be ex- MN III 165
pected after death, illustrating the intensity of suffering in hell with the example of a culprit whose punishment is to have three hundred spears thrown at him.[284] Just as a

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[278] T 86 at T I 907b2, where this listing comes at a different junction of the discourse, namely in a description of how the evil-doer on rebirth in hell will be reminded of his or her deeds.

[279] MN 129 at MN III 163,26, MĀ 199 at T I 759b11, and T 86 at T I 907a20. For a more detailed comparison of the various punishments that, according to MN 129 and MĀ 199, are inflicted by a king on such an occasion cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 133-134. T 86 at T I 907a17 differs on the first of these two instances, as it instead describes how a fool suffers on hearing the wise predict rebirth in hell for evil conduct, a difference in line with a general tendency of this discourse to emphasize the topic of the hells.

[280] This simile also occurs in the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla 1973: 80,17 or ŚSG 1998: 124,12 and T 1579 at T XXX 408c27; cf. also the *Yogācārabhūmi*, Bhattacharya 1957: 17,6 and T 1579 at T XXX 281c13.

[281] MĀ 199 at T I 759b25: "at a time [when he is] sick and experiences suffering", 若時疾病受苦. MĀ 199 continues by describing that in this way the fool will meet with an unfavourable death, while T 86 depicts how, on being affected by disease, the fool gets visions of the tortures that await him in hell.

[282] T 86 at T I 907a26: "[when] the fool lies or gets up, be it in the morning or at night, he is never at peace", 癡人晨夜臥起, 未曾安隱.

[283] The reflection in AN 4:184 at AN II 174,19 is worded in the same way as in MN 129 at MN III 165,4, differing from MN 129 in as much as it notes that this person, on being "affected by some strong disease", AN II 174,17: *aññatarena gāḷhena rogātaṅkena phuṭṭassa*, is under fear of death, AN II 174,25: *bhāyati santāsam āpajjati maraṇassa.*

[284] MN 129 at MN III 165,26, MĀ 199 at T I 759c21, and T 86 at T I 907b11. This simile recurs in SN 12:63 at SN II 100,10 and in its parallel SĀ 373 at T II 102c23 to illustrate the nature of consciousness as one of the four nutriments.

pebble is insignificant compared to a mountain, so the suffering of this culprit is insignificant compared to the suffering in hell.

MN III 166 The three versions expand on the same topic by describing the various tortures that await the evildoer in hell, such as having blazing stakes put through each limb, being dragged across blazing ground, being put on a blazing mountain, or lowered into a blazing cauldron.[285] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version and the individual translation culminate their description with a hell completely made of blazing iron.[286] The *Madhyama-āgama* version instead describes a hell where all sensory experiences are totally unpleasant and undesirable.[287]

MN III 167 The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* and its parallels next take up the prospect of being born in the animal realm, distinguishing between animals that feed on grass or on dung, or that live in darkness, in water, or in filth. The three versions list these in differing sequences (see table 13.9).[288]

Table 13.9: Types of Animal Rebirth in MN 129 and its Parallels

MN 129	MĀ 199	T 86
feeding on grass (1)	living in darkness (→ 3)	feeding on grass (→ 1)
feeding on dung (2)	living in the body (→ 5)	living in darkness (→ 3)
living in darkness (3)	living in water (→ 4)	living in water (→ 4)
living in water (4)	feeding on grass (→ 1)	living in filth (→ 5)
living in filth (5)	feeding on dung (→ 2)	feeding on impure (→ 2)

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version describes how dung-eating animals will rush forwards on smelling dung in the hope of getting food, comparable to Brahmins who rush forwards when they smell sacrifices.[289]

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[285] MN 129 at MN III 166,19+32 and MN III 167,2+6, MĀ 199 at T I 760b19 and T I 760c5+16+23, and T 86 at T I 907c21+13+2+16. MĀ 199 and T 86 compare the cauldron punishment to boiling legumes in a pot. For a more detailed comparison of the hell tortures described in MN 129 and MĀ 199 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 135-137. A description of these tortures can also be found in the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 375,22 or in Vaidya 1999: 236,20. Braarvig 2009: 269 note 24 comments that "one is struck by the imaginary power of cruelty and the highly developed ancient science of torture".

[286] MN 129 at MN I 167,13 and T 86 at T I 907c26. T 86 at T I 907c29 continues by describing that the fire in this hell rebounds from each wall, depicting how at times the doors are opened, only to close again before the culprit can make an escape, details also mentioned in a description of this hell in MN 130 at MN III 183,29.

[287] MĀ 199 at T I 761a6 speaks of this hell as the hell of "six contacts", 六更樂 (on 更樂 cf. above p. 270 note 31); cf. also a reference to this hell as 六觸入處地獄 in SĀ 210 at T II 53a13, and the similar expression *chaphassāyatanika*, which in MN 50 at MN I 337,7 ranks as one of the appellations of the great hell.

[288] In regard to animals born in filth, MN 129 at MN III 168,32 speaks of animals born in rotten fish, rotten corpses, rotten food, a cesspit, or a sewer; MĀ 199 at T I 761a22 describes animals born inside the body, such as worms; and T 86 at T I 908c13 mentions various worms that live in filth.

[289] MN 129 at MN III 167,32. Neumann 1896/1995: 1145 note 469 points out that a similarly derogatory image can be found in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 1:12, which compares Brahmin priests that officiate at a

Instead of this somewhat derogatory comparison, the *Madhyama-āgama* version illustrates the behaviour of dung feeding animals with the example of boys and girls who come running when they smell food, and the individual translation describes people in general who rush forwards in expectation of food.[290]

The three versions agree in illustrating the difficulty of reaching a higher rebirth, after having been reborn in a lower sphere, with the example of the time it will take a blind turtle that comes up to the water surface only once every hundred years to succeed in putting its head through a hole in a yoke or a piece of wood that floats somewhere on the great ocean.[291] MN III 169

Even if the fool manages to be reborn as a human,[292] he will be reborn in bad circumstances that prompt him to do evil again, whereby he will soon return to a lower realm. The three versions agree that the misfortune of a lower rebirth is far worse than the misfortune of a gambler who at the first throw has lost all his family, wealth, and property.[293]

The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel continue by taking up the complementary case of a wise person, giving it a treatment that mirrors the treatment they had given to the fool. The theme of the wise person is not covered in the individual translation.[294] MN III 170

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sacrifice to hungry dogs. A rather sarcastic comparison of Brahmins with dogs can also be found in AN 5:191 at AN III 221,10, according to which in five aspects contemporary Brahmins are worse than dogs.

290 MĀ 199 at T I 761b12 and T 86 at T I 908c17.

291 MN 129 at MN III 169,9, MĀ 199 at T I 761b25, and T 86 at T I 909a5. This image recurs again in SN 56:47 at SN V 455,23 and in its parallel SĀ 406 at T II 108c7, is referred to in Thī 500, and can also be found in a Chinese *Udāna* collection, T 212 at T IV 615c11. For a Gāndhārī version cf. Allon 2007. The same simile recurs in the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, which gives a *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection as its source, cf. T 1635 at T XXXII 50a26 and the Tibetan version in Pāsādika 1989b: 4,19. Norman 1972/1990: 157 draws attention to a Jain version of this simile, which instead of a turtle speaks of a yoke-pin entering the hole of a yoke that floats somewhere on the ocean. Upadhye 1972: 323 quotes another occurrence in Mātṛceṭa's *Adhyardhaśataka* 1.5, cf. Jayaswal 1973: 1; cf. also De 1907: 173-175 and Hara 1986b: 46-47, who provides further references in id. p. 58 note 24.

292 A discourse quotation that parallels the reference to rebirth as a man in MN 129 at MN III 169,26 can be found in Abhidh-k 2:41 in Pradhan 1967: 68,7; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 24b7, T 1559 at T XXIX 182c18, and Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 68a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 75b7.

293 MN 129 at MN III 170,7, MĀ 199 at T I 761c22, and T 86 at T I 909a18. Lüders 1940e: 147 explains that the expression *kaliggaha*, used in this simile in MN 129 at MN III 170,8, refers to a particular type of throw, the *kali* throw. In his detailed study of dice game in ancient India, ibid. p. 161 explains that such dice game can involve a considerable number of unmarked dice. At first an accidental number of these dice are thrown. Then the task of the gamblers is to recognize as quickly as possible the number of dice that have been thrown in order to be able to throw another number of dice in addition to those already thrown with the aim of arriving at a particular total number. Ibid. pp. 167-168 applies this explanation to DN 23 at DN II 348,20, where a gambler cheats by swallowing a dice, an action that would alter the total number of dice and could thus turn defeat into victory, and to Dhp 252, which compares hiding one's own mistakes to a swindler who tries to hide a *kali* throw, a bad throw, from his opponent, presumably also trying to conceal a dice in order to change their total number.

294 T 86 instead continues to examine evil deeds that lead to rebirth in hell, paralleling MN 130. This treat-

The *Bālapaṇḍita-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel compare the happiness to be experienced by the wise on being reborn in heaven to the happiness experienced by a wheel-turning king, explaining that if the happiness of a wheel-turning king were to be compared to a pebble, the happiness of rebirth in heaven would correspond to a great mountain. The present section has also been preserved in the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, which differs in so far it compares dust on the Buddha's finger tip to the dust of the great earth.[295]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version at this point gives a detailed account of the seven treasures and four types of success of a wheel-turning king, not found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version or in the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[296] Judging from the absence of such an exposition in the parallel versions, this detailed treatment could be a case of expansion on the side of the *Majjhima-nikāya* version. Perhaps the increasing interest in the topic of a wheel-turning king caused a more in depth exposition, which originally was of a commentarial nature, to become part of the discourse during the course of transmission.[297]

When describing the happiness of a heavenly rebirth, the *Madhyama-āgama* account and the Tibetan discourse quotation indicate that the wise will experience six types of pleasant contact.[298] In this way, the description of rebirth in heaven stands in direct contrast to the earlier description of hell in the *Madhyama-āgama* version, according to which the fool experiences six types of unpleasant contact.

MN III 178 The *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions agree that the fortune of rebirth in heaven is far superior to the fortune of a gambler who at the first throw wins a great fortune. While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version concludes with the delight of the monks, the *Madhyama-āgama* version precedes the same with the Buddha enjoining the monks to train themselves in adopting the course of action of the wise and avoiding the course of action of a fool.[299]

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ment begins in T 86 at T I 909b2 with the standard opening for a discourse, reading "I heard like this, at one time the Blessed One was staying in Sāvatthī", 聞如是, 一時佛在舍衛國. The circumstance that this introductory phrase is found in the middle of the text shows that T 86 is a collection of different discourses relevant to the topic of hell realms, collected under the title "discourse(s) spoken by the Buddha on hell", 佛說泥犁經. Such an anthology of passages on the suffering in the hell realms might have been put together for a specific preaching purpose, such as to inculcate moral behaviour.

[295] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 67a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 75a1.

[296] MN 129 from MN III 172,14 to MN III 177,5. Fragments of a treatment of the seven treasures of a wheel-turning king can be found in SHT VI 1387 (p. 110) and in SHT VIII 1857 (p. 50). The Jain *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 7.558 in Jambūvijaya 1985: 232,9 lists two sets of treasures of a wheel-turning king, of which one set of seven comprises material treasures, while the other set of seven covers human treasures.

[297] In fact the Pāli commentary at Ps IV 214-230 devotes approximately four times as much space to explaining the treasures of the wheel-turning king compared to the space it devotes to commenting on the remainder of the discourse at Ps IV 210-214, which reflects the considerable interest of the commentators in the topic of the wheel-turning king. On the increasing importance accorded to the motif of the wheel-turning king in Buddhist texts cf. also Reynolds 1972: 14.

[298] MĀ 199 at T I 762c20 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 67b1 or Q (5595) *tu* 75a5.

[299] MĀ 199 at T I 763a20.

MN 130 *Devadūta-sutta*

The *Devadūta-sutta*, the "discourse on the divine messengers", depicts the hellish suffering that awaits an evildoer after death. This discourse has a Pāli parallel in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and six Chinese parallels, one of which is found as part of a *Dīrgha-āgama* discourse, two parallels are discourses in the *Madhyama-āgama* and in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and the remaining three parallels are individual translations.[300]

The *Devadūta-sutta* begins by comparing the Buddha's vision of the good and bad destiny of beings after death, in accordance with their deeds, to standing between two houses and seeing people go back and forth, a simile found also in the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* versions, as well as, with some variations, in the individual translations.[301] MN III 178

[300] The Pāli parallel is AN 3:35 at AN I 138-142. The Chinese parallels are DĀ 30.4 at T I 126b-127a (the section corresponding to MN 130 is part of a considerably longer discourse), MĀ 64 at T I 503a-506a, EĀ 32.4 at T II 674b-676b, T 42 at T I 826c-828b, T 43 at T I 828b-829b, and the later part of T 86 at T I 909b-910c, a discourse whose first part parallels MN 129. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 42 and T 86 were translated by Dharmarakṣa, while T 43 was translated by Hùijiǎn (慧簡). MĀ 64 agrees with MN 130 on the title "discourse on the divine messengers", 天使經, a title also given to AN 3:35 in the Burmese edition; cf. also the summary verse at T II 681c7, which refers to EĀ 32.4 as "divine messenger", 天使. T 42 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on the iron wall hell", 佛說鐵城泥犁經, T 43 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on King Yama's five divine messengers", 佛說閻羅王五天使者經, and T 86 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on hell", 佛說泥犁經. MĀ 64, EĀ 32.4, T 42, T 43, and T 86 agree with MN 130 on locating the discourse at Sāvatthī, DĀ 30.4 and AN 3:35 do not give a location. For a partial translation of MĀ 64 cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 139-142, for a study of the designation of hells in T 42 cf. van Put 2003. Skilling 1997a: 282 notes references to the present discourse in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* as *Devadūtīya-sūtra* and in the *Lokaprajñapti* as **Pañcadevadūtavyākaraṇa-sūtra*; Mejor 2010: 680 notes a reference in the *Vinayakṣudraka* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* as *lha'i mdo*. The use of the *Devadūta-sutta* for preaching and conversion is reported in the *Mahāvaṃsa* 12:29 and 14:63 in B^e-Mhv 70 and 79, according to which its delivery by Mahādeva in Mahisamaṇḍala (on this location cf. Geiger 1912: 84 note 5 and Hirakawa 1993/1998: 88) caused forty-thousand people to attain stream-entry and the like number to go forth, while its preaching in Sri Lanka by Mahinda caused a thousand stream-entries. A discourse quotation paralleling the verse description of the great hell in MN 130 at MN III 183,25 can be found in Abhidh-k 3:59 in Pradhan 1967: 163,12; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 58b16 and T 1559 at T XXIX 215c10. Extracts from the present study already appeared in Anālayo 2007c. Obeyesekere 2002: 171 notes that the motif of King Yama's judgement is popular in modern Sri Lankan drama.

[301] MN 130 at MN III 178,20, MĀ 64 at T I 503c4, and EĀ 32.4 at T II 674b17. This simile recurs in other Pāli discourses to illustrate the vision of the re-arising of beings in accordance with their karmic deeds through exercise of the divine eye, cf., e.g., DN 2 at DN I 83,4, DN 10 at DN I 209,12, MN 39 at MN I 279,12, and MN 77 at MN II 21,24. Unlike MN 130, these instances first take up the case of those who perform evil deeds and only then turn to those who do good deeds. The departure in MN 130 from the standard pericope is due to the context, as in the present case the point is not the divine eye as such, but rather a more detailed examination of the retribution to be experienced when reborn in hell. By mentioning the evildoers in second position, MN 130 is able to directly continue with its detailed examination of rebirth in hell. While EĀ 32.4 at T II 674b22 agrees in both respects with MN 130, MĀ 64 at T I 503c9 does not mention rebirth as a human, a ghost, or an animal; it also mentions first the evildoers and then those who perform wholesome deeds. MĀ 64 at T I 503b3 also differs from MN 130 in that it

The *Devadūta-sutta* and its *Ekottarika-āgama* parallel examine four alternative modes of rebirth – heaven, human realm, animal realm, and ghosts – before turning to the possibility of rebirth in hell. The examination of the fruit of good and evil deeds in the *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translations, however, focuses only on the contrast between rebirth in heaven and in hell.

The *Dīrgha-āgama* and the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourses do not begin by describing the Buddha's vision of the destiny of beings at all, but instead directly approach the topic of rebirth in hell.[302]

MN III 179 According to the *Devadūta-sutta*, on arrival in hell the culprit will be questioned by King Yama if he never saw the divine messengers, which are:

- a baby lying in its excrement,
- an old person,
- a sick person,
- a criminal caught and punished for his deeds,
- a dead person.

These are five 'divine messengers' in the sense that they exemplify the inevitability of birth, old age, disease, karmic retribution, and death. This interrogation by King Yama is found in all parallels to the *Devadūta-sutta*, and additionally also in several other texts preserved in Chinese.[303]

The sequence of listing the five divine messengers differs between the *Devadūta-sutta* and its Chinese parallels. While in the Pāli account the criminal caught and punished

employs a whole series of other similes, in addition to the simile of standing between two houses. Thus, MĀ 64 compares the destiny of beings after death to the arising and passing away of bubbles on a water surface during rain and to raindrops falling on upper and lower places during a great rain, followed by illustrating the vision of their saṃsāric journey to seeing a gem strung on a string (on this simile from a comparative perspective cf. Meisig 1987b: 68-72, for an interpretation of the image used in this simile cf. Hamilton 1996: 87) or to standing on top of a building and watching people below act in various ways. In a similar vein, T 42 at T I 827a5 and T 86 at T I 909b7 describe bubbles arising and passing away during rain, someone who stands at a city gate at night in the light of a fire and sees people come in and go out (this seems to be their counterpart to the simile found in MN 130), someone who stands on top of a tall building and sees all other households around, someone who is in a boat and sees the fishes and stones below in the water, and someone who looks at a gem strung on a string. T 43 at T I 828b24 has the simile of the bubbles during rain and the gem strung on a string, after which it describes seeing people at night come in and out through an entrance (being its counterpart to the simile in MN 130), and seeing people from on top of a building.

[302] DĀ 30.4 at T I 126b19 and AN 3:35 at AN I 138,7.

[303] The interrogation by King Yama can also be found in T 24 at T I 331a5, T 25 at T I 386a1, T 212 at T IV 668c3, and T 741 at T XVII 547a10 (which the 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition p. 441 note 4 lists as one of the parallels to MĀ 64 and therewith to MN 130). A presentation of the same themes as modes of reflections about old age, death, etc., without being related to Yama or the *devadūta*s, can be found in AN 5.57 at AN III 71-75. It also needs to be noted that the role of King Yama is not that of a judge, which, as pointed out by Siklós 1996: 176, would conflict with the theory of karma. Marasinghe 2002b: 631 explains that "Yama, the Ṛg Vedic god of death and the king and ruler of the underworld ... has been reduced in Buddhism to a mere passive onlooker at the uninfluenced operation of the law of *kamma*".

comes before the messenger of death, in those parallel versions that also have five divine messengers the criminal is the last in the list (see table 13.10).[304]

Table 13.10: Listings of Divine Messengers in MN 130 and its Parallels

MN 130	MĀ 64 & EĀ 32.4	T 42 & T 86	T 43	DĀ 30 & AN 3:35
infant (1)	infant (→ 1)	disrespect parents	infant (→ 1)	old age (→ 2)
old age (2)	old age (→ 2)	disease (→ 3)	old age (→ 2)	disease (→ 3)
disease (3)	disease (→ 3)	old age (→ 2)	disease (→ 3)	death (→ 5)
criminal (4)	death (→ 5)	death (→ 5)	death (→ 5)	
death (5)	criminal (→ 4)	criminal (→ 4)	criminal (→ 4)	
		(≠ 1)		(≠ 1, 4)

Unlike the *Devadūta-sutta* and its other parallels, the *Dīrgha-āgama* and *Aṅguttara-nikāya* versions only list three divine messengers, namely old age, disease, and death.[305] According to the traditional account, these are the three aspects of human life that had been instrumental in stirring the bodhisattva to go forth and eventually become a Buddha,[306] although they are not designated as "divine messengers" in this context.[307]

The first out of the set of five divine messengers is a small infant that is lying in its own excrement.[308] The *Madhyama-āgama* version explains that the infant is not able to

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[304] MĀ 64 at T I 504b25, EĀ 32.4 at T II 675a15, T 42 at T I 827b20, T 43 at T I 829a20, T 86 at T I 909c26, T 212 at T IV 669a24, and T 741 at T XVII 547b5 (AN 3:35, DĀ 30.4, T 24, and T 25 list only three divine messengers, none of which corresponds to the criminal; cf. also Masson 1942: 87, who notes that the criminal is the only divine messenger that does not represent a stage in life). Since the punishment for evil deeds described in the present discourse takes place after death, when the evildoer has to face hell, this sequence fits the context well. Another difference in sequence is that T 42 at T I 827b3+8, T 86 at T I 909c7+13, and T 212 at T IV 668c17+28 have disease as their second and old age as their third, while the other versions agree on listing old age as their second and disease as their third.

[305] DĀ 30.4 at T I 126b20 and AN 3:35 at AN I 138,7. T 24 at T I 330c25 and T 25 at T I 385c22 also mention only three divine messengers.

[306] The effect of these three divine messengers on the bodhisattva is described in AN 3:38 at AN I 145,21, according to which on seeing others grow old, become sick, and pass away, all pride in his youth, health, and [future] life span disappeared (cf. also MN 83 at MN II 75,17 for the effect the divine messenger of old age had on the bodhisattva in a previous life), themes that recur in the description of his motivation to go forth in MN 26 at MN I 163,15. AN 3:38 could be the nucleus out of which the traditional account developed, according to which the bodhisattva was totally unaware of these predicaments of human existence until during pleasure outings he saw for the first time in his life an old person, a sick person, and a dead person, cf., e.g., the *Jātaka Nidānakathā* in Jā I 58,31, the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1965: 212,5 or in Senart 1890: 150,18, the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 101b22, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 65,7, and a Chinese *Udāna* collection, T 212 at T IV 619b14; cf. also above p. 172.

[307] Kariyawasam 1988: 421 points out that the "portents that prompt a *bodhisatta* to renounce the world are called *pubbanimittā* (signs, which herald) and not *devadūtas*"; cf. also Borges 1974: 740, who notes that the present discourse does not provide any explicit relation between the *devadūta*s and the Buddha's own life.

[308] Instead of describing an infant that is lying in its excrements, according to T 42 at T I 827a28 and T 86 at T I 909c1 Yama first of all asked the culprit why he did not respect his father and mother, even though

call his parents and ask them to wash him, a point made also in one of the individual translations and in the Pāli commentary.[309] In addition to referring to the infant's need to be fed and washed by others, the *Ekottarika-āgama* also mentions the suffering experienced while still being in the womb.[310]

MN III 180 In relation to the divine messenger that manifests in the sight of an old person, while the other versions only describe various physical manifestations of old age, the *Ekottarika-āgama* version additionally points out that the mind of elderly people will no longer be as strong and vigorous as it had been in their youth.[311]

MN III 181 When turning to a sick person in its function as a divine messenger, the *Devadūta-sutta* depicts how such a person is being lifted up and put down by others.[312] The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse describes how a sick person may lie in his own excrement and be unable to get out of it on his own,[313] in the *Dīrgha-āgama* account the sick person is in tears and moaning due to pain,[314] and according to one of the individual translations this sick person's disease is incurable.[315]

In relation to the divine messengers of death, manifesting in the vision of a corpse, the *Dīrgha-āgama* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions describe how such a corpse becomes

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they had brought him up and nourished him. As the point of the other divine messengers in all versions is that on seeing others subject to old age, disease, etc., the culprit should have realized that he will himself be subject to the same predicament, it would be more natural if the same point were to be made in regard to birth as well. The Pāli and Chinese versions agree on mentioning lack of respect for mother and father, or even ill-treating them, among the evil deeds of the culprit. Perhaps this reference to lack of respect has led to a misunderstanding or mistranslation of the first divine messenger in T 42 and T 86, two discourses that according to the indication given in the Taishō edition were translated by the same translator. Van Put 2003: 227 remarks, regarding T 42, "quite interesting is the emphasis put on piousness towards one's parents, a virtue which is usually seen as a typical Confucian addition".

309 According to MĀ 64 at T I 504a3, the child is lying in its own excrement and "is not able to call [its] mother and father, [asking] the mother and father to take it up out of the dirt and wash its body", 不能語父母, 父母抱移離不淨處, 澡浴其身. T 43 at T I 828c14 explains that the child is lying in its own excrement and "is not able to look after itself and does not [yet] know how to speak words with its mouth", 不能自護, 口不知言語, thus apparently making the same point as MĀ 64. Ps IV 231,26 depicts the predicament of the child in the following terms: "I have fallen into my own urine and faeces, I am not able to properly get up and wash myself ... I am not able to say 'wash me!'", *sake pana 'mhi muttakarīse palipanno, attano dhammatāya uṭṭhahitvā nahāyituṃ na sakkomi ... nahāpetha man ti vattum pi na sakkomi.*

310 EĀ 32.4 at T II 674c7. T 741 at T XVII 547a22 also draws attention to the suffering experienced by the mother during pregnancy and when giving birth.

311 EĀ 32.4 at T II 674c19: 無復少壯之心.

312 MN 130 at MN III 181,6: *aññehi vuṭṭhāpiyamānaṃ aññehi saṃvesiyamānan ti* (S^e^-MN III 337,18: *pavesiyamānaṃ*).

313 EĀ 32.4 at T II 674c29: 不能自起居. During Yama's investigation in EĀ 32.4 at T II 675a3, the culprit denies having seen such a sick person, 我實不見之, which judging from the context and the pattern adopted in the exposition in general is probably a textual error for 我實見之, in fact, just a few lines earlier the culprit admits having seen such a sick person, EĀ 32.4 at T II 674c29: 我實見之.

314 DĀ 30.4 at T I 126c10.

315 T 43 at T I 829a4: "the assembled doctors are unable to cure [him]", 眾醫不能復治.

food for animals, or else will be cremated,[316] while the *Ekottarika-āgama* version draws attention to the sorrow of the relatives.[317]

The Chinese discourses agree with the Pāli versions in describing how King Yama made it clear after each inquiry that the culprit had performed the evil deed, not anyone else, wherefore the culprit will also have to experience the retribution for these deeds.[318]

The *Devadūta-sutta* continues by describing the suffering to be experienced in hell, where the guardians of hell inflict the following punishments: MN III 183

- driving hot iron stakes through the limbs of the culprit,
- cutting him to pieces,
- harnessing him to a chariot and dragging him across blazing ground,
- making him climb up and down a blazing mountain,
- hanging him into a blazing cauldron,
- finally throwing him into the great hell.[319]

In this great hell made of iron walls a terrible fire rages. Once in a long time one of the four doors of this hell opens, but then closes again before the culprit has been able to escape. When after a long time the culprit does manage to get out before the door closes again, he finds himself confronted with other types of suffering.

According to the *Devadūta-sutta*, the sufferings to be expected after escape from the great hell are: MN III 185

- falling into a hell of excrement where little creatures bore into the culprit's body,
- falling into a hell of hot embers,
- having to climb up and down trees with long blazing thorns,
- having to go into a forest with sword leaves that cut the culprit to pieces,
- falling into a river with caustic water.[320]

The *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* versions list a similar set of hellish sufferings.[321]

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316 DĀ 30.4 at T I 126c21 and MĀ 64 at T I 504b13. T 43 at T I 829a13 and T 212 at T IV 669a13 also describe that the corpse will be eaten by birds and dogs, while T 42 at T I 827b15 and T 86 at T I 909c20 depict how it will be eaten by worms and ants.

317 EĀ 32.4 at T II 675a8, a point also made in T 24 at T I 331c11 and in T 25 at T I 386c7.

318 MN 130 at MN III 179,33, AN 3:35 at AN I 139,6, DĀ 30.4 at T I 126c2, MĀ 64 at T I 504a10, EĀ 32.4 at T II 674c13, T 24 at T I 331b3, T 25 at T I 386b22, T 42 at T I 827b1, T 43 at T I 828c18, T 86 at T I 909c10, and T 212 at T IV 668c13.

319 MN 130 at MN III 182,34, a description found also in AN 3:35 at AN I 141,1. This set of tortures recurs in MN 129 at MN III 166,19 and in its parallels MĀ 199 at T I 760b19 and T 86 at T I 907c2, cf. above p. 744 note 285. DĀ 30.4 at T I 127a2, MĀ 64 at T I 504c13, and T 42 at T I 827b27 turn directly to the great hell, without describing these preliminary tortures. T 43 at T I 829b1 ends after the five messengers and thus does not depict the hells in which the culprit will have to suffer at all. EĀ 32.4 at T II 675b16+26 and T II 675c9 describes how the culprit is pared with axes, harnessed to a chariot, made to climb up and down a blazing mountain, has hot iron stakes driven through his limbs, and is hung into a cauldron. A description of various hells that culminates by depicting the suffering in the great hell can also be found in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1963a: 11-19 or in Senart 1882a: 9-15.

320 MN 130 at MN III 185,1.

The *Devadūta-sutta* continues by describing that, when the culprit mentions that he is hungry or thirsty, the wardens of hell put a blazing metal ball into the culprit's mouth or pour molten metal down his throat, after which he is thrown back into hell, a treatment also recorded in the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* versions.[322] These graphic descriptions of various tortures reflect ancient Indian conceptions of the hell realms.[323]

MN III 186 The *Devadūta-sutta* reports an aspiration by King Yama in which he expresses his wish to be reborn as a human and to be able to receive and understand the teachings of a Buddha, an aspiration also recorded in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourse.[324] Yama's aspiration in the *Madhyama-āgama* version is more detailed, as he wishes to be reborn in a wealthy and good family, from which he then hopes to go forth and reach full awakening under a Buddha.[325]

According to the *Dīrgha-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* presentations, however, Yama was not concerned with future wealth or a good family. Instead, he simply wished to be reborn as a human in order to go forth and undertake the path to awakening.[326]

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[321] MĀ 64 at T I 505a11 describes the excrement hell, MĀ 64 at T I 505b9 the thorn forest, MĀ 64 at T I 505a24 the sword leaf forest, and MĀ 64 at T I 505b23 the caustic river. EĀ 32.4 at T II 676a18 takes up the excrement hell, while EĀ 32.4 at T II 675b19 and again at T II 676a9+15 refers to a sword thorn forest. A sword mountain, a thorn forest, and a caustic river can be found in T 42 at T I 827c17+24 and at T I 828a4, as well as in T 86 at T I 910a28 and T I 910b8+18 (in its earlier part, which parallels MN 129, T 86 at T I 908a16 and T I 908b3 also describes a hell of hot embers and a sword forest).

[322] MN 130 at MN III 186,3+13, MĀ 64 at T I 505c5+14, EĀ 32.4 at T II 676a24 and T II 676b5. T 42 at T I 828a11 and T 86 at T I 907b25 have this as a single treatment of pouring molten metal into the culprit's throat, after which he is thrown back into hell. A similar treatment is described in DĀ 30.4 at T I 126b16 and in the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 375,8 or in Vaidya 1999: 236,12 (in the *Divyāvadāna* this description is part of a parallel to MN 129). MĀ 64 at T I 505c26 concludes its description of the different hell realms by explaining that, once the retribution for the evil deeds has been exhausted, the culprit might be reborn in the animal realm, or the realm of ghosts, or in a heavenly realm. In this way, MĀ 64 at this point takes up the realms of rebirth covered already in the introductory sections of MN 130 and EĀ 32.4. The possibility of being directly reborn in heaven after a life spent in hell is also envisaged in AN 1:19:2 at AN I 37,26. According to the Jain *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 2.68 in Jambūvijaya 1985: 20,1, however, beings passing away from hell could be reborn as animals or humans, not as denizens of heaven.

[323] Law 1925/1998: 115 and 124 comments on the Buddhist descriptions of hells that "a comparison with the Brahminical idea of hell will show that the conception of the infernal regions is very much the same in the two systems. The names are often the same and the tortures described in the literature of the respective faiths have much in common". Similarly, "sufferings in hell described in the Buddhist and Jain books are almost identical". Teiser 2004a: 316 sums up that "Buddhist ideas of hell grew out of Vedic conceptions and share much with Brahmanical (and later Hindu) views of the underworld". Schmithausen 2000d: 266-268 notes that some of the hellish tortures appear to mirror acts of cruelty or harming inflicted by human beings on animals and thus could be reflecting the ancient Indian conception of the victim taking revenge in the after life.

[324] MN 130 at MN III 186,25 and AN 3:35 at AN I 142,5.

[325] MĀ 64 at T I 506a5.

[326] DĀ 30.4 at T I 127a13 and EĀ 32.4 at T II 676b21. A similar aspiration by King Yama can also be found in T 24 at T I 330c8 and in T 25 at T I 385c5.

The two Pāli versions continue with a remark by the Buddha that he had witnessed all this himself, a remark not found in any of the parallel versions.[327] This remark makes it clear that, from the perspective of the Pāli discourses, the above depiction of the various tortures in hell should be taken literally. The Pāli commentary explicitly refutes the opinion that the guardians of hell do not really exist.[328]

The two Pāli versions conclude with a set of stanzas spoken by the Buddha, in which MN III 187
he contrasts those who disregard the divine messengers and are reborn in the lower worlds with those who heed the divine messengers, practise the path, and go beyond all fear and distress by attaining liberation.[329] The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse concludes with a similar set of stanzas, although according to its presentation it was King Yama who spoke these stanzas.[330] The *Dīrgha-āgama* account agrees with the Pāli versions on attributing this set of stanzas to the Buddha.[331] The *Ekottarika-āgama* version does not have these stanzas and instead concludes with the Buddha exhorting the monks that they should be mindful of their bodily, verbal, and mental actions, should overcome the five fetters, and should develop the five faculties.[332]

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327 MN 130 at MN III 186,32 (cf. also AN 3:35 at AN I 142,12): *yad eva me sāmañ ñātaṃ sāmaṃ diṭṭhaṃ sāmaṃ viditaṃ, tad evāhaṃ vadāmī ti*.

328 Ps IV 231,4; cf. also Kv 597,8 and the detailed discussion in Mori 1997.

329 MN 130 at MN III 187,3 and AN 3:35 at AN I 142,14; cf. also Franke 1912: 211-216 (whose survey also covers the stanza found at MN III 183,25).

330 MĀ 64 at T I 506a17.

331 DĀ 30.4 at T I 127a17. T 24 at T I 332a3 and T 25 at T I 386c29 attribute to the Buddha a considerably longer set of stanzas that revolve around the same theme. The Chinese *Udāna-(varga)* account in T 212 at T IV 669b11 has only a single stanza on the impossibility of escaping karmic retribution, corresponding to Dhp 127. T 42 at T I 828a25 and T 86 at 910c13 take up the same topic as MN 130, as they contrast people who even for a minor evil may fall into hell with those who pursue the path and become arahants, thereby going forever beyond the danger of rebirth in hell; this part in T 42 and T 86 is, however, not in verse.

332 EĀ 32.4 at T II 676b24.

Chapter 14 *Vibhaṅga-vagga*

MN 131 *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*

The *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*, the discourses on "an auspicious night", is the first of four consecutive Pāli discourses on the same set of stanzas,[1] whose theme is an 'auspicious night'.[2] The first of these four discourses, the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*, does not have a parallel in the Chinese *Āgama*s, although a few parts of what appears to be a parallel to the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* have been preserved in a Sanskrit fragment.[3]

MN 132 *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta*

The *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta*, the "discourse by Ānanda on an auspicious night", reports an explanation by Ānanda of the stanzas on an auspicious night, which is then repeated by the Buddha. This explanation is the same as the exposition given in the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*. The *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[4]

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[1] Skilling 2009a: 406 comments that "the *Majjhimanikāya* preserves four commentaries on a single verse passage, showing that from the beginning multiple interpretations, whether by the Buddha himself or by his auditors, were the normal course of affairs"; cf. also von Hinüber 2007: 107.

[2] Concerning the term *bhaddekaratta*, Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1342 note 1210 explains that "*ratta* and *ratti* could be taken to represent respectively either Skt *rātra* and *rātri* (= night) or Skt *rakta* and *rakti* (= attachment) ... the Central Asian Skt version, the Skt title at the head of the Tibetan version and the Tibetan translation itself all use *bhadrakarātri*. This confirms the identification of *ratta* with 'night'; [in regard to the other part of the compound] the change from *-e-* to *-a-* can be understood as an attempt to convert a difficult reading into a more familiar one". SHT III 816V3 reads *bhadragarātrīya* (cf. also R2), while fragment 3b3 in Minayeff 1983: 243 reads *bhadrakarātriyaḥ*, and fragment 4b1 refers to the whole discourse as *bhadrakarātrīyasya sūtrasya*. Out of the Chinese and Tibetan parallels to MN 132, MN 133, and MN 134, MĀ 165 at T I 696c7 transcribes the expression as 跋地羅帝, *bat di^h la tɛj^h* (following Pulleyblank 1991: 27, 76, and 203). T 1362 at T XXI 881c10 speaks of the "wholesome night", 善夜. The Tibetan versions D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 161b2 or Q (979) *shu* 171a7, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 56a7 or Q (599) *ya* 96b3, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 90a3 refer to the "auspicious night", *mtshan mo bzang po*. This is preceded by *'phags pa*, which corresponds to Sanskrit *ārya* and qualifies the discourse itself, hence this is not part of a rendering of the term under discussion, cf. Skilling 1997a: 585-586. T 77 at T I 886b7 speaks of the "noble wholesome verses", 賢善偈, which could perhaps originally have been "noble verses on a wholesome night", from which a reference to the "night" was lost.

[3] The fragment is SHT III 816 (pp. 32-33). SHT III 816V1-2 records that the Buddha was at Jeta's Grove and addressed the monks on his own, so that the Sanskrit version appears to be a parallel to MN 131. SHT III 816V4-5 has preserved parts of the verses, while the rest of the fragment continues with *dhāraṇī*s, so that the remainder of this discourse must have been quite different from MN 131. Jā 509 at Jā IV 482,1 refers to the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* in the context of an account of a past life of the Buddha as the son of the king of Vārāṇasī.

[4] The parallel is MĀ 167 at T I 699c-700b, which has the title "discourse spoken by Ānanda", 阿難說經, and agrees with MN 132 in locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. Sanskrit fragments in Mi-

MN III 189 The *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart begin by relating that Ānanda had taught other monks the stanzas on an auspicious night, together with an explanation. The *Madhyama-āgama* version adds that he had given this instruction at the beginning of the night, which would indeed provide a suitable occasion for delivering such a teaching.[5]

MN III 190 According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the Buddha came to join the monks and asked them who had just given an exposition on the *bhaddekaratta* stanzas.[6] On being informed that Ānanda had been the speaker, the Buddha told Ānanda that he should repeat his exposition.

The *Madhyama-āgama* account instead reports that, once the night was over, a monk went to visit the Buddha and told him about the teachings given by Ānanda. The Buddha then called Ānanda to his presence and asked him to repeat what he had taught.

The subject of Ānanda's exposition in both versions are the stanzas on an auspicious night, which begin by enjoining the letting go of past and future, as the past is gone and the future has not yet come.[7] Besides the *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, these stanzas can be found in Sanskrit fragments as well as in the Chinese and Tibetan parallels to the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and the *Loma-*

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nayeff 1983: 242-243 have also preserved a discourse on the verses on an auspicious night, with Ānanda as the main protagonist. Judging from what has been preserved of the introductory narration, this discourse begins with a tale found also in the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 611,2 and in the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra*, T 945 at T XIX 106c9. According to this tale, Ānanda had been overpowered by a magic spell cast by a woman whose daughter had fallen in love with him. He was rescued by a magical counterspell by the Buddha just in time to prevent him from having sexual intercourse with the girl. Winternitz 1912: 249 comments that "the whole great literature of mantras and *dhāraṇī*s, of spells and incantations, found in later Mahāyāna, finds its explanation in this episode. The common people felt a need for mantras and spells, and Buddhism had to take this need into account. In order to be able to confront the mantras of other sorcerers, the Buddhist monks needed their own mantras. At first these 'mantras' were moral sayings like the *Maṅgala-sutta* and the *Ratana-sutta* ... but eventually that did not suffice" ("die ganze große Literatur der Mantras und Dhāraṇīs, der Zaubersprüche und Beschwörungsformeln, im späteren Mahāyāna, findet in dieser kleinen Episode ihre Erklärung. Es war das Bedürfnis nach Mantras, nach Zaubersprüchen, im Volke vorhanden und diesem Bedürfnis mußte auch der Buddhismus Rechnung tragen. Um den Mantras der Zauberer entgegenzutreten, mußten auch die buddhistischen Mönche ihre 'Mantras' haben. Zuerst waren diese 'Mantras' noch moralische Sprüche wie Maṅgalasutta und Ratanasutta ... das genügte aber auf die Dauer nicht"). Similar to the Sanskrit fragment in Minayeff 1983: 242-243, SHT III 816, as well as the individual Chinese parallel and the three Tibetan parallels to MN 133, continue after the verses on an auspicious night with *dhāraṇī*s.

[5] MĀ 167 at T I 700a1: 夜集.

[6] According to the commentary, the Buddha knew who had given the exposition and only asked in order to start the conversation, Ps V 4,12: *jānantova kathāsamuṭṭhāpanatthaṃ pucchi*.

[7] MN 132 at MN III 190,20: "one should not follow after the past, one should not yearn for the future, what is past has been abandoned and the future has not yet come", *atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ, yad atītaṃ pahīnan taṃ, appattañ ca anāgataṃ* (B^{e}-MN III 229,5 and C^{e}-MN III 404,24: *pahīnaṃ*); on this and the subsequent stanzas cf. also Franke 1912: 216-218. MĀ 167 at T I 700a15: "be careful not to think about the past, and do not long for the future, matters of the past have already ceased, the future has not yet come", 慎莫念過去, 亦勿願未來, 過去事已滅, 未來復未至.

sakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta. In relation to the first of these stanzas, the Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan versions agree closely with the Pāli presentation.[8]

The next stanza in the *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* recommends seeing with insight whatever arises in the present moment.[9] Instead of the Pāli version's injunction to remain "unshakeably" (*asaṅkuppa*) established in this practice, the Sanskrit fragments recommend avoiding "deliberations" (*vikalpa*).[10] Some of the Chinese translations could be based on a similar reading, as they speak of thoughts that are unstable.[11]

The third stanza recommends that one should begin practising diligently at once, since the time of death is unpredictable.[12] The Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of this

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[8] Sanskrit fragment 3a2-3 in Minayeff 1983: 243 has preserved part of this verse: *atitaṃ nānvāgamayed ... yad atitaṃ niruddhaṃ tad asaṃprāptam anāgatam*. In T 77 at T I 886b14 (parallel to MN 134) this verse runs: "do not recall the past, do not have thoughts that seek the future, the past has already ceased, the future is not obtainable", 過去當不憶, 當來無求念, 過去已盡滅, 當來無所得. T 1362 at T XXI 882a3 (partial parallel to MN 133) has only preserved the first part of this verse: "it is not proper to think of the past, do not long for the future", 過去不應念, 未來不希求. The Tibetan parallels to this verse at D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 162b1 or Q (979) *shu* 172a7, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 57a6 or Q (599) *ya* 97b3, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 91a2 (all of which are partial parallels to MN 133) indicate that "what is past, one does not get back, one [should] not long for the future, the past has ceased, the future has not [yet] come", *'das pa rjes su phrad mi byed, ma 'ongs pa la re ba med, 'das pa gang yin de 'gags te, ma 'ongs de ni ma phyin pa'o* (D (313) 162b1: *'das la* and Q (979) 172a7 *'dis la* instead of *'das pa*). Notably, the reference to the past having "ceased", *niruddha/*滅*/'gags te*, would be quite appropriate to the context, whereas the Pāli version's *pahīna* employs an expression that is more usual in contexts where an active abandoning or giving up is implied, an implication that would fit the first part of the verse better than the present section. This verse is cited in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 1579 at T XXX 387c28 and D (4035) *sems tsam, tshi* 260b3 or Q (5536) *dsi* 303b3, cf. Enomoto 1989b: 35 and Wayman 1989: 209.

[9] MN 132 at MN III 190,22: "[whatever] thing that arises now, here and there, he sees it with insight, immovable and unshakeable, having known it let him [continue to] cultivate [in this way]", *paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ, tattha tattha vipassati, asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkuppaṃ, taṃ vidvā-m-anubrūhaye* (B[e]-MN III 229,8: *asaṃkuppaṃ*, S[e]-MN III 353,4: *viddhā*).

[10] Sanskrit fragment 3a3-4 in Minayeff 1983: 243: *pratyutpannāṃc ca ye dharmā ... saṃhārya vikalpāṃc ca vidvāṃs tān nāvagamyate*; SHT III 816V4-5: *pratyutpannā ca ddharme tatra tatra vipaśakaḥ asaṃhāry(ā)vikalpast[h]aḥ vidvas-taṃ*. The couplet *asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkuppaṃ* recurs in Sn 5:17 at Sn 1149 and in Th 649.

[11] MĀ 167 at T I T I 700a17: "as for phenomena in the present moment, one should attend with mindfulness to [their] lack of stability, the wise awaken in this way", 現在所有法, 彼亦當為思, 念無有堅強, 慧者覺如是. T 77 at T I 886b16: "[what are] reckoned presently existing things, on these one should reflect, that thoughts are not stable, the wise are able to realize themselves", 謂現在之法, 彼彼當思惟, 所念非牢固, 智者能自覺. T 1362 at T XXI 882a4: "in relation to the present, contemplate all according to the Dharma, erroneous thinking is difficult to dispel, the wise should contemplate properly", 於現在時中, 皆如法觀察, 妄想心難遣, 智人應善觀. The Tibetan parallels to this verse at D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 162b1 or Q (979) *shu* 172a8, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 57a6 or Q (599) *ya* 97b3, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 91a2 indicate that "having observed here and there, whatever phenomena that have arisen now, one [should] thoroughly understand them without being led astray by false discrimination", *gang dag da ltar byung pa'i chos, de dang de la rab bltas nas, rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par, de dag mkhas pas khong du chud* (D (617) 57a7: *thams cad* instead of *mkhas pas*).

[12] MN 132 at MN III 190,25: "right now diligence should be done, who knows if death will come tomorrow, there is no bargaining with death and its great armies", *ajj' eva kiccam ātappaṃ, ko jaññā mara-*

stanza are similar to the Pāli version.[13] Even though the Chinese versions of this stanza differ to some extent, the main import of this injunction remains the same.[14]

The last of these four stanzas concludes that practice undertaken continuously in this manner deserves to be reckoned a way of spending an "auspicious night",[15] a conclusion found in similar terms in the Chinese, Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.[16]

The idea that such diligent practice of meditation in the present moment can be considered a way of spending an "auspicious night" might be intending to set a contrast to more external or ritualistic ways of spending a night that is considered spiritually auspicious.[17]

ṇaṃ suve, na hi no saṅgaraṃ tena, mahāsenena maccunā (Ce-MN III 404,27: *kiccaṃ*, Se-MN III 353,6: *saṅgaran*).

[13] Sanskrit fragment 3a4+b1 in Minayeff 1983: 243: *adyaiva kuryād ātaptaṃ ko ... na hi vaḥ saṃganitena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā*; SHT III 816V5: *ady-eva k[u]ryyam-ādaptaṃ, ko jāne maranaṃn-hi*. The Tibetan parallels to this verse at D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 162b2 or Q (979) *shu* 172a8, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 57a7 or Q (599) *ya* 97b4, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 91a3 enjoin: "should one die just tomorrow – who knows? Already today one should be diligent, lest the Lord of Death and [his] big army should know oneself", *sang tsam 'chi 'am su shes kyis* (D (974) 91a3: *'chi 'am sus*, D (313) 162b2 and Q (979) 172a8: *shi yang su*, Q (599) 97b4: *su shes kyi*), *de ring nyid du brtun te bya* (D (617) 57a7 and D (974) 91a3: *rtun te bya*, Q (599) 97b4: *rten te bya*, Q (979) 172b1: *brtun ta byas*), *'chi bdag sde chen de dang ni, bdag tu shes pa ma yin no* (D (313) 162b2 and Q (979) 172b1: *bshes pa*).

[14] MĀ 167 at T I T I 700a19: "if one undertakes [such] practice of noble ones, who [would] be worried about death? I shall disengage from that [which is related to death], [so that this] great suffering and misery comes to an end", 若作聖人行, 孰知愁於死, 我要不會彼, 大苦災患終. The use of 會 could reflect a mistaking of *saṃ* + √*gṝ* for *saṃ* + √*han*. The parallel to this verse in T 77 at T I 886b18 indicates that "having attained [such knowledge] one is able to proceed, why [should] the wise be dejected about the end of life? [If] my mind does not detach from this [dejection], I will not be able to escape from the [fate of] the great multitude", 得已能進行, 何智憂命終, 我心不離此, 大眾不能脫. In T 1362 at T XXI 882a6, the verse enjoins that "it is fitting to quickly make an effort, who knows what will happen tomorrow, because that Lord of Death [and his] assembly are closely following you", 宜可速勤修, 焉知至明日, 由彼死王眾, 與汝鎮相隨.

[15] MN 132 at MN III 190,27: "dwelling diligently like this, day and night without laziness, to him, indeed, the night is auspicious, so the peaceful sage has explained", *evaṃ vihārim ātapiṃ, ahorattam atanditaṃ, taṃ ve bhaddekaratto ti, santo ācikkhate munī ti* (Be-MN III 228,11: *vihāriṃ* and *muni*, without *ti*).

[16] MĀ 167 at T I T I 700a21: "practise diligently like this, day and night without negligence! Therefore, the verses on an auspicious night should regularly be taught", 如是行精勤, 晝夜無懈怠, 是故常當說, 跋地羅帝偈. T 77 at T I 886b20: "like this firmly established, without forsaking it day and night, for this reason [these are] the verse on noble wholesomeness, people should undertake this contemplation", 如是堅牢住, 晝夜不捨之, 是故賢善偈, 人當作是觀. T 1362 at T XXI 882a8 has only preserved the last part of this verse, according to which "for this reason I, the sage, have now expounded the discourse on the auspicious night", 是故我牟尼, 善夜經今說. Sanskrit fragment 3b3 in Minayeff 1983: 243: *bhadrakarātriyaḥ sadaiva munir abhravīt*. The Tibetan parallels to this verse at D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 162b3 or Q (979) *shu* 172b2, D (617) *rgyud 'bum ba* 57b1 or Q (599) *ya* 97b5, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 91a4 indicate that "abiding very diligently in this way, without being lazy day and night, it is for this reason that the discourse of the auspicious night has always been taught by the sage", *de ltar gnas shing rab brtson la* (Q (979) 172b2: *shing bar*), *nyin mtshan snyom las med pas na, de phyir mtshan mo bzang po yi, mdo sde thub pas rtag tu gsungs* (Q (599) 97b6: *mdo sde phub bas*).

[17] Ñāṇaponika 1977: 346 note 966 relates the expression *bhaddekaratta* to *ekarātri*, which he explains to

The *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel agree that to let go of past and future requires avoiding desire and attachment towards past or future manifestations of the five aggregates.[18] A difference in their mode of presentation is that, while in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version the whole exposition is a repetition by Ānanda of what he had been teaching the monks earlier, in the *Madhyama-āgama* version the same takes the form of a question and answer exchange between the Buddha and Ānanda, with the Buddha asking after the meaning of each key expression, in reply to which Ānanda offers his explanations.

In regard to presently arisen phenomena, the *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* enjoins to avoid any of the twenty modes of construing a sense of self in regard to the five aggregates, while its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart simply speaks of avoiding any desire or attachment towards the five aggregates.[19]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version concludes with the Buddha praising Ānanda's ex- MN III 191
position and telling the monks that they should bear it in mind.[20] According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, after expressing his approval in this way, the Buddha repeated the whole exposition given by Ānanda.[21]

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stand for the Brahminical custom of spending a religious observance night by fasting, staying awake, and meditating, "der Ausdruck *bhaddekaratta* ... bezieht sich auf eine, auch heute noch begangene und als *ekarātri* bekannte brahmanische Feier-Nacht, die fastend, wachend und meditierend verbracht wurde". This suggests that the expression *bhaddekaratta* was perhaps indeed "a popular phrase taken over by the Buddha and given a special sense by him", cf. also the discussion in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1343 note 1210, who expressed some uncertainty about this suggestion. Yet, the idea of taking advantage of a religiously auspicious night can be seen, for example, in DN 2 at DN I 47,12, where the night of the *uposatha*, the ancient Indian religious observance day, serves as the suitable occasion for visiting some recluses or Brahmins. Although the central idea of the *bhaddekaratta* verses might indeed revolve around such a spiritually auspicious night, the last verse makes it clear that the recommendations given are not meant for a single night only, as according to all versions such practice should be undertaken "day and night", that is to say, continuously. Ñāṇananda 1973/1984: 3 explains that "the *Bhaddekaratta-suttas* do not appear to envisage withdrawal from thoughts of the past, future and present for so little as one night. On the contrary, the verses ... say that the person to be called *bhaddekaratta* is he who abides ardently and unweariedly day and night, that is, surely for some consecutive time lasting longer than 'one night'". In fact according to Thanissaro 2002: 346, the reference to a night in the expression *bhaddekaratta* "should be interpreted in light of the custom – common in cultures that follow the lunar calendar – of calling a 24-hour period of day-and-night a 'night'"; cf. also Winternitz 1908: 361 note 1, who notes that in India time is reckoned in "nights", instead of "days".

[18] While MN 132 at MN III 190,30 speaks of delight, *nandi*, in regard to past or future manifestations of the five aggregates, MĀ 167 at T I 700a24 mentions "delight", 樂, "desire", 欲, "attachment", 著, and being "established", 住, in regard to past or future manifestations of the five aggregates.

[19] MN 132 at MN III 190,32 employs the standard formula for such construction of a sense of self, which takes up four modes of considering each of the five aggregates as self, making up twenty ways of construing a self in total. MĀ 167 at T I 700b13 instead uses the same set of terms it had earlier employed in relation to past and future, as it recommends "not delighting", 不樂, "not desiring", 不欲, "not attaching", 不著, and "not being established", 不住, in relation to the five aggregates of clinging.

[20] MĀ 167 at T I 700b17.

[21] MN 132 at MN III 191,11.

MN 133 *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*

The *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*, "the discourse by Mahākaccāna on an auspicious night", records an explanation of the stanzas on an auspicious night by Mahākaccāna. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[22] The first part of the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* also has partial parallels in an individual Chinese translation and in a Tibetan discourse found several times in the Tibetan canon.[23]

MN III 192 The *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels narrate in similar terms that the monk Samiddhi,[24] who had gone to the hot springs to take a bath, was asked by a *deva* if he knew the *bhaddekaratta* stanzas.[25] Samiddhi had to admit that he did not know the stanzas. On asking the *deva* the same question, Samiddhi found out that the *deva* also did not know the stanzas.

A minor difference in relation to this exchange is that, according to the Pāli account, the *deva* first asked Samiddhi if he knew the "summary and the analysis" on an auspicious night, after which the *deva* asked if Samiddhi knew the "stanzas" on an auspicious night.[26] Since the stanzas correspond to the summary,[27] this double inquiry seems

[22] The parallel is MĀ 165 at T I 696b-698c, which has the title, "discourse on a *deva* at the Hot-spring Grove", 溫泉林天經, and agrees with MN 133 on locating the meeting between Samiddhi and the *deva* at the hot springs by Rājagaha. A translation of MĀ 165 can be found in Anālayo 2008o; on MĀ 165 cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 59.

[23] The partial Chinese parallel is T 1362 at T XXI 881c-882c, which has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on [the topic of] a good night", 佛說善夜經, a discourse that according to the information given in the Taishō edition was translated by Yìjìng (義淨). The Tibetan parallel is found thrice in the Derge edition and twice in the Peking edition: D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 161b-163b or Q (979) *shu* 171a-173b, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 56a-58b or Q (599) *ya* 96b-98b, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 90a-92a. The occurrence of three versions of this translation in the Derge edition and two versions in the Peking edition appears to be due to some degree of uncertainty about the category to which this text should be assigned, with the result that it was finally placed into two or even into three categories, namely *sūtra, tantra*, and *dhāraṇī*, cf. also Skilling 1997a: 81-83. The Tibetan versions are entitled "auspicious night", *'phags pa mtshan mo bzang po zhes bya ba'i mdo,* corresponding to *Bhadrakarātrī-nāma-ārya-sūtra* (the prefix *'phags pa* qualifies the discourse itself, cf. Skilling 1997a: 585-586). T 1362 and the Tibetan versions agree with MN 133 on locating the discourse at the hot springs by Rājagaha.

[24] While MĀ 165 at T I 696b29 agrees with MN 131 on the monk's name, which it renders as 三彌提, T 1362 and the Tibetan versions do not record his name.

[25] While in MN 133 at MN III 192,17 and in MĀ 165 at T I 696c7 the *deva* inquired after the verses, *gāthā*/偈, in T 1362 at T XXI 881c11 and in the Tibetan versions at D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 161b4 or Q (979) *shu* 171b2, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 56b2 or Q (599) *ya* 96b6, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 90a5 the *deva* inquired after the whole discourse, 經/*mdo sde*. A meeting between Samiddhi and a *deva* recurs in the introductory narration to another discourse of different content, SN 1:20 at SN I 8,16 (or SN^2 20 at SN^2 I 18,10), which similarly records a visit by a *deva* to Samiddhi who had just taken a bath at the hot springs (cf. also Jā 167 at Jā II 56,24). This meeting led to a different discussion, as the visiting *deva* tried to tempt Samiddhi with sensual pleasures. The parallels to SN 1:20, SĀ 1078 at T II 281c4 and SĀ^2 17 at T II 379a24, do not report the name of the monk.

[26] MN 133 at MN III 192,10: "do you remember the summary and analysis on an auspicious night", *dhāresi ... bhaddekarattassa uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ cā ti*?, followed in MN 133 at MN III 192,16 by: "do you remember the verses on an auspicious night", *dhāresi ... bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti*?

to some degree to be redundant. Such a redundancy is not found in the Chinese and Tibetan versions, which report only a single inquiry.[28]

According to the Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan versions, the *deva* told Samiddhi that he should learn those stanzas. The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse reports the *deva*'s explanation that these stanzas are beneficial and of fundamental relevance for the holy life, to which the *Madhyama-āgama* version adds that they lead to knowledge, realization, and Nirvāṇa.[29]

The Chinese and Tibetan accounts report that Samiddhi asked the *deva* from whom he could learn these stanzas. In reply, he was told that he should approach the Buddha. This exchange is not found in the Pāli version.

Samiddhi then approached the Buddha and related what had taken place.[30] In reply, MN III 193
the Buddha taught Samiddhi the stanzas on an auspicious night.[31] According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions, having taught the stanzas the Buddha retired to his dwelling.[32] The individual Chinese translation and the Tibetan versions continue differently, as in their account the Buddha continues by delivering a series of *dhāraṇī*s.[33] Thus, the remainder of these versions is no longer a parallel to the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*.

From the perspective of the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, for the Buddha to retire to his dwelling at this point is rather puzzling, since he did not deliver any explanation of these stanzas, even though he had earlier agreed to give such an explanation. In the

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[27] MN 133 at MN III 193,24 reports that, after the Buddha had spoken the verses without drawing out their meaning, the monks were wondering who would be able to explain the meaning of this "summary", *uddesa*, thereby identifying the verses as the summary. In fact, apart from the verses it would be difficult to find anything else that could be reckoned as a summary.

[28] MĀ 165 at T I 696c7: "do you remember the verses on an auspicious night", 受持跋地羅帝偈耶? T 1362 at T XXI 881c10: "have you heard the discourse on the wholesome night", 聞善夜經不? D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 161b4 or Q (979) *shu* 171b1, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 56b2 or Q (599) *ya* 96b5, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 90a5: "monk, do you know the discourse on an auspicious night", *dge slong khyod kyis mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo sde shes sam*?

[29] MN 133 at MN III 192,26: *atthasaṃhito ... ādibrahmacariyako* (S^e-MN III 357,20: *atthasañhito*) and MĀ 165 at T I 696c16: 趣智, 趣覺, 趣於涅槃.

[30] According to MĀ 165 at T I 697a11, T 1362 at T XXI 881c23, and the Tibetan versions at D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 162a5 or Q (979) *shu* 172a3, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 57a3 or Q (599) *ya* 97a7, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 90b6, the Buddha told Samiddhi the name of this *deva* and explained that it belonged to the heaven of the Thirty-three. A similar exchange on the identity of a visiting *deva* can be found in MN 134 at MN III 201,19 and its parallels MĀ 166 at T I 699b21 and T 77 at T I 886c29.

[31] T 1362 at T XXI 882a3 has only preserved half of the first and fourth verse, after which it adds a verse expressing an aspiration for the welfare of all beings. A similar verse can be found in the Tibetan versions at D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 162b2 or Q (979) *shu* 172b1, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 57a7 or Q (599) *ya* 97b4, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 91a3. Parts of such a verse have also been preserved in the Sanskrit fragment 3b1-2 in Minayeff 1983: 243.

[32] MN 133 at MN III 193,20 and MĀ 165 at T I 697a26.

[33] T 1362 at T XXI 882a14, D (313) *mdo sde, sa* 162b4 or Q (979) *shu* 172b3, D (617) *rgyud 'bum, ba* 57b2 or Q (599) *ya* 97b7, and D (974) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 91a5. Skilling 1992a: 155 notes invocations of the names of female deities found among these *dhāraṇī*s.

Madhyama-āgama version, however, the *deva* and Samiddhi had only been discussing the stanzas, so that when Samiddhi came to see the Buddha he only asked to be taught the stanzas.[34] In view of this, in the *Madhyama-āgama* it is quite natural that the Buddha taught only the stanzas.[35]

MN III 194 The *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel describe in similar terms that the monks approached Mahākaccāna and requested him to explain the stanzas. In reply to their request, Mahākaccāna explained that to let go of past and future stands for avoiding delight and attachment in regard to the six senses and in regard to what has been experienced or will be experienced through them.

MN III 196 A minor but telling difference between the two versions is that the *Madhyama-āgama* version's examination of experiences of the past qualifies the sense-organs as "truly existent".[36] This appears to be an instance where the school affiliation of the *Madhyama-āgama* reciters has led to an intrusion of a school-specific tenet, in this case the Sarvāstivāda theory that past and future phenomena truly exist.

What is particularly noteworthy about this case is that the same expression is not used to qualify sense-organs in future times.[37] Hence, although the use of the qualification "truly existent" seems to be due to the influence of Sarvāstivāda thought, this influence appears to have been of a somewhat accidental type, since it is not applied consistently. If the present passage were the outcome of a conscious editing, the same qualification would certainly have been applied to the case of future sense-organs.

This finding is significant, as it indicates that, even in the case of evident influence of the school affiliation of the reciters on the text, such influence need not be the outcome of deliberate editing, since in such a case all occurrences would have been taken care of. Instead it seems that part of a Sarvāstivāda commentary on this passage, which presumably would have made some statement to the effect that the sense-organs "truly exist", became part of the discourse during the process of transmission. Due to the accidental nature of this intrusion of commentarial material into the discourse, only the

[34] According to MĀ 165 at T I 697a13, Samiddhi requested that the Buddha teaches the verses on an auspicious night, 若世尊為諸比丘說跋地羅帝偈者, while according to MN 133 at MN III 193,5 he requested a teaching on the summary and analysis on an auspicious night, *bhaddekarattassa uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ ca desetū ti*, a request which in both versions is followed by the Buddha telling Samiddhi that he should pay proper attention to what was about to be said, a standard pericope in the discourses to announce the impending delivery of a teaching and thus an expression of the Buddha's willingness to comply with Samiddhi's request. A minor difference is that the request in MĀ 165 is made in the name of the monks (that were present on this occasion), 諸比丘, while in MN 133 Samiddhi only requested to be instructed himself. This difference is merely formal, as both versions continue by depicting how the monks wondered who could give them a detailed explanation, so that from the perspective of both versions other monks were present during this meeting between Samiddhi and the Buddha.

[35] For a further discussion of this point cf. below p. 788.

[36] MĀ 165 at T I 697c20 begins its treatment by indicating that "the truly existing eye knows forms", 實有眼知色, an expression used also for the other sense-organs in relation to past experiences.

[37] In its expositions of the future and the present, MĀ 165 at T I 698a15+21 does not employ the expression "truly existent", but simply speaks of future or present eye, forms and eye-consciousness (etc.), 若有眼, 色, 眼識未來者, or 若有眼, 色, 眼識現在者.

treatment of the past was affected, and the treatment of present and future experiences remained in a more original form.

The *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel continue by reporting that, in relation to the present moment, Mahākaccāna again spoke of avoiding delight and attachment towards the six senses and their objects. The two versions conclude with the Buddha's approval of Mahākaccāna's exposition. MN III 197

MN 134 *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta*

The *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta*, the "discourse to Lomasakaṅgiya on an auspicious night", records the Buddha's explanation of the stanzas on an auspicious night to the monk Lomasakaṅgiya. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and another parallel in an individual translation.[38]

The *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta* begins by describing how a *deva* visited Lomasakaṅgiya and asked if he knew the summary and analysis on an auspicious night. When Lomasakaṅgiya had to admit that he did not know them, the *deva* further asked if he knew the stanzas on an auspicious night, which Lomasakaṅgiya also did not know. MN III 199

As in the case of the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*, this double enquiry seems somewhat redundant, since the stanzas correspond to the summary. The two Chinese versions record just a single inquiry, which was if he knew the stanzas and their meaning.[39] Thus, they do not mention any "summary" in addition to the stanzas. According to all versions, while Lomasakaṅgiya did not know either the stanzas or their meaning, the *deva* knew the stanzas and was able to teach them to Lomasakaṅgiya.

The Pāli account notes that the *deva* had heard these stanzas on an earlier occasion, when the Buddha visited the heaven of the Thirty-three.[40] The two Chinese versions differ in as much as, according to them, this earlier teaching of the *bhaddekaratta* stanzas had taken place in the Bamboo Grove by Rājagaha.[41] MN III 200

Lomasakaṅgiya reported the matter to the Buddha,[42] who informed him of the name of the *deva*.[43] The *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta* indicates that the Buddha also ex- MN III 201

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[38] The parallels are MĀ 166 at T I 698c-699c and T 77 at T I 886a-887a. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 77 was translated by Dharmarakṣa. MĀ 166 has the title "discourse on a venerable one in a meditation-hut among the Sakyas", 釋中禪室尊經, while T 77 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha to a venerable elder", 佛說尊上經. MĀ 166 and T 77 agree with MN 134 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. On MĀ 166 cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 70.

[39] MĀ 166 at T I 698c14: 偈及其義 and T 77 at T I 886b7: 偈及解義.

[40] MN 134 at MN III 200,12: "at one time the Blessed One was living among the *deva*s of the Thirty-three", *ekamidaṃ ... samayaṃ bhagavā devesu tāvatiṃsesu viharati* (C^{e}-MN III 424,20: *ekamidāhaṃ*). According to the commentary, Ps V 7,8, this took place in the seventh year after the Buddha's awakening, a specification which according to Mochizuki 1940: 35 is in agreement with other sources on the place where the Buddha spent his seventh rains retreat.

[41] MĀ 166 at T I 698c20 and T 77 at T I 886b12.

[42] Similar to the difference found between MN 133 and its parallels, according to MĀ 166 at T I 699a2 and T 77 at T I 886b22 Lomasakaṅgiya asked the *deva* from whom he could learn these verses, whereupon

plained that this *deva* listened closely and gave full attention when hearing the Dharma,[44] a remark not made in the Chinese versions.[45]

According to all versions, the Buddha explained that to let go of the past and the future requires avoiding any desire and attachment in regard to the five aggregates. Similar to the case of the *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its parallel, the *Lomasakaṅgiya-bhaddekaratta-sutta* explains that in relation to presently arisen phenomena one should avoid any of the twenty modes of construing a sense of self in regard to the five aggregates, while the Chinese versions simply speak of avoiding desire or attachment towards the five aggregates.[46]

The *Apadāna* collection reports that, based on this instruction on an auspicious night, Lomasakaṅgiya eventually became an arahant.[47]

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the *deva* told him to approach the Buddha, an exchange not reported in MN 134. Another parallelism to the Chinese versions of MN 133 is that, according to MĀ 166 at T I 699a8 and T 77 at T I 886c25, the *deva* recommended the verses because they were conducive to Nirvāṇa. While according to MN 134 at MN III 200,34 Lomasakaṅgiya left the next morning and went in stages towards Sāvatthī, where the Buddha was staying, in MĀ 166 at T I 699a12 and T 77 at T I 886c3 the meeting between Lomasakaṅgiya and the *deva* took place during the rains retreat, so that he had to wait for the end of the rains retreat period before he could set out to visit the Buddha.

43 MN 134 at MN III 201,21 gives the *deva*'s name as Candana, a name MĀ 166 at T I 699b22 and T 77 at T I 887a1 render as 般那 (identified in Akanuma 1930/1994: 115 to stand for Candana), adding that he came from the heaven of the Thirty-three (which would be implicit in the Pāli version's report that the *deva* had heard the verses when the Buddha was on visit in the heaven of the Thirty-three). MN 134 at MN III 201,21, MĀ 166 at T I 699b21, and T 77 at T I 887a1 agree on specifying that Candana was a *devaputta*/天子. Lüders 1940a: 86 explains that at times *putta* or *putra* is used as a suffix to denote membership in a particular group of beings, social class, or type of occupation, instances where it has lost its original connotation of being a "son"; cf. also Fick 1897: 179. Thus a *devaputta*, as Childers 1875/1993: 115 s.v. *devaputta* explains, "means simply a male deva".

44 MN 134 at MN III 201,22: "having made [it] the object [of his mind], having given attention, having collected his whole mind, he hears the Dharma attentively", *aṭṭhikatvā manasikatvā sabbaṃ cetaso samannāharitvā ohitasoto dhammaṃ suṇāti* (B^{e}-MN III 242,8: *aṭṭhiṃ* and *sabbacetasā*, C^{e}-MN III 428,2: *sabbacetaso*).

45 This remark does not fit too well with the report in MN 134 that on a former occasion this *deva* had heard the Buddha teaching the verses and their analysis, MN 134 at MN III 200,14: "there the Blessed One spoke the summary and the analysis on an auspicious night to the *deva*s of the Thirty-three", *tatra bhagavā devānaṃ tāvatiṃsānaṃ bhaddekarattassa uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ ca abhāsi* (S^{e}-MN III 369,19 adds *kho* after *tatra*). As the *deva* now remembered only the verses and had already forgotten the explanation, it would seem that the *deva* did not pay too careful attention when the teaching was originally delivered, cf. MN 134 at MN III 200,4 where the *deva* has to admit that "I do not remember the summary and the explanation on an auspicious night", *na dhāremi bhaddekarattassa uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ ca*. Ps V 7,23 confirms that the *deva* had learned both verse and analysis, but out of negligence had forgotten the explanation. According to MĀ 166 at T I 698c21 and T 77 at T I 886b13, however, on that former occasion the Buddha had only taught the verses, without the analysis, so that in the Chinese versions the *deva* had not forgotten what the Buddha had taught.

46 MĀ 166 at T I 699c19 speaks of "delight", 樂, "desire", 欲, "attachment", 著, and being "established", 住, while T 77 at T I 887a20 only takes up "delight", 樂, "attachment", 著, and being "established", 住.

47 *Therāpadāna* Ap 545:19 at Ap II 505,26: *bhaddekarattaṃ ovādaṃ, arahattaṃ apāpuṇiṃ.*

Looking back on the four Pāli discourses concerned with the *bhaddekaratta* stanzas, a noteworthy circumstance is that the chapter in which they are found, the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, has twelve discourses.[48] All other chapters in the *Majjhima-nikāya* consist of ten discourses only.[49] Due to the present chapter's departure from the standard count of ten discourses,[50] the overall count of *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses runs into one-hundred-fifty-two, even though the *Majjhima-nikāya* is divided into three groups labelled "fifties", *paṇṇāsa*, which gives the impression that there should be only one-hundred-fifty discourses.[51]

Perhaps the division heading of "fifty" is best understood as an approximation, as in the *Khandha-saṃyutta* and in the *Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta* most "fifties" contain more than fifty discourses.[52] Yet, the actual content of the "fifties" in these two *saṃyutta*s could be due to later developments. In fact, in the *Jātaka* collection the division into fifties is also employed, and here the actual number of discourses contained in each "fifty" is indeed fifty.[53]

On the assumption that at an earlier stage the final "fifty" of the *Majjhima-nikāya* contained just fifty discourses, built on the pattern of ten discourses per chapter, the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* would originally have had only ten discourses, to which subsequently two discourses were added.

The first discourse in the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*, records exactly the same exposition as found in the *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta* and its Chinese parallels, namely a treatment of the implications of the *bhaddekaratta* stanzas from the perspective of the five aggregates, given by the Buddha. It could easily be imagined that, during the course of transmission, the introductory part of the *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta* was lost and only the exposition itself was remembered, which then became the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*.[54] On this hypothesis, perhaps the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* was added to the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* after this chapter had already been

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[48] Extracts from the present discussion already appeared in Anālayo 2010m.

[49] Renou 1957: 2 and 29 notes that groups of ten form a principle grouping in Vedic texts, which was also frequently used by the Buddhists and the Jains.

[50] A comparable departure from a standard count of ten can also be found in the case of the *pācittiya* rules where, similar to the present case, the penultimate chapter counts twelve, resulting in an overall count of ninety-two rules in nine chapters, cf. Vin IV 157,8.

[51] Norman 1983a: 48.

[52] The first and the third "fifty" of the *Khandha-saṃyutta* contain more than fifty discourses, as is the case for the first, second, and fourth "fifties" in the *Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta* (the third "fifty" has fifty discourses in E[e], but over fifty in other editions). Bodhi 2000: 22 comments that in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* the expression fifty "is only an approximation, since the sets usually contain slightly more than fifty suttas". Somaratne 2006a: 689 notes that in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* "the word *paṇṇāsaka* is used as a round number".

[53] A division into three fifties in the *Ekanipāta* of the *Jātaka* collection (cf. Jā I 261,22, Jā I 410,19, and Jā I 511,19) groups exactly one-hundred-and-fifty tales into three groups of fifties; cf. also von Hinüber 1998: 109.

[54] That the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* could be the outcome of a transmission mistake within the Pāli tradition is supported by the circumstance that it is the only one out of the four Pāli discourses that does not have a Chinese counterpart, although such absence in itself is certainly not conclusive, cf. also above p. 318.

formed in accordance with the ten discourses per chapter pattern, thereby causing an increase of the number of discourses.[55] The Sanskrit fragments paralleling the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* do not necessarily contradict this hypothesis, as after the stanzas on an auspicious night the Sanskrit version continues with *dhāraṇī*s, so that the Sanskrit discourse seems to stem from a different line of development.[56] On the assumption that the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* could be a later addition to the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, the count of discourses in this chapter could be reduced to eleven.

Another discourse that could have made its way into the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* at a later stage is the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*, a discourse which records how the Buddha refused a gift made to him by his fostermother and then gave an exposition on the merits of offerings to different recipients.[57] While all the other discourses in the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* follow the same pattern of beginning with a summary statement, followed by offering a detailed exposition of this statement, this pattern is less evident in the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*. Although this remains hypothetical, perhaps the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* did not originally form part of the group of ten discourses that were assembled under the heading "analyses of a summary", but was later added to the chapter on analyses as it has the term "analysis" in its title.[58] The *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* and the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* are respectively the first and the last discourse in the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, which would be the most probable positions for later additions to the group.

The hypothesis that these two discourses could have been added later to the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* does not imply an assessment of the authenticity of their content, since it could well be that relatively early material was shifted to a different position within a discourse collection at a later time. This hypothesis only entails that the arrangement of the discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* did not come into existence in a single moment, but rather is the product of a gradual development.

This much would seem to be also implicit in a statement made by the commentaries, according to which the *Bakkula-sutta* was only included in the *Majjhima-nikāya* at the second council.[59] From this it follows that the chapter in which the *Bakkula-sutta* is now

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[55] Horner 1959: 233 note 1 arrives at the opposite hypothesis, suggesting that "this is the Vagga that has 12 Discourses. If it were thought desirable to reduce them to the normal 10, this Discourse [i.e. the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*], spoken by the Lord, would rank as one, and the next three, spoken by disciples, would have to be counted together as another single Discourse". Yet, only MN 132 and MN 133 are spoken by disciples, whereas the exposition in MN 134 is spoken by the Buddha, so that authorship alone would not suffice for considering MN 132, MN 133, and MN 134 to be three versions of a single original.

[56] Cf. SHT III 816R.

[57] MN 142 at MN III 253-257.

[58] According to Rhys Davids 1902: 475, the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* "seems to belong, in its subject-matter, to the Vinaya" and thus as a *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse was "probably interpolated"; cf. also Amore 1971: 69, who similarly suggests that this discourse "may have been added after the [*Majjhima-nikāya*] collection was organized".

[59] Ps IV 197,2 comments on the *Bakkula-sutta* that "this discourse was included at the second council", *idaṃ pana suttaṃ dutiyasaṅgahe saṅgahītaṃ*, cf. also above p. 716.

found could not have been a product of the recitation that, according to the traditional account, was carried out at the so-called first council.

MN 135 *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta*[60]

The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta*, the "lesser discourse on an analysis of karma", explains in what way beings are the heirs of their own past deeds. This discourse has six Chinese parallels, one of which is found in the *Madhyama-āgama*, while the other five parallels are individual translations.[61] The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* also has two Sanskrit parallels as well as two Tibetan parallels. In what follows, I will refer to the two Sanskrit versions as the "*Karmavibhaṅga*" and the "*Śuka-sūtra*",[62] and to the two Ti-

[60] Ps V 15,16 records *Subha-sutta* as an alternative title for MN 135.

[61] The Chinese parallels are MĀ 170 at T I 703c-706b, T 78 at T I 887b-888b, T 79 at T I 888b-891a, T 80 at T I 891a-895b, T 81 at T I 895b-901b, and T 755 at T XVII 588c-590b. MĀ 170 has the title "discourse to the [Brahmin] Parrot (Suka)", 鸚鵡經, T 78 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha [about the Brahmin] Todeyya", 佛說兜調經, T 79 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha to the [Brahmin] Parrot (Suka)", 佛說鸚鵡經, T 80 has the title "discourse on an analysis of the effects of karma, spoken by the Buddha to the householder Suka", 佛為首迦長者說業報差別經, T 81 has the title "discourse on an analysis of good and bad [karmic] retribution", 分別善惡報應經, and T 755 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha [in reply] to a question put by the lay follower Pure Mind", 佛說淨意優婆塞所問經, reconstructed by Lin Li-Kouang 1949: 274 as **Śukla-maty-upāsaka-paripṛcchā-sūtra*. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 78 was translated by an unknown translator, T 79 was translated by Guṇabhadra, T 80 was translated by Qūtán Fǎzhì (瞿曇法智, which according to Lévi 1932a: 6 corresponds to Gautama Dharmaprajñā or Dharmajñāṇa), T 81 was translated by Tiānxízāi (天息災), and T 755 was translated by Dānapāla (施護). The Chinese versions, the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* agree with MN 135 on locating the discourse at Sāvatthī. Parts of MĀ 170 have been studied and translated by Minh Chau 1964/1991: 31, 72, 128-130, 184, and 207. A to some extent comparable exposition of the fruits of karma, based on the ten courses of action, can be found in SĀ 1048 at T II 274a26.

[62] The Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* has been edited in Kudo 2004: 2-227 (cf. also id. 2006a, id. 2006b, and id. 2007) and in Lévi 1932a: 21-105; the fragments of the *Śuka-sūtra* have been published by Hoernle 1916/1970: 48-52. Other fragments are SHT VI 1210 (pp. 5-6) and probably the so far unpublished fragments no. 2382/49a, 2382/176, 2382/252, 2382/255, 2382/258a, 2382/uf1/1b, 2382/uf19/1b of the Schøyen collection (2382/49a, 2382/252, 2382/255, 2382/258a, 2382/uf1/1b, and 2382/uf19/1b have been identified by Klaus Wille, 2382/176 has been noted as a possible parallel by Noriyuki Kudo in his presentation at the IABS conference, London 2005; I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of these fragments). The Schøyen fragments are rather brief, mostly being on the advantages of giving. Regarding the title of the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga*, I follow Kudo 2004: x, instead of using the title *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* given to the same work by Lévi (although a recently discovered manuscript of the *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2006b: 49,3 has preserved the title as *Kukkura-sūtra*, "the discourse on the dog"). Hoernle 1916/1970: 48 suggests the *Śuka-sūtra* to correspond to T 80, as the sequence of the three topics preserved in the Sanskrit fragment recurs in this Chinese version. Yet MĀ 170, T 78, T 79, and T 755 also have the sequence found in the Sanskrit fragment, which proceeds from deeds that result in being influential, via deeds that result in being reborn in a high family, to deeds that lead to becoming wealthy. Thus, this parallelism on its own would not suffice for concluding that T 80 and the *Śuka-sūtra* stand in a particularly close relationship to each other.

betan versions as the "Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*" and the "Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha*".[63] Versions of the present analysis of karma have also been preserved in Khotanese,[64] in Sogdian,[65] and in Tocharian.[66]

With this impressive number of versions preserved in various languages, the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* becomes the discourse with more parallels than any other discourse in the *Majjhima-nikāya* collection. The reason for the considerable interest that this particular discourse appears to have aroused would probably be the clear-cut relations it establishes between particular deeds done in the past and particular qualities in a future life.[67]

The basic treatment of this topic is quite similar in the parallel versions, which show considerable differences, however, in regard to the extent to which this basic treatment is then elaborated and amplified.

MN III 202 While the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* directly begins with the meeting between Subha and the Buddha,[68] several of its parallels provide an introductory narration to this

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[63] The Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* is the *las rnam par 'byed pa*, translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarman, and Ye shes sde, cf. Skilling 1997a: 151. The *las rnam par 'byed pa*, D (338) or Q (1005), has been edited in Lévi 1932a: 183-214. The *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* is the *las kyi rnam par 'gyur ba zhes bya ba'i chos kyi gzhung*, D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 298b-310a or Q (1006) *shu* 310b-322a. This discourse has been translated in Feer 1883: 252-279. On a third Tibetan version cf. Simon 1970, who examines the differences between this version and the *las rnam par 'byed pa.*

[64] The fragments of the Khotanese version have been edited and translated by Maggi 1995: 33-82 (being unable to read Khotanese, my study of this version is based on the translation provided by Maggi).

[65] The Sogdian fragment has been edited and translated in Rosenberg 1920 (being unable to read Sogdian, my comments on this version are based on the translation provided by Rosenberg). Another Sogdian discourse related to the same topic is the "discourse on causes and effects", edited and translated by Gauthiot 1926 and Mackenzie 1970. A Chinese parallel to this discourse can be found in T 2881 at T LXXXV 1380b-1383b, entitled "discourse spoken by the Buddha on the causes and effects of good and bad [deeds]", 佛說善惡因果經. This discourse starts with an interrogation by Ānanda somewhat similar to the question posed by Subha. The Buddha's reply lists a whole range of different actions and their retribution. The discourse ends with eighty-thousand listeners aspiring for supreme Buddhahood and a hundred-thousand females spontaneously transforming themselves into males, cf. Gauthiot 1926: 29 or MacKenzie 1970: 32, and T 2881 at T LXXXV 1383b1.

[66] The Tocharian fragments have been edited and translated in Lévi 1933, with corrections by Sieg 1938 (being unable to read Tocharian, my comments on this version are based on the translation provided by Lévi). The Tocharian fragments parallel parts of the detailed examination of deeds in the *Karmavibhaṅga* not found in MN 135, hence for a comparative study of MN 135, these fragments are not of direct relevance.

[67] The popularity of this theme can also be seen in sculptures found in Borobudur, Java, which illustrate the relationship between deeds and their fruits; for a description of these sculptures cf. Lévi 1937/1996. Another indication of the importance accorded to karmic retribution would be implicit in the definition of the faculty (*indriya*) of faith given in the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 31,10. Unlike the standard definition given in the early discourses, which speaks of faith in the awakening of the Buddha, according to the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra*'s definition such faith is in rebirth and the fact that karma bears fruit.

[68] MN 135 at MN III 202,13 gives the Brahmin youth's name as Subha, "beautiful", a name he received, according to the commentarial gloss at Ps V 8,9, because of his beauty. The Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 4,10 and id. 2006a: 35,7 (cf. also id. 2006b: 49,10) or in Lévi 1932a: 21,15 instead gives his

meeting, a narration also found in the Pāli commentary.[69] According to this narration, Subha's father had been reborn in his own household as a dog. When the Buddha passed by Subha's house during his alms round, the dog barked at him.[70] The Buddha thereon admonished the dog.

When Subha came to know about this, he approached the Buddha and asked about the reasons for this admonishment. In reply, the Buddha informed Subha that the dog had formerly been his father. Subha found it difficult to believe that his father had been reborn in what, from an ancient Indian viewpoint, was a rather low condition. On following the Buddha's instruction, however, Subha got the dog to reveal some treasures that his father had buried, which convinced him that the dog was indeed his former father. This discovery stirred Subha's interest in the working mechanism of karma so that he approached the Buddha again and inquired about the reason why people differ in regard to such things as life span, health, beauty, wealth, social position, and intelligence.

According to the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and most of its parallels, the Buddha explained that karma is responsible for the differences among beings.[71] Subha did not MN III 203

name as Śuka, "parrot". MĀ 170 at T I 703c25 similarly renders his name as "parrot", 鸚鵡, as does T 79 at T I 888b20: 鸚鵡. Transcriptions that express the same are used in T 80 at T I 891a21: 首迦 and T 81 at T I 895c3: 輸迦. T 755 at T XVII 588c15, however, translates his name as "pure mind", 淨意, which thus agrees with MN 135 on the name *subha* or *śubha* instead of *suka* or *śuka*, at the same time perhaps mistaking *māṇava* for *manas*. The rendering used in T 80, 首迦, recurs in DĀ 22 at T I 95a25. DĀ 23 at T I 97c28 uses yet another way of rendering Śuka, namely 首伽; on which cf. also Meisig 2010: 67. According to Lévi 1932a: 21 note 3, *śuka* could stem from an original *sua*, that developed via *suva* (which together with *suka* renders "parrot" in Pāli, cf. Geiger 1916: 55 and Lüders 1954: 80) to *suba* and thence to *subha*. T 78 at T I 887b8 has 谷 as the name of its protagonist, which does not seem to fit either Subha or Śuka.

69 This narration can be found in MĀ 170 at T I 703c24, T 78 at T I 887b7, T 79 at T I 888b19, T 81 at T I 895c2, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 2,13 and id. 2006a: 35,5 (cf. also id. 2006b: 49,8) or in Lévi 1932a: 21,13, and in Ps V 9,12; for a reference to the Brahmin's rebirth as a dog cf. also the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 521c29 (another reference in the same work to an element from the introductory narration in MĀ 170 at T I 704a17 can be found in T 1545 at T XXVII 903a17). The Sogdian fragment in Rosenberg 1920: 405 has the beginning of this narration, which unfortunately is all it has preserved of the present discourse. On some vernacular elements found in this narration in the case of T 78 cf. Zürcher 1996: 14-17.

70 A sculptural representation of this event can be found in Foucher 1905: 525, which depicts the dog standing on a luxurious bed and angrily barking at the Buddha.

71 A brief statement to this effect is found in MN 135 at MN III 203,4, MĀ 170 at T I 704c26, T 79 at T I 889b21, T 80 at T I 891a25, T 81 at T I 896b25, T 755 at T XVII 588c29, in the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 26,5 and 27,7 or in Lévi 1932a: 30,3, in the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 183,14, and in the *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 299a7 or Q (1006) *shu* 311a3, which, however, does not report that Subha asked for a more detailed explanation. The Buddha's short reply on karma and Subha's request for an explanation are not found in T 78. T 80 differs from the other versions in as much as it does not record any question put by Subha, as in its version the Buddha rather addressed Subha on his own accord. Demiéville 1924:146 note 3 points out that Mil 65,26 quotes this statement in a form that corresponds to MN 135 at MN III 203,4 (cf. also the formulations in AN 5:57 at AN III 74,30 and AN 10:48 at AN V 88,8) whereas the equivalent quote in the Chinese translation of this work, T 1670B at T XXXII 714b7 (translated in Guang Xing 2007: 167), corresponds closer to the

understand the implications of this brief statement and requested a more detailed explanation.

The first illustration of this principle, given in the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels, takes up the case of killing living beings.[72] According to the Pāli version, the retribution for killing will be rebirth in a lower world, or else, if the culprit is reborn as a human being, he or she will be short-lived.[73] To abstain from killing leads to a heavenly rebirth, or else to a long life span if one is reborn as a human being.

Several of the Chinese versions differ from the presentation in the Pāli discourse in so far as they do not seem to envisage human rebirth as an alternative to rebirth in hell or heaven, but rather present it as something that apparently takes place only after one has already been reborn in hell in retribution for killing or in heaven for abstaining from killing.[74] Thus, their presentations give the impression that the act of killing definitely leads to hell, just as to abstain from killing definitely leads to heaven.

In the Pāli account and in some other Chinese versions, however, the correlation of these acts with these two modes of rebirth is less absolute, a difference that recurs also in the subsequent treatments of other deeds and their karmic fruits. The Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* agree in this respect with the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta*, as they also do not envisage that killing inevitably will be followed by rebirth in hell.[75]

According to the detailed examination of karma and its fruit, given in the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga-sutta* and in its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, the working mechanism of karma would in fact be of such complexity that it would be possible for someone who has killed to be reborn in heaven (provided he or she has additionally done numerous wholesome deeds), just as it would be possible for someone who abstains from killing

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wording in MĀ 170 at T I 704c26. Krishan 1997: 60 notes that a comparable relationship between former deeds and rebirth is established in the *Kauśītaki Upaniṣad* 1.2, cf. Radhakrishnan 1953/1992: 754: *teṣu teṣu sthāneṣu pratyājāyate, yathā-karma*, "in this or that condition he is born again according to his deeds".

[72] Before turning to this first case, several versions offer a detailed breakdown of types of karma, examining its ripening from such perspectives as location and time of ripening, manner of ripening, etc., cf. T 80 at T I 891a29, T 81 at T I 896b29, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 26,8 and 27,11 (cf. also id. 2006b: 56,18) or in Lévi 1932a: 30,5, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 299b2 or Q (1006) *shu* 311a6, and the Khotanese version in Maggi 1995: 56,22.

[73] MN 135 at MN III 203,16. According to the Jain *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* 5.6.1 in Lalwani 1974: 182,2, harming or killing living beings, speaking falsehood, and offering improper food to ascetics leads to a short life span, cf. also the *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 3.133 in Jambūvijaya 1985: 49,3 and Krümpelmann 2006: 3.

[74] MĀ 170 at T I 705a6+13, T 78 at T I 887c21+22, T 79 at T I 889c2+9, and T 755 at T XVII 589a9+14.

[75] The Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 40,5, 41,5, and id. 2007: 94,22 or in Lévi 1932a: 33,10 and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 184,26 do so explicitly by quoting a discourse according to which killing can lead to rebirth in hell or in the animal realm, or among ghosts, or to short life among humans. A similar presentation can be found in AN 8:40 at AN IV 247,8 and EĀ 14.1 at T II 576a18; cf. also EĀ 47.2 at T II 781a12 and EĀ 48.1 at T II 785c25 (as well as EĀ 52.8 at T II 828b10, which only mentions the retribution of having a short life span one being reborn as a human), with the positive case of abstaining from killing and its result in a long life span taken up in EĀ 14.2 at T II 576a26.

to be reborn in hell (provided he or she has additionally done numerous unwholesome deeds).[76]

Two of the individual Chinese translations, the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha*, and the Khotanese version examine different types of relationship to the act of killing, such as undertaking the killing oneself, ordering someone else to do it, speaking in praise of killing, delighting on seeing someone being killed, etc., all of which they explain to be conducive to a short life span.[77] When applying the same detailed treatment to the positive counterpart of abstaining from killing, the same versions mention such wholesome acts as rescuing a being about to be killed, consoling a being afraid of dying, or caring for a being that is sick and in pain.[78] The Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s further illustrate their treatment by giving examples of how a deed of killing has led to a short life, narrating the tale of someone who had instituted a cow sacrifice and in retribution was reborn again and again as a cow to be sacrificed.[79]

The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels indicate that harm inflicted on others MN III 204
leads to being afflicted with disease oneself, while to abstain from harm and injury leads to health.[80] Here, again, the two individual Chinese translations, the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha*, and the Khotanese parallel offer additional perspectives, explaining that, for example, to give medicine to the sick will lead to future health for oneself.[81]

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[76] MN 136 at MN III 209,28 and MN III 210,5, as well as MĀ 171 at T I 707a26+28. Mitchell 1975: 101 sums up that a certain "deed is a necessary condition for karmic reward, but not a sufficient condition".

[77] T 80 at T I 892a1, T 81 at T I 896c21, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 36,2, 37,2, and id. 2007: 93,2 or in Lévi 1932a: 32,4, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 183,18, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 300b2 or Q (1006) *shu* 312a6, and the Khotanese version in Maggi 1995: 63,22. These versions adopt a pattern of treating each case in a tenfold manner by presenting ten aspects related to killing, followed by ten aspects related to refraining from killing, etc. The same pattern can also be found in the *Śuka-sūtra*, although the fragments have not preserved the part that corresponds to the topics of killing or abstention from killing.

[78] T 80 at T I 892a8, T 81 at T I 896c26, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 42,3, 43,3, and id. 2007: 95,3 or in Lévi 1932a: 33,18, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 184,36, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 300b4 or Q (1006) *shu* 312b1.

[79] The Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 36,9, 37,8, and id. 2007: 93,8 or in Lévi 1932a: 32,12 and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 184,4. When turning to the opposite case of how saving life leads to longevity, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 44,2, 45,2, and id. 2007: 95,13 or in Lévi 1932a: 34,8 takes up the former good deeds that caused Baka Brahmā to possess long life, paralleling the reasons given for his longevity in SN 6:4 at SN I 143,20 (or SN^2 175 at SN^2 I 312,15) and in its parallels SĀ 1195 at T II 324b24 and $SĀ^2$ 108 at T II 412c1 (with some variations).

[80] MN 135 at MN III 204,3, MĀ 170 at T I 705a16, T 78 at T I 887c23, T 79 at T I 889c13, T 80 at T I 892a13, T 81 at T I 896c29, T 755 at T XVII 589a17, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 50,6 and id. 2007: 97,16 or in Lévi 1932a: 37,5, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 185,7, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 300b6 or Q (1006) *shu* 312b2, and the Khotanese version in Maggi 1995: 65,17 (the part on harming has only been partially preserved).

[81] T 80 at T I 892a24, T 81 at T I 897a7, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 52,2 and id. 2007: 98,7 or in Lévi 1932a: 37,16, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 185,22, the Tibetan *Karmavi-*

The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels continue by taking up the cause for ugliness, which they relate to anger and irritability in a former existence, while forbearance and patience lead to future beauty.[82] The more detailed treatments offered in the two individual Chinese translations, the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* note that to look down on others who are ugly or even to deride them will also lead to becoming ugly oneself.[83]

The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels next take up what prevents one from being influential, which they explain to be the outcome of having been envious of the honour and gains someone else had received. In contrast, rejoicing in the success of others will lead to being influential in the future.[84] According to an individual Chinese translation and the *Śuka-sūtra*, another cause for not being influential in the future is if one looks down on someone who is of little influence.[85]

MN III 205 The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* next takes up wealth and poverty. In agreement with its parallels, it relates wealth to giving food and requisites to recluses and Brahmins, while those who did not make such offerings will be reborn in poverty.[86] The *Madhyama-āgama* version, several individual Chinese translations, and the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavi-*

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bhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 301a3 or Q (1006) *shu* 312b7, and the Khotanese version in Maggi 1995: 66,27.

[82] MN 135 at MN III 204,18, MĀ 170 at T I 705a29, T 78 at T I 887c27, T 79 at T I 889c27, T 80 at T I 892a28, T 81 at T I 897a9, T 755 at T XVII 589a27, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 52,6 and id. 2007: 98,10 or in Lévi 1932a: 37,18, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 185,25, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 301a4 or Q (1006) *shu* 312b8. The same point is also made in AN 4:197 at AN II 203,14, to which AN 5:148 at AN III 172,11 adds that to be full of faith when making offerings will also conduce to future beauty.

[83] T 80 at T I 892b3, T 81 at T I 897a11, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 52,9 and id. 2007: 98,13 or in Lévi 1932a: 38,3, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 185,30, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 301a5 or Q (1006) *shu* 313a2.

[84] MN 135 at MN III 204,32, MĀ 170 at T I 705b13, T 79 at T I 890a13, T 80 at T I 892b11, T 81 at T I 897a18, T 755 at T XVII 589b8, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 54,15 and id. 2007: 99,18 or in Lévi 1932a: 39,1, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 186,5, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 301a7 or Q (1006) *shu* 313a4. The same point is also made in AN 4:197 at AN II 203,19. The fragments of the *Śuka-sūtra* in Hoernle 1916/1970: 48 set in with the last of the deeds that lead to little influence, followed by the treatment of deeds that lead to being influential. The deeds related to being influential or to being of no influence are not taken up at all in T 78, which instead mentions lack of respect for elders and parents, cf. T 78 at T I 888a3.

[85] T 80 at T I 892b17 and the *Śuka-sūtra* fragment folio 56 obverse 1 in Hoernle 1916/1970: 48.

[86] MN 135 at MN III 205,6, MĀ 170 at T I 705c14, T 78 at T I 888a13, T 79 at T I 890b17, T 80 at T I 892c13 (which even envisages taking away their property), T 81 at T I 897b7, T 755 at T XVII 589c3, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 60,14 and id. 2007: 101,23 or in Lévi 1932a: 41,6, the *Śuka-sūtra* fragment folio 57 in Hoernle 1916/1970: 50, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 187,7, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 302a2 or Q (1006) *shu* 313b7, and the Khotanese version in Maggi 1995: 69,4. The same point is also made in AN 4:197 at AN II 203,17 and in EĀ 19.6 at T II 595a1. The Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan versions differ from the sequence adopted in MN 135, as they follow the topic of being influential with the topic of being born in a high position, before taking up the reasons for future wealth.

*bhaṅga*s also mention giving to those who are poor and needy as a condition for being reborn in an affluent condition.[87] According to the more detailed treatments in the two individual Chinese translations, in the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s, in the *Śuka-sūtra*, in the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha*, and in the Khotanese version, theft is another prominent condition for poverty in a future life.[88]

The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels agree that arrogance leads to being reborn in a low social position, whereas to be respectful is the cause for rebirth in a high family.[89] One of the individual Chinese translations, together with the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s and the *Śuka-sūtra*, warns that to look down on those of low families will lead to being reborn in a low family oneself.[90]

Regarding rebirth in a low condition due to pride, according to the *Madhyama-āgama* version's introductory narration of the Buddha's first meeting with Subha (after the encounter with the dog while begging for alms) the Buddha had explained that the excessive pride of Subha's father had been responsible for his rebirth as a dog,[91] a remark

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[87] MĀ 170 at T I 705c16, T 78 at T I 888a17, T 79 at T I 890b18, T 81 at T I 897b15, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 62,7, 63,6, and id. 2007: 102,10 or in Lévi 1932a: 41,16, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 187,20, a point made in T 80 at T I 892c23 in terms of recommending a compassionate attitude towards the poor. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 31 takes this difference to exemplify a greater emphasis given in the Chinese texts to compassion. However, the importance of giving to the poor and needy, in addition to giving to recluses and Brahmins, is mentioned also in other Pāli discourses, cf., e.g., It 3:3:6 at It 65,10.

[88] T 80 at T I 892c11, T 81 at T I 897b7, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 60,14 and id. 2007: 101,23 or in Lévi 1932a: 41,6, *Śuka-sūtra* fragment folio 57 obverse 3 in Hoernle 1916/1970: 50, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 187,8, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 302a2 or Q (1006) *shu* 313b7, and the Khotanese version in Maggi 1995: 69,4. The same point is also made in SHT VI 1210V1. The Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 62,11, 63,10, and id. 2007: 102,13 or in Lévi 1932a: 41,18, as well as the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 187,22 conclude their exposition of the causes for wealthy rebirth by quoting a discourse whose counterpart can be found in AN 5:199 at AN III 244,21, according to which giving to a virtuous recluse will conduce to becoming wealthy in a future life. The relation of theft to future poverty is also highlighted in AN 8:40 at AN IV 247,11, EĀ 14.3 at T II 576b6, EĀ 47.2 at T II 781a13, EĀ 48.1 at T II 785c28, and EĀ 52.8 at T II 828b12, with the positive case of charity taken up in EĀ 14.4 at T II 576b15.

[89] MN 135 at MN III 205,16, MĀ 170 at T I 705b26, T 78 at T I 888a9, T 79 at T I 890a27, T 80 at T I 892b27, T 81 at T I 897a27, T 755 at T XVII 589b20, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 58,2 and id. 2007: 100,17 or in Lévi 1932a: 40,9, the *Śuka-sūtra* fragment folio 56 in Hoernle 1916/1970: 49, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 186,21, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 301b4 or Q (1006) *shu* 313b1. The Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 60,1 and id. 2007: 101,9 or in Lévi 1932a: 40,20 and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 186,36 quote a discourse whose counterpart can be found in AN 5:199 at AN III 244,15, according to which respectful behaviour towards a virtuous recluse will conduce to rebirth in a family of high standing. A similar point is also made in EĀ 19.7at T II 595a10. For a comparable position taken in a Jain text cf. *Uttarājjhayaṇa* 29.10 in Charpentier 1922: 200,16.

[90] T 80 at T I 892c3, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 58,5 and id. 2007: 101,1 or in Lévi 1932a: 40,13, *Śuka-sūtra* fragment folio 56 reverse 3 in Hoernle 1916/1970: 49, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 186,27.

[91] MĀ 170 at T I 704b13: 汝父都提以此增上慢, 是故生於下賤狗中, cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 184.

recorded as well in one of the individual translations.[92] Another individual translation also mentions Subha's father abusive speech as a factor that led to his low rebirth.[93] Thus, out of the different deeds examined in the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels, according to these Chinese versions pride and abusive speech had caused the rebirth of Subha's father in a low position. Another of the individual translations and the Pāli commentary add to this his former stinginess as a factor responsible for his rebirth as a dog.[94]

The final topic in the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* is the cause for being wise. In agreement with its parallels, the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* explains that approaching recluses and Brahmins in order to learn what is wholesome and what is unwholesome will lead to being reborn endowed with wisdom. In contrast, those who did not undertake such inquiries will be reborn as fools.[95] According to one of the individual Chinese translations, to despise someone for being a fool and to be unwilling to teach the Dharma will also conduce to becoming a fool oneself in the future.[96] In order to avoid being reborn as a fool, the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga*s furthermore recommend abstinence from alcohol.[97]

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[92] T 79 at T I 889a6.

[93] T 78 at T I 887b8 explains that Subha's father had been reborn as a dog due to his abusive speech, and at T I 887c2 relates his rebirth as a dog to his former pride.

[94] T 81 at T I 896a17 mentions Subha's father's stinginess and also notes that he had no faith in the three jewels. Ps V 9,3 reports the Buddha reflecting that Subha's father had been reborn as a dog due to his stinginess, *todeyya brāhmaṇo dhanalobhena attano va ghare sunakho hutvā nibbatto*. In MĀ 170 at T I 704b11, however, when told by the Buddha that his father had been reborn as a dog, Subha proclaimed that his father had been a generous donor, 我父都提大行布施. A similar remark by Subha is also found in T 79 at T I 889a4 and in T 81 at T I 896a20, which in the case of T 81 appears to refer to offering sacrifices, as suggested also by the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 14,7 and id. 2006a: 40,9 (cf. also id. 2006b: 53,4) or in Lévi 1932a: 27,26. T 81 at T I 896a23 continues with a remark by the Buddha that Subha's father did not practise generosity. This suggests that perhaps the references to Subha's father being a generous donor should be understood to intend only the making of offerings in the context of Brahminical sacrifices, whereas when it came to giving on other occasions to recluses or the needy he was stingy.

[95] While according to MN 135 at MN III 205,28, MĀ 170 at T I 706a3, T 79 at T I 890c6, and T 755 at T XVII 589c17 a central topic of this inquiry is the difference between what is wholesome and what is unwholesome, according to T 78 at T I 888a20 the inquiry is about the path that leads to deliverance, 度世之道. In the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 64,3, 65,2, and id. 2007: 102,22 or in Lévi 1932a: 41,24, as well as in the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 187,29 the inquiry is about what should better be done, which thus seems to correspond to the inquiry about what is wholesome and what is unwholesome, found in most versions. T 80 at T I 892c25, T 81 at 897b17, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 302a6 or Q (1006) *shu* 314a4 do not mention the topic of the inquiry at all. The relation between inquiring from recluses and future wisdom recurs in AN 5:199 at AN III 244,26, which also does not specify the nature of the questions to be asked.

[96] T 80 at T I 893a1 (despise others) and T 80 at T I 892c28 (not teaching the Dharma).

[97] The Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 68,16, 69,15, and id. 2007: 104,16 or in Lévi 1932a: 44,6 and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 188,6. AN 8:40 at AN IV 248,9 broaches the same topic, explaining that consumption of alcohol may even lead to being reborn as a mad person. The dire conse-

While several versions continue to explore the topic of karma and its retribution with various other examinations,[98] the *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* and most of its Chinese parallels conclude their expositions at this point by summing up that beings are the heirs of their own deeds, since through undertaking particular actions they will come to have a particular quality or defect in the future.[99] One of the individual Chinese translations illustrates this principle with the image of different seeds, which when planted will lead to harvesting the type of grain that corresponds in nature to the seeds.[100] The Pāli discourse and most of its parallels conclude with Subha taking refuge.[101] MN III 206

MN 136 *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*, the "greater discourse on an analysis of karma", reveals the complexity of the ripening of karma. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[102] Another parallel can be found in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[103]

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels begin by describing that the wanderer Potaliputta visited the monk Samiddhi.[104] Potaliputta proclaimed to have person- MN III 207

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quences of drinking are also described in EĀ 14.9 at T II 576c28, with the positive case of abstaining from alcohol taken up in EĀ 14.10 at T II 577a8.

98 T 80 at T I 893a8, T 81 at T I 897b27, the Sanskrit *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 70,4, 71,4, and id. 2007: 104,20 or in Lévi 1932a: 44,9, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 188,10, the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 302b4 or Q (1006) *shu* 314b1, and the Khotanese version in Maggi 1995: 72,7.

99 MN 135 at MN III 206,6, MĀ 170 at T I 706a20, T 78 at T I 888a26, T 79 at T I 890c23, and T 755 at T XVII 590a3.

100 T 78 at T I 888b2.

101 MN 135 at MN III 206,29, MĀ 170 at T I 706b5, T 78 at T I 888b7, T 79 at T I 891a7, T 755 at T XVII 590a29, and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga-nāma-dharmagrantha* at D (339) *mdo sde, sa* 310a7 or Q (1006) *shu* 322a6. Although T 80 at T I 895b14 and the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* in Lévi 1932a: 214,29 do not explicitly speak of taking refuge, they nevertheless report that Subha had acquired faith and invited the Buddha to his house. In T 81 at T I 901b11, however, Subha only expressed his appreciation by explaining that anyone who heard this exposition would derive great joy and benefit from it.

102 The parallel is MĀ 171 at T I 706b-708c, which agrees with MN 136 on the location and has the title 分別大業經, which literally would be the "discourse on an analysis of great karma", although the sense would probably rather be a "great analysis of karma" or else a "greater discourse on an analysis of karma"; on MĀ 171 cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 70, 131, and 199. A quotation from the present discourse in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 238b15, cf. also Lamotte 1970a: 1534, records the discourse's title as "an analysis of karma", 分別業.

103 Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 262b1-268a6 or Q (5595) *thu* 4b8-11b2, which gives the title of the discourse as *las rnam par 'byed pa chen po'i mdo*, "the greater discourse on an analysis of karma" and agrees with MN 136 on the location; cf. also Abhidh-k 5:7 in Pradhan 1967: 281,11: *Mahākarmavibhāgasūtre*, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 99c19: 大分別諸業契經 and T 1559 at T XXIX 253c17: 大分別業經.

104 As 88,29, in a quote from MN 136, records the wanderer's name as Pātaliputta. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 262b3 or Q (5595) *thu* 5a2 gives the monk's name as *dran pa*, the usual rendering of mindfulness.

ally heard the Buddha state that bodily and verbal actions are vain, as only mental action is real.[105] The *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama* versions report that Samiddhi told Potaliputta that this was a misrepresentation of the Buddha's teaching, whereas according to the Tibetan version he said that he had not heard this from the Buddha.[106] According to the Chinese and Tibetan accounts, Samiddhi affirmed that the fruits of deeds would be experienced, either in this world or in the next,[107] a statement not found in the Pāli version.

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels agree that Potaliputta asked Samiddhi in what way the fruition of action will be experienced.[108] Samiddhi replied that it will be experienced as *dukkha*.[109] According to the Pāli and Tibetan versions, on hearing this reply Potaliputta got up and left without further ado.

In the *Madhyama-āgama* version, however, before leaving Potaliputta asked Samiddhi how long he had been ordained, to which Samiddhi replied that he had gone forth only three years ago. The same question and reply are also found in the Pāli and Tibetan versions, where they occur before the exchange on how intentional action will be experienced.[110]

MN III 208 The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* continues by describing how Samiddhi approached Ānanda and related the discussion he been having had with Potaliputta, on hearing which Ānanda decided to report the whole matter to the Buddha. According to the Chinese and Tibetan versions, however, another monk had overheard the discussion between Samiddhi and Potaliputta and then reported the matter to Ānanda, whereon Ānanda decided to inform the Buddha about what had happened.

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[105] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 262b5 or Q (5595) *thu* 5a5 differs in as much as here he also affirms that mental action is fruitless, *yid kyi las kyi 'bras bu med pa*, presumably a textual error. Ps V 15,20 explains that Potaliputta had come to the conclusion that according to the Buddha's teaching only mental action is real, since he had heard about (and misunderstood) the emphasis given by the Buddha to mental action in the *Upāli-sutta*, MN 56 at MN I 373,19. Regarding Potaliputta's reference to a statement by the Buddha about a state of concentration in which nothing is felt, according to the commentary this remark originated from having heard about the exposition on *abhisaññānirodha* given in the *Poṭṭhapāda-sutta*, DN 9 at DN I 184,26. Premasiri 2006c: 739 comments that "the Buddha appears to have been known among contemporary ascetics for his teaching concerning the cessation of *saññā*".

[106] MN 136 at MN III 207,14, MĀ 171 at T I 706b23, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 262b7 or Q (5595) *thu* 5a7.

[107] MĀ 171 at T I 706b25: "one will experience it either in this life, or else experience it hereafter", 或現世受, 或後世受. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 263a1 or Q (5595) *thu* 5a8: "that is, in this lifetime or on being reborn another time", *de yang mthong ba'i chos dang skyes nas dang lan grangs gzhan la'o*. MĀ 171 stands alone in reporting that Potaliputta repeated his earlier proposal twice and Samiddhi also repeated his reply twice.

[108] MN 136 at MN III 207,24, MĀ 171 at T I 706c9, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 263a3 or Q (5595) *thu* 5b4.

[109] Ps V 16,14 explains that Samiddhi had thought the question was about unwholesome conduct, *akusalam eva sandhāya paribbājako pucchatī ti saññāya evaṃ vadati.*

[110] Another difference is that in MN 136 at MN III 207,22 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 263a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 5b2 Potaliputta, on hearing that Samiddhi had been a monk for only three years, makes a remark that in MĀ 171 at T I 706c15 only takes the form of a mental reflection.

The three versions report the Buddha clarifying that Samiddhi had answered in a one-sided manner a question that should have been answered after carrying out an analysis.[111]

According to the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*, the Buddha also pointed out that he had never met Potaliputta, so that there was little ground for Potaliputta to claim that he had heard anything directly from the Buddha.

The Pāli account indicates that at this point the monk Udāyī made the suggestion that Samiddhi perhaps answered in this manner because he had in mind the Buddha's statement that whatever is felt is included in *dukkha*.[112] The Chinese and Tibetan versions record a similar intervention, although according to their account it was Ānanda who made this remark.[113]

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels continue by clarifying that the appropriate answer to Potaliputta's question would have been to explain that deeds leading to pleasant results will be felt as pleasant, just as deeds that lead to painful or neutral results will be experienced as painful or neutral.

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[111] MN 136 at MN III 208,23, MĀ 171 at T I 707a6, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 263b5 or Q (5595) *thu* 6a8. The distinction between questions that require a one-sided answer and questions that require an analysis recurs in AN 3:67 at AN I 197,19 and in its parallel MĀ 119 at T I 609a25; cf. also AN 4:42 at AN II 46,5.

[112] MN 136 at MN III 208,26: "could it be ... that the venerable Samiddhi said this in relation to [the statement that] 'whatever is felt is included in *dukkha*'", *sace pana ... āyasmatā samiddhinā idaṃ sandhāya bhāsitaṃ, yaṃ kiñci vedayitaṃ taṃ dukkhasmin ti* (S[e]-MN 388,9: *yaṅ*)*?* In MN 136 at MN III 208,30, the Buddha then remarks that he had already anticipated that the foolish Udāyī would interfere in this improper manner, *aññāsiṃ kho ahaṃ ... idān' evāyaṃ ... moghapuriso ummujjamāno ayoniso ummujjissatī ti* (S[e]-MN 388,13: *ummujjissati* without *ti*), translated by Chalmers 1927: 273 as "I knew in advance that this foolish person would pop up with a blunder", by Gethin 2008: 197 as "this confused person ... I knew just now that he was trying to come up with something and that he would come up with the wrong idea", by Horner 1959: 256 as "I ... knew that this foolish man Udāyin, opening up (this question) now, would open it up to no purpose", and by Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1059 as "I knew ... that this misguided man ... would unduly interfere right now", a remark without counterpart in the parallel versions. The commentary further enhances the inappropriateness of Udāyin's conduct by describing that due to his wish to speak he got so agitated that he stretched his neck, moved his jaws, his face started to twitch and he was unable to sit still, Ps V 17,2: *kathetukāmo gīvaṃ paggaṇhāti, hanukañ cāleti, mukham assa phandati, sannisīdituṃ na sakkoti*.

[113] MĀ 171 at T I 707a8 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 263b6 or Q (5595) *thu* 6b1. SN 36:11 at SN IV 216,17 and its parallels SĀ 473 at T II 121a8 and SĀ 474 at T II 121a24 clarify the uncertainty another monk had in regard to this statement about the relationship of all feelings to *dukkha*. These three discourses clarify that the statement, according to which all feelings are included in *dukkha*, refers to their conditioned nature, not to their affective tone. That is, not all feelings are *dukkha* in the sense of being "suffering", since some feelings are pleasant or neutral, but all feelings are *dukkha* in the sense of being ultimately "unsatisfactory", because all feelings are conditioned and impermanent. Similar to MĀ 171, in SĀ 474 the monk who inquires about this statement is Ānanda. The exposition in SN 36:11 at SN IV 217,14 and SĀ 474 at T II 121b8 culminates in the attainment of the cessation of perceptions and feelings, a topic that according to MN 136 at MN III 207,12 and MĀ 171 at T I 706b22 appears to have also been on Potaliputta's mind, as in his initial statement he had referred to a type of concentration during which feelings cease.

MN III 209 The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues with the Buddha remarking that foolish heterodox wanderers will be unable to understand the Buddha's great analysis of karma,[114] a remark not found in the parallel versions. According to the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*, the Buddha continued by saying: "if you, Ānanda, would hear the detailed great analysis on karma by the Tathāgata", at which point the sentence stops.[115] The way this sentence reads gives the impression that it has been truncated, since even though it begins with the hypothetical indeclinable "if", *sace*, it ends without explaining what will happen if Ānanda (and the monks) hear the detailed great analysis on karma.

The *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to this sentence supplies the missing part, indicating that the monks and Ānanda would experience great joy if they were to hear this analysis.[116] In all versions, Ānanda understood the hint and requested that the Buddha expounds the greater analysis on karma.

This greater analysis on karma in the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels takes up four possible cases:

- someone engages in the ten unwholesome courses of action and is reborn in a lower realm,
- someone engages in the ten unwholesome courses of action and is reborn in a heavenly realm,
- someone abstains from the ten unwholesome courses of action and is reborn in a heavenly realm,
- someone abstains from the ten unwholesome courses of action and is reborn in a lower realm.

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[114] MN 136 at MN III 209,10: "who are these stupid and foolish heterodox wanderers, that they should [be able to] understand the great analysis on karma by the Tathāgata", *ke ca aññatitthiyaparibbājakā bālā avyattā, ke ca tathāgatassa mahākammavibhaṅgaṃ jānissanti* (B^{e}-MN 252,1 and C^{e}-MN 446,28: *añña-titthiyā paribbājakā*, S^{e}-MN 389,2 begins with *te* instead of *ke ca*)?

[115] MN 136 at MN III 209,12: *sace tumhe, ānanda, suṇeyyātha tathāgatassa mahākammavibhaṅgaṃ vibhajantassā ti.*

[116] MĀ 171 at T I 707a19: "if you were to hear from the Blessed One a discourse on a great analysis on karma, you would develop more and superior mental tranquillity and happiness towards the Tathāgata", 若汝從世尊聞分別大業經者, 於如來倍復增上心靖得喜 (adopting the 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading 聞 instead of 問). Although D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 264a4 or Q (5595) *thu* 6b8 does not start with an "if" clause, but instead with a simple announcement of the impending exposition, it follows this with a comparable passage on the effects of a delivery of such a teaching by the Tathāgata, *de bzhin gshegs pa las las rnam par 'byed pa chen po zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs nyon cig dang bshad par bya'o*. In regard to a similar proclamation by the Buddha in AN 6:62 at AN III 404,5: *sace tumhe, ānanda, suṇeyyātha tathāgatassa purisindriyañāṇāni vibhajantassā ti* (B^{e}-AN II 353,20: *vibhajissāmī ti*), the *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart, MĀ 112 at T I 601a15, also completes the sentence in a way closely resembling MĀ 171: 若汝從如來聞大人根智分別者, 必得上信如來而懷歡喜, a reading which in this case is, moreover, found similarly in another parallel to AN 6:62, T 58 at T I 854b7: 汝阿難, 當從如來聽, 分別大人根相當增上, 於如來有信樂意歡喜生. If one were to attempt to restore the Pāli sentences in MN 136 and AN 6:62, based on their Chinese parallels, the resultant sentences could become: *sace tumhe, ānanda, suṇeyyātha tathāgatassa mahākammavibhaṅgaṃ* (or: *purisindriyañāṇāni) vibhajantassa, tatra vo, ānanda, tathāgate cittaṃ bhiyyosomattāya pasīdeyya pāmojjaṃ labheyya.*

The parallel versions differ in the sequence of their presentation of these four cases (see table 14.1).

The three versions describe in similar terms how recluses or Brahmins, who witness the performance of these actions and the subsequent rebirth through exercise of the divine eye, come to a dogmatic conclusion about the working mechanism of karma. MN III 210

Those who witnessed evil conduct followed by a heavenly rebirth or good conduct followed by rebirth in a lower realm come to the conclusion that there is no moral retribution for good and evil deeds.

Those who witnessed evil conduct followed by rebirth in a lower realm or good conduct followed by rebirth in a heavenly realm instead come to the conclusion that there is moral retribution for deeds, but then they also conclude that whosoever undertakes good conduct will be reborn in a heavenly realm, while all those who undertake bad conduct will be reborn in a lower realm.

Table 14.1: Analysis of Karma and Rebirth in MN 136 and MĀ 171[117]

MN 136	MĀ 171
evil conduct leading to hell (1)	evil conduct leading to heaven (→ 2)
evil conduct leading to heaven (2)	good conduct leading to hell (→ 4)
good conduct leading to heaven (3)	evil conduct leading to hell (→ 1)
good conduct leading to hell (4)	good conduct leading to heaven (→ 3)

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels acknowledge that these recluses and Brahmins speak from direct experience. Yet, in all four cases the dogmatic conclusions of these recluses and Brahmins are not justified. Moreover, in the case of those who witnessed evil conduct followed by heavenly rebirth and good conduct followed by rebirth in a lower realm, their assumption that there is no retribution for deeds at all is mistaken. MN III 212

The *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* explains that the heavenly rebirth of an evildoer could be because of following reasons: MN III 214

- this person performed good deeds before doing the evil conduct that was witnessed by those recluses and Brahmins with the divine eye,
- he performed good deeds after this evil conduct,
- at the time of passing away he had right view.[118]

[117] The present survey does not take into account the Tibetan version, as its presentation appears to have suffered from a translation or transmission error, causing several irregularities.

[118] MN 136 at MN III 214,20. MN 136 at MN III 214,14+25 and MN III 215,2+13 concludes each of its examinations of the four cases (evil or good conduct, combined with rebirth in a lower realm or in a heavenly realm) by stating that "he experiences the result either here and now, or on having been reborn, or in another existence", *tassa diṭṭhe va dhamme vipākaṃ paṭisamvedeti uppajjaṃ vā apare vā pariyāye* (B^{e}-MN III 257,12 reads *upapajja*, while C^{e}-MN III 454,37 and S^{e}-MN III 397,11 read *upapajje*). Von Hinüber 1971: 247 suggests to adopt *apare va pariyāye* instead of *apare vā pariyāye*, so that the resulting reading *uppajjaṃ vā apare va pariyāye* would envisage only two alternatives for karmic fruition,

The *Madhyama-āgama* version explains that the heavenly rebirth of an evildoer could be because of these reasons:

- he already experienced the retribution for his evil conduct in his present life,
- the retribution may be bound to ripen only in a future rebirth,
- he performed good deeds before his evil conduct,
- at the time of passing away he had right view.[119]

either in the present life or else on arising in a future existence. When examining a similar case in AN 6:63 at AN III 415,18, where the same type of statement is explicitly introduced as a "three-fold" distinction, *tividhāhaṃ, bhikkhave, kammānaṃ vipākaṃ vadāmi*, von Hinüber 1971: 246-248 suggests to adopt the variant reading *imāhaṃ*. Von Hinüber's reason for preferring *imāhaṃ* to *tividhāhaṃ* is that other discourses usually distinguish only between *diṭṭhadhamma* and *samparāyika*. Yet, this would not necessarily exclude the possibility of a threefold presentation, since the next life and later lives together fit under *samparāyika*, so that the threefold presentation could be understood as a more detailed analysis of the twofold exposition found in other discourses. In fact, the circumstance that in the present case the term *samparāyika* is not used would support the impression that the present case is not a mere repetition of the distinction between *diṭṭhadhamma* and *samparāyika*. That the present instance could be a more detailed exposition of the same issue can also be seen in MĀ 171 at T I 706b27, which speaks of deeds ripening in this world or in an afterworld, but then MĀ 171 at T I 708b17 takes up the possibility that instead of affecting the next rebirth, a deed may have its effect only subsequent to that, thereby showing how the threefold presentation acts as a more detailed exposition of the twofold mode within a single discourse. The threefold mode seems to be in fact quite central to the exposition in MN 136, whose purpose is to show that a particular deed done in the present life need not ripen in the next life. To illustrate this, the threefold presentation would be quite to the point. Von Hinüber 1971: 246, however, on the assumption that the original treatment was only twofold, traces the threefold presentation to a 15th century commentary on the *Nettipakaraṇa* and suggests that this reading influenced the wording in the *Nettipakaraṇa*, cf. Nett 37,21 and also Vism 601,2, as well as the wording of the discourses (in addition to MN 136 and AN 6:63 other relevant instances are AN 3:33 at AN I 134,22 and AN 10:206 at AN V 292,3). Von Hinüber 1978: 57 then concludes that the present case shows how "the very wording of the canon could be influenced by the scholastic views of the commentators living only a few centuries ago", a conclusion accepted in turn by Norman 1997: 166. Yet, as von Hinüber 1971: 248 himself notes, the threefold presentation is also found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Abhidh-k 4:50 in Pradhan 1967: 229,21, and in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 2309 in Sakaki 1926: 171 (Ch'en 1964: 110 notes a reference in a 4th century Chinese treatise to the same threefold presentation as a teaching found in the *sūtra*s). In this case, von Hinüber suggests that a misunderstanding of a canonical text may have caused these presentations. If the threefold presentation should indeed be the result of a misunderstanding, which seems by no means certain, it would certainly be more natural to assume that out of variants in the formulation of the relevant passage in some discourses in the course of time the threefold understanding developed, an understanding early enough to find its expression in works of different traditions alike, than to assume that a 15th century commentary was able to influence the wording of the work on which it commented and also the wording of the Pāli discourses, all the more when at the same time a similar presentation is found in works that quite probably stand in no direct relation to this commentary. Thus, instead of assuming that the wording of the canon has been influenced by recent commentaries, the existence of the same mode of presentation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and in the *Mahāvyutpatti* suggests the more plausible explanation that the commentary on the *Nettipakaraṇa* only made more explicit what was already found in the work on which it commented, instead of being itself the source of the threefold mode of presentation.

[119] MĀ 171 at T I 708b16. Regarding the importance of having right view at the moment of death, Becker

The Tibetan version's examination of the heavenly rebirth of an evildoer mentions good deeds done in the past and right view at the time of passing away as possible causes, affirming that the evil deeds will nevertheless have to be experienced, either now or on being reborn.[120] A discourse quotation from a version of this part of the present discourse, found in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-*(*upadeśa-*)*śāstra*, sums up that either the evil deed was not yet ripe and another wholesome deed was ripe, or else the evildoer passed away with a wholesome state of mind.[121]

The three versions apply their respective treatments to the remaining three cases of a particular conduct being followed by a particular rebirth, after which they give a summary of their exposition. The *Madhyama-āgama* version adds a simile to this summary, which compares the complexity of the working mechanism of karma to a fruit that may appear ripe but be unripe, appear unripe but be ripe, appear ripe and be ripe, or appear unripe and be unripe.[122]

MN 137 *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta*

The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta*, the "discourse on an analysis of the six sense-spheres", examines various aspects in relation to the six sense-spheres. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[123] Parts of the present discourse have counterparts in discourse quotations in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan,[124] in addition to which a few lines have also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[125]

The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta* begins by examining the following topics: MN III 216

1993: 13 observes that "future schools of Buddhism ... placed increasing emphasis on the holding of right views at the moment of death and ... considered this to be more important than living a moral life in determining one's future rebirth".

[120] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 267a7 or Q (5595) *thu* 10b1.

[121] T 1509 at T XXV 238b17, cf. also Lamotte 1970a: 1535.

[122] MĀ 171 at T I 708c22 (D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 268a6 or Q (5595) *thu* 11b2 ends right after listing the four types of beings that in MĀ 171 introduce the simile of the fruit, so that it remains open to conjecture if the Tibetan version had such a simile. The use of 似, "to appear as", "to resemble", in the explanation and in the simile in MĀ 171 supports the second of two commentarial explanations found at Ps V 20,6, according to which *°ābhāsa* in the compound *bhabbābhāsa* in the corresponding section in MN 136 at MN III 215,15 (which, however, does not have the simile) has the sense of "to appear", cf. also Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1347 note 1234. The simile of the four types of fruit can also be found in AN 4:06 at AN II 106,27 and in the otherwise unrelated EĀ 25.7 at T II 634a18; for a Jain version of this simile cf. *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 4.253 in Jambūvijaya 1985: 98,8.

[123] The parallel is MĀ 163 at T I 692b-694b, which agrees with MN 137 on the location and on the title (分別六處經). On MĀ 163 cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 37.

[124] Cf. below notes 129, 131, and 144.

[125] The fragments are SHT VI 1252a (p. 49), SHT VII 1717 (p. 139), and the so far unpublished fragment no. 2375/17 of the Schøyen collection, identified by Peter Skilling (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of these fragments). The three fragments are parallels to the exposition of the three *satipaṭṭhāna*s found in MN 137 at MN III 221,3.

- the six senses,
- the six sense-objects,
- the six types of consciousness,
- the six types of contact.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version differs in so far as it only examines the six senses and the six corresponding types of contact.[126] In relation to these six types of contact, while the *Majjhima-nikāya* version takes up contact only from the perspective of the corresponding sense-organ,[127] the *Madhyama-āgama* treatment also takes into account the sense-objects.[128]

The two parallel versions continue by turning to eighteen types of mental exploration,[129] which arise based on pleasant, unpleasant, and neutral sense-objects.[130] Both versions proceed from this eighteen-fold treatment to an analysis of experience from thirty-six perspectives.[131] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version approaches this thirty-six-fold analysis by distinguishing between experiences that are worldly and experiences that

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[126] MN 137 at MN III 216,1 lists "six internal spheres ... six external spheres ... six groups of consciousness ... six groups of contact", *cha ajjhattikāni āyatanāni ... cha bāhirāni āyatanāni ... cha viññāṇakāyā ... cha phassakāyā*. MĀ 163 at T I 692b29 lists "six spheres ... six contact-spheres", 六處 ... 六更樂處 (on 更樂 cf. above p. 270 note 31). MN 137 at MN III 216,8 stands alone in referring to its introductory listing of topics as a summary, *uddesa*, cf. also above p. 598 note 71. MĀ 163 at T I 692b25 begins with the Buddha announcing that he would teach the Dharma that is sublime in the beginning, middle, and end, etc., an announcement not found in MN 137. The same pericope recurs in MĀ 164 at T I 694b16, MĀ 168 at T I 700b27, and MĀ 169 at T I 701b25, where the corresponding Pāli discourses MN 138, MN 120, and MN 139 also do not have this announcement; cf. also below p. 838.

[127] MN 137 at MN III 216,26: "eye-contact ... mind-contact", *cakkhusamphasso ... manosamphasso*.

[128] MĀ 163 at T I 692c7: "eye contact on seeing forms ... mind contact on knowing mind-objects", 眼更樂為見色 ... 意更樂為知法.

[129] A discourse quotation paralleling the reference to the eighteen mental explorations in MN 137 at MN III 216,29 (or in MN 140 at at MN III 239,28) can be found in Abhidh-k 3:32 in Pradhan 1967: 146,22, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 53b29 and T 1559 at T XXIX 210b18; cf. also D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 165b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 191b1. A discourse quotation paralleling the subsequent mental explorations of pleasure mentioned in MN 137 at MN III 216,31 (or MN 140 at MN III 239,30) can be found in Abhidh-k 3:32 in Pradhan 1967: 147,10; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 53c16 and T 1559 at T XXIX 210c4.

[130] While MN 137 at MN III 216,29 enjoins that "the eighteen mental explorations should be known", *aṭṭhādasa manopavicārā veditabbā ti* (B^{e}-MN III 259,20, C^{e}-MN III 460,1, and S^{e}-MN III 401,12: *aṭṭhārasa*), MĀ 163 at T I 692c10 instructs that "the eighteen mental activities should be known internally", 十八意行當知內者, thereby qualifying the knowing to be 'internal'. MĀ 163 has been using the same qualification in its previous treatment of the six spheres and of the six types of contact; it continues to speak of knowing "internally" in relation to the thirty-six-fold examination that comes next. This mode of presentation fits the absence of an explicit listing of the six external sense-spheres in MĀ 163, since a consistent qualification of all items as something that should be known 'internally' would not have been applicable in the same manner to the 'external' sense-spheres.

[131] A discourse quotation paralleling the exposition on thirty-six positions of beings in MN 137 at MN III 217,8 can be found in Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 166a2 or Q (5595) *tu* 191b5; cf. also Abhidh-k 3:36 in Pradhan 1967: 150,8, with its Chinese parallels in T 1558 at T XXIX 54b12 and T 1559 at T XXIX 211b13 (cf. note 132 below).

pertain to renunciation.[132] The *Madhyama-āgama* version uses slightly different terminology to make the same point, as it distinguishes between experiences based on attachment and experiences based on renunciation.[133] The same is the case for a discourse quotation from Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* that parallels the present section.[134]

The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta* and its Chinese and Tibetan parallels apply their respective negative category (i.e., "worldly" or "based on attachment") to the following: MN III 217

- the pleasure derived from sense-objects,
- the sadness that arises from not obtaining pleasurable sense-objects,
- the indifference of the fool towards sense-objects.

In contrast, what pertains to renunciation are:

- the pleasure that arises from insight into the true nature of sense-objects,
- the sadness that arises from yearning for liberation,
- the equanimity that arises from insight into the true nature of sense-objects.

Although agreeing in their analysis, the three versions differ in the sequence of their presentation. The Pāli version first works through the worldly pleasures in relation to all six sense-objects, after which it takes up the pleasures of renunciation in relation to all six sense-objects. The Chinese and Tibetan versions instead take up each sense-object from both perspectives, before turning to the next sense-object (see table 14.2).

When examining the two types of equanimity, the Pāli version explains that worldly equanimity does not transcend sense-objects, while the equanimity of renunciation does transcend sense-objects.[135] The Chinese version formulates this in a slightly different manner, explaining that equanimity based on attachment is not separated from its object, whereas equanimity based on renunciation is the outcome of mental development.[136] The Tibetan version distinguishes between equanimity based on attachment MN III 219

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[132] MN 137 at MN III 217,8 refers to "thirty-six positions of beings", *chattiṃsa sattapadā*. MĀ 163 at T I 692c16 instead speaks of "thirty-six knives", 三十六刀, an expression perhaps due to mistaking *satta* or *sattva* for *sattha* or *śāstra*, or else perhaps a copyist's mistake, confusing 句 with 刀 (the same expression 三十六刀 recurs also in Saṅghabhūti's *Vibhāṣā* translation, T 1547 at T XXVIII 435c29, with a 聖 variant reading that has 勾 instead of 刀). The corresponding expression in Abhidh-k 3:36 in Pradhan 1967: 150,8 reads *ṣaṭtriṃśac chāstṛpadāni*, "thirty-six positions [set forth] by the teacher" (rendered by Pruden 1988: 437 as "thirty-six points of the Master"), which thus has *satthar* or *śāstṛ* instead of *satta* or *sattva*, an expression found similarly in Xuánzàng's (玄奘) translation, T 1558 at T XXIX 54b12: 三十六師句, cf. also Hirakawa 1978: 97, who gives the Tibetan equivalent as *ston pa'i bka'*, found also at the outset of the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 166a2 or Q (5595) *tu* 191b5 (the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 718a25 also speaks of 三十六師句). Paramārtha's translation, T 1559 at T XXIX 211b13, speaks of 三十六寂靜足, which suggests *śāntapadāni*, "peaceful positions", or perhaps "paths of tranquillity".

[133] While MN 137 at MN III 217,9 contrasts *gehasita* with *nekkhammasita*, MĀ 163 at T I 692c17 contrasts 依著 with 依無欲, where 無欲 could stand for dispassion, *virāga*, although it probably renders an equivalent to *naiṣkāmya*, instead of *naiṣkramya*, cf. also above p. 690 note 31.

[134] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 166a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 191b6 contrasts *zhen pa* with *nges par 'byung ba.*

[135] MN 137 at MN III 219,12+25.

[136] MĀ 163 at T I 693a28+b2 contrasts 為色有捨, 不離色 with 至意修習捨.

that has not given up its object and equanimity based on renunciation by having undertaken an analysis.[137] In spite of differing formulations, the three versions make the same point, since it is precisely through mental development and analysis that the transcendence of the sense-objects will be reached.

Table 14.2: Analysis of Pleasure in MN 137 and its Parallels

MN 137	MĀ 163 & Abhidh-k-ṭ
household pleasure with forms (1)	household pleasure with forms (→ 1)
household pleasure with sounds (2)	renunciation pleasure with forms (→ 7)
household pleasure with odours (3)	household pleasure with sounds (→ 2)
household pleasure with flavours (4)	renunciation pleasure with sounds (→ 8)
household pleasure with touches (5)	household pleasure with odours (→ 3)
household pleasure with mind-objects (6)	renunciation pleasure with odours (→ 9)
renunciation pleasure with forms (7)	household pleasure with flavours (→ 4)
renunciation pleasure with sounds (8)	renunciation pleasure with flavours (→ 10)
renunciation pleasure with odours (9)	household pleasure with touches (→ 5)
renunciation pleasure with flavours (10)	renunciation pleasure with touches (→ 11)
renunciation pleasure with touches (11)	household pleasure with mind-objects (→ 6)
renunciation pleasure with mind-objects (12)	renunciation pleasure with mind-objects (→ 12)

MN III 220 The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* counterpart recommend leaving the three worldly types of experience behind by relying on their counterparts that are based on renunciation. The Pāli version continues by recommending the pleasure of renunciation as the means to go beyond the sadness of renunciation, followed by presenting the equanimity of renunciation as the means to go beyond the pleasure of renunciation.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version agrees with the *Majjhima-nikāya* presentation on reckoning the equanimity of renunciation as the culmination point, it differs, however, in regard to the preceding step, as, instead of recommending the use of the pleasure of renunciation to go beyond the sadness of renunciation, it advocates the use of the sadness of renunciation to go beyond the pleasure of renunciation.[138] On applying the explanations given in both versions to this difference, the Pāli version thus recommends to go beyond the yearning for liberation through developing the joy of insight, while the Chinese version enjoins to go beyond the joy of insight through developing yearning for liberation.

The Pāli and Chinese versions next turn to diversified and unified types of equanimity, which stand for equanimity in relation to the sense-objects and the equanimity of

[137] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 167a7+b2 or Q (5595) *tu* 193a4+6 contrasts *gzugs mi 'dor* (Q: *dor*) *zhing* with *so sor brtags nas btang snyoms su byed de*.

[138] MĀ 163 at T I 693b18: "what are reckoned the six [types of] sadness dependent on the absence of desire, take these, depend on these, be established in these; what are reckoned the six [types of] pleasure dependent on the absence of desire, eradicate those, discard those, vomit those out", 謂此六憂依無欲, 取是, 依是, 住是也, 謂此六喜依無欲, 滅彼, 除彼, 吐彼.

the immaterial attainments.[139] The two versions present the unified type of equanimity as the means to go beyond the diversified type of equanimity. The Pāli discourse stands alone in recommending non-identification for going beyond unified equanimity.[140]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version continues by highlighting that the Buddha's teaching of the Dharma is inexhaustible, since it could not be covered exhaustively even if he should continuously teach four disciples for a period of a hundred years.[141] The same image recurs in the *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta*, where it illustrates the Buddha's teaching of the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s.[142]

The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel continue by taking up the Buddha's practice of three *satipaṭṭhāna*s,[143] an exposition also preserved in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[144] MN III 221

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[139] MN 137 at MN III 220,22 contrasts equanimity that is *nānatta nānattasita* with equanimity that is *ekatta ekattasita*, while MĀ 163 at T I 693b23 contrasts equanimity "with boundless contacts, with diversified contacts", 無量更樂, 若干更樂, with equanimity "with a single contact, without diversified contacts", 一更樂, 不若干 更樂.

[140] MN 137 at MN III 220,34: *atammayataṃ ... nissāya, atammayataṃ āgamma*. On *atammayata* cf. also above p. 642 note 33.

[141] MĀ 163 at T I 693c7.

[142] MN 12 at MN I 82,32. SĀ 612 at T II 171c7 also relates this image to the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s.

[143] A noteworthy point in regard to translation terminology is that MĀ 163 at T I 693c23 has as its counterpart to the *tayo satipaṭṭhānā*, mentioned at MN 137 at MN III 221,3, the "three [types] of mental stability", 三意止. This rendering differs from the usual translation employed in the *Madhyama-āgama* as 念處, cf., e.g., MĀ 98 at T I 582b11. Other works agree with MN 137 in referring to these three attitudes as *smṛtyupasthāna*, cf. the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 7:32 in Pradhan 1967: 414,9, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra* 8:5 in Stcherbatsky 1929: 34,7 (with its Tibetan counterpart *dran pa nyer gzhig rnam gsum* in ibid. p. 62,9), the *Avadānaśataka* in Speyer 1906/1970: 7,5 or in Vaidya 1958a: 4,7, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in Wogihara 1971a: 403,10, the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 126,13 (etc.) or in Vaidya 1999: 78,19, the *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 187 in Sakaki 1926: 16, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* 20:53 in Lévi 1907: 186,20, the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 179,22; cf. also SHT VI 1252a1 +5, which has preserved *triṇ-imāni* and at a later point *smṛty[u](pasthānam)*, SHT VII 1689aR1 (p. 99) and SHT VII 1717 (p. 139, which only has part of the treatment, without the term itself). In the case of texts preserved in Chinese, the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 91b24, also uses the expression 三意止. The **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 160b19, the two *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* translations, T 1558 at T XXIX 140c26 and T 1559 at T XXIX 292a6, and the *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 1579 at T XXX 573c18, speak of 三念住. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, T 1581 at T XXX 958c3, and the **Tattvasiddhi*, T 1646 at T XXXII 242c29, use the slightly different rendering 三念處. The use of 意止 for *satipaṭṭhānā* or *smṛtyupasthāna* is, however, a characteristic of *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses, cf., e.g., EĀ 8.6 at T II 561b21, EĀ 12.1 at T II 568a4, EĀ 26.9 at T II 639b7, EĀ 28.3 at T II 650b19, EĀ 41.3 at T II 745b15, EĀ 41.4 at T II 746a8, EĀ 47.7 at T II 783a21, and EĀ 49.1 at T II 794b11 (the same usage can also be found in a translation attributed to Ān Shìgāo (安世高), cf. T 13 at T I 234a19 and at T I 238c12). The occurrence of 意止 in MĀ 163 might be an instance where translation vocabulary used by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念) has made its way into the translation of the *Madhyama-āgama* undertaken by Gautama Saṅghadeva, cf. also Lü 1963: 242 and above p. 374 note 178 and p. 617 note 158.

[144] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 59a1 or Q (5595) *thu* 101a8; cf. also Abhidh-k 7:32 in Pradhan 1967: 414,9, paralleling MN 137 at MN III 221,3, with its Chinese parallels in T 1558 at T XXIX 140c26 and T 1559 at T XXIX 292a6.

These three *satipaṭṭhāna*s stand for the Buddha's attitude towards three types of situation:

- his disciples do not listen to his teaching and do not follow it,
- some disciples do not listen to and do not follow his teaching, while others listen to and follow his teaching,
- his disciples listen to and follow his teaching.

The parallel versions differ in the sequence in which they present these three situations (see table 14.3). They also differ in the way they depict the Buddha's reaction to these three situations. According to the Pāli version's presentation:

- when all disciples do not listen, the Buddha is not satisfied,
- when some listen, the Buddha is neither satisfied nor dissatisfied,
- when all listen, the Buddha is satisfied.[145]

According to the Chinese and Tibetan accounts, however, the Buddha maintains equanimity in all three cases, as he is not sad when all disciples do not listen, he is neither sad nor joyful when some listen and some do not listen, and he is not joyful when all listen.[146]

Hence, while in the Pāli version there is a difference in the Buddha's attitude depending on whether his disciples listen or not, in the parallel versions he remains equanimous in all three cases. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-*(*upadeśa-*)*śāstra*, the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, and the *Mahāvyutpatti* agree with the *Madhyama-āgama* presentation, as according to these works the Buddha's attitude in these three cases is invariably the same.[147]

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[145] MN 137 at MN III 221,10 (all disciples do not listen): "he is not satisfied and feels no satisfaction, yet he dwells without being defiled by it", *na c' eva attamano hoti na ca attamanataṃ paṭisaṃvedeti, anavassuto ca viharati*, although in this case the Burmese edition rather indicates that "he is not dissatisfied and feels no dissatisfaction", B^e-MN III 263,22: *na c' eva anattamano hoti na ca anattamanataṃ paṭisaṃvedeti*. MN 137 at MN III 221,21 (some listen and some do not listen): "he is not satisfied and feels no satisfaction, and he is not dissatisfied and feels not dissatisfaction, leaving behind both satisfaction and dissatisfaction he dwells in equanimity", *na c' eva attamano hoti na ca attamanataṃ paṭisaṃvedeti, na ca anattamano hoti na ca anattamanataṃ paṭisaṃvedeti, attamanatañ ca anattamanatañ ca tad ubhayaṃ abhinivajjetvā so upekhako viharati* (B^e-MN III 264,1 follows the opposite sequence in so far as it begins with *na c' eva anattamano hoti*, etc., followed by *na ca attamano hoti*, etc., and then in the third part reads *anattamanatā ca attamanatā ca tad ubhayaṃ*, etc.; B^e, C^e-MN III 466,31, and S^e-MN III 408,15 read *upekkhako*, B^e and S^e also do not have *so*). MN 137 at MN III 221,30 (all listen): "he is satisfied and feels satisfaction, yet he dwells without being defiled by it", *attamano c' eva hoti attamanatañ ca paṭisaṃvedeti, anavassuto ca viharati*. Since during transmission the negative and positive forms in this highly repetitive passage could easily have become confused with each other, perhaps the statement should rather be that in case all disciples do not listen he is not displeased with that, *na anattamano hoti*, the reading found in B^e, and in case all disciples listen he is not pleased with that, *na attamano hoti*, in line with the presentation in MĀ 163; cf., however, also Cicuzza 2004: 401.

[146] MĀ 163 at T I 693c29, T I 694a7, and T I 694a17, as well as D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 59a4, 59a7, and 59b3 or Q (5595) *thu* 101b4, 101b8, and 102a5; cf. also Anālayo 2012h. In all three cases, just as in MN 137, the Buddha is endowed with mindfulness and clear comprehension.

[147] The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, T 1558 at T XXIX 140c26 and T 1559 at T XXIX 292a6 (unlike the Chi-

This form of presentation would also receive support from a discourse in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, according to which the Buddha's attitude when instructing was free from attraction or repulsion.[148]

Table 14.3: Three *Satipaṭṭhāna*s in MN 137 and its Parallels

MN 137	MĀ 163 & Abhidh-k-ṭ
disciples do not listen (1) some listen, some do not listen (2) disciples listen (3)	disciples do not listen/follow (→ 1) disciples listen/follow (→ 3) some listen/follow, some do not listen/follow (→ 2)

The Pāli and Chinese versions conclude by describing the Buddha's incomparable leadership of beings, contrasting the ability of an animal trainer to teach an elephant, a horse, or an ox how to move in one of the four directions with the Buddha's ability to teach his disciples how to approach eight 'directions' by attaining the eight liberations.[149] MN III 222

MN 138 *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta*

The *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta*, the "discourse on a summary and [its] analysis", records Mahākaccāna's explanation of how to avoid getting distracted externally or stuck internally, as well as how to avoid agitation. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[150] Parts of the introductory narration of the *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta* have also been preserved in a Sanskrit fragment.[151]

The *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin with a brief statement by the Buddha, which highlights that, in order to go beyond birth, old age, and death, one needs to investigate in a way that avoids the following: MN III 223

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nese versions, the Sanskrit version in Pradhan 1967: 414,11 does not give all three cases in full), the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 91b24, the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 160b20 and again T XXVII 942b16, and the *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 188-190 in Sakaki 1926: 16-17; cf. also the **Tattvasiddhi*, T 1646 at T XXXII 243a1 (which only explicitly examines the two cases where attention is being paid and where no attention is being paid to what the Buddha teaches). Another occurrence can be found in a bilingual Sanskrit and Uighur fragment, which has preserved parts of the third *smṛtyupasthāna*, where the Buddha also just remains equanimous, cf. Maue 2008: 181.

148 SN 4:14 at SN I 111,20 (or SN^2 150 at SN^2 I 248,11), noted by Kuan 2008: 29 as a contrast to the present passage in MN 137.

149 MN 137 at MN III 222,12 and MĀ 163 at T I 694a27, parts of this comparison have also been preserved in fragment no. 2375/17 of the Schøyen collection. On the conception of the eight liberations cf., e.g., Anālayo 2009q, Bronkhorst 1993/2000: 80-82, Hurvitz 1979, and Lamotte 1970a: 1281-1283.

150 The parallel is MĀ 164 at T I 694b-696b, which agrees with MN 138 on the location and has the title "discourse on an analysis of contemplating [according to] the Dharma", 分別觀法經. A brief survey of MN 138 can be found in Anālayo 2008j.

151 The Sanskrit fragment is SHT V 1141 (p. 138, identified in SHT VIII p. 196), which parallels the description of how the monks approached Mahākaccāna in order to get a detailed exposition of the short saying by the Buddha, found in MN 138 at MN I 223-224.

- being distracted externally,
- getting internally stuck,
- becoming agitated.[152]

Having made this concise statement, according to both versions the Buddha retired to his dwelling.

From the perspective of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse this is puzzling, since according to its account the Buddha had announced that he would teach the monks a summary and an analysis.[153] Yet, in spite of this announcement, he left after teaching only the summary, without providing an analysis.

The *Madhyama-āgama* account, however, does not report that the Buddha had made an announcement that he was about to teach a summary and an analysis to the monks. Thus, in the *Madhyama-āgama* version, the Buddha's departure does not stand in contradiction to what he earlier announced.

A similar introductory statement on a summary and an analysis recurs also in four other discourses in this chapter of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, which are:

- the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*,[154]
- the *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta*,[155]

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[152] MN 138 at MN III 223,9 describes these conditions for liberation to be that "consciousness is not distracted or scattered externally", *bahiddhā ... viññāṇaṃ avikkhittaṃ avisaṭaṃ*, it is not "stuck internally", *ajjhattaṃ asaṇṭhitaṃ,* and "by not clinging it would not be agitated", *anupādāya na paritasseyya*. MĀ 164 at T I 694b22 explores the same conditions under the headings "the mind is not scattered by not moving outwards", 心不出外不灑散, "the mind is settled inwardly", 心住內, and "by not clinging it is not agitated", 不受不恐怖. Thus, while MN 138 examines the danger of getting "stuck internally", MĀ 164 enjoins to let the mind be "settled inwardly". The same difference underlies their subsequent treatments of this topic, which in both versions takes up attachment to the pleasure of the *jhāna*s. While in MN 138 at MN III 226,15 to have such attachment leads to the mind being "internally stuck", *ajjhattaṃ saṇṭhitaṃ*, in MĀ 164 at T I 695a26, due to such attachment, the mind or consciousness is "not settled inwardly", 不住內. In its general usage in the discourses, *saṇṭhita* often occurs in similar contexts with predominantly positive connotations, cf., e.g., MN 119 at MN III 89,22: *ajjhattam eva cittaṃ santiṭṭhati*, or MN 121 at MN III 105,7: *cittaṃ pakkhandati pasīdati santiṭṭhati*, or SN 46:6 at SN V 74,7: *cittaṃ ajjhattaṃ susaṇṭhitaṃ*. This general usage and the instruction in MĀ 164 suggest the possibility that the stipulation in MN 138 could originally have intended that consciousness should be inwardly settled, *ajjhattaṃ saṇṭhitaṃ*, instead of *ajjhattaṃ asaṇṭhitaṃ*. However, the reading *asaṇṭhitaṃ* receives support from It 3:5:5 at It 94,2, where a similar instruction indicates qualifies *viññāṇaṃ avikkhittaṃ* as being *ajjhattaṃ asaṇṭhitaṃ*. Johansson 1979/1985: 62 interprets the reading *asaṇṭhitaṃ* as implying that one should "not wish for and build a certain type of future life", i.e., as a way of getting stuck internally because of one's aspirations and plans.

[153] MN 138 at MN III 223,5: "I will teach you a summary and an analysis, monks, listen and attend well, I am about to speak", *uddesavibhaṅgaṃ vo, bhikkhave, desissāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha bhāsissāmi.* Extracts from the present discussion already appeared in Anālayo 2005c: 100-102 and in id. 2008o: 8-9.

[154] In MN 131 at MN III 187,17, the Buddha announces: "I will teach a summary and an analysis", *uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ ca desissāmi*.

[155] In MN 132 at MN III 190,1, Ānanda "speaks a summary and an analysis", *uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ ca bhāsati*.

- the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*,[156]
- the *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta*.[157]

In the case of the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and the *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta* this reference to a summary and its analysis is partially redundant, since according to the introductory narration in both discourses a *deva* visited a monk and asked him if he knew the stanzas on the auspicious night and then again asked him if he knew their summary and analysis.[158] As the stanzas correspond to the summary, to speak of a summary in addition to the stanzas appears to be superfluous.

In the case of the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*, this reference to a summary and an analysis is not only redundant, but even stands in contradiction to the remainder of the discourse, since here the Buddha agrees to a monk's request to be taught a summary and an analysis, but then also gets up and leaves, after giving only a summary, without continuing to deliver the corresponding analysis.[159] Thus, both the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and the *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta* record that the Buddha announces an analysis, but then leaves without giving it. As in both cases the Chinese versions do not refer to such an analysis, one might wonder if the reference to a summary and an analysis could be a later addition to these discourses.

Exploring this hypothesis, perhaps the reason for this reference to a summary and an analysis could be that the basic pattern of following a summary with an analysis is a characteristic mark of almost all discourses found in the present "chapter on analyses", the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*. The *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta*, the *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta*, and the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* explicitly identify their respective introductory statements as a summary, followed by its corresponding analysis.[160] The *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta*, the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta*, and the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* also follow a summary statement with a detailed analysis, although without explicitly introducing this pattern as a summary and an analysis.[161] Except for the last discourse in this chapter, the *Dak-*

[156] In MN 133 at MN III 192,10, a *deva* asks a monk: "do you remember the summary and analysis on an auspicious night", *dhāresi ... bhaddekarattassa uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ cā ti*?

[157] In MN 134 at MN III 199,27, a *deva* asks a monk: "do you remember the summary and analysis on an auspicious night", *dhāresi .. bhaddekarattassa uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ cā ti*?

[158] In addition to the inquiries mentioned above, according to MN 133 at MN III 192,16 and MN 134 at MN III 200,5, the *deva* asked: "do you remember the verses on the auspicious night", *dhāresi ... bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti*?

[159] In relation to MN 138, Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1349 note 1249 comments that "it is strange that the Buddha, having announced that he will teach a summary and an exposition, should recite only the summary and leave without giving the exposition".

[160] MN 137 at MN III 216,7: *ayaṃ uddeso saḷāyatanavibhaṅgassa*, MN 139 at MN III 230,20: *ayaṃ uddeso araṇavibhaṅgassa*, and MN 140 at MN III 239,15: *ayaṃ uddeso chadhātuvibhaṅgassa* (B^{e}-MN III 282,17: *dhātuvibhaṅgassa*).

[161] In MN 135 at MN III 203,10, Subha requests a teaching so that he "might know the detailed meaning of what had been said in short", *saṅkhittena bhāsitassa ... vitthārena atthaṃ ājāneyyan ti* (B^{e}-MN III 244,6: *saṃkhittena*). MN 136 at MN III 209,2 similarly proceeds from a succinct statement to its analysis, the *mahākammavibhaṅga*, although without introducing this pattern explicitly. MN 141 at MN III 248,4 begins with a succinct statement by the Buddha, which then receives a detailed exposition by Sāriputta.

khiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta, all discourses in the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* share the feature of proceeding from a summary statement to its detailed analysis.[162]

This characteristic pattern would give a strong sense of cohesion and connectedness to this group of discourses during oral transmission. In fact, nine counterparts to the discourses found in the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* occur in the corresponding chapter in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[163] This is a remarkably high correspondence, as the two collections have only four chapters at all in common. Out of these four chapters, two chapters have each four discourses in common and one chapter has only two discourses in common with its counterpart.[164] Thus, for the *Majjhima-nikāya* chapter on "analyses" and the *Madhyama-āgama* chapter on "analyses" to share nine discourses is indeed remarkable, suggesting that the pattern of following a summary by an analysis formed a strong bond that kept this group of discourses together in the two reciter traditions.

In view of this strong group identity, perhaps during the oral transmission of the discourses now collected in the *Majjhima-nikāya* this implicit pattern became more explicit, in the sense that the reciters may have begun some discourses with the announcement that a summary and its analysis will be given. Such an announcement could have originated from a remark just meant as an aid to help the reciters be aware of this characteristic shared by this group of discourses. In the course of time, this announcement may then have ended up becoming part of the discourse, thereby creating a redundancy in the case of the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and the *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta*, as well as an internal inconsistency in the case of the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* and the *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta*.

MN III 224 Whatever may be the last word on the references to a summary and its analysis in these discourses, the *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel continue by describing that, once the Buddha had given only a summary statement, the monks approached Mahākaccāna and asked him to give a detailed analysis of this succinct statement.

MN III 225 According to both versions, Mahākaccāna explained that, when the mind follows after the sign of the sense-object and gets attached to the gratification derived from that sign, it becomes distracted externally.[165]

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[162] As noted in Willemen 1998: 170, the procedure of following a brief doctrinal statement (*uddesa*) with a detailed elaboration, observed in most discourses of the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, foreshadows Abhidharma catechesis.

[163] This is the thirteenth chapter in the *Madhyama-āgama*, the 根本分別品 (the title would correspond to *Mūlavibhaṅga-vagga*), which contains the counterparts to MN 132, MN 133, MN 134, MN 135, MN 136, MN 137, MN 138, MN 139, and MN 140, although in a different sequence.

[164] Cf. above p. 8 table 0.1.

[165] In the case of visible form, MN 138 at MN III 225,19 describes how "consciousness follows after the sign of form, is tied to the gratification [derived from] the sign of form, is bound to the gratification [derived from] the sign of form, is fettered by the fetter of gratification [derived from] the sign of form", *rūpanimittānusārī viññāṇaṃ hoti, rūpanimittassādagathitaṃ rūpanimittassādavinibaddhaṃ rūpanimittassādasaṃyojanasaṃyuttaṃ* (B^{e}-MN III 268,10, C^{e}-MN III 474,24 and S^{e}-MN III 415,11: *rūpanimit-*

After applying the same treatment to the complementary case of not getting distracted externally, the *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallel warn against attachment to the *jhāna*s,[166] describing the danger of succumbing to the gratification experienced through the four *jhāna*s.[167] The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse differs from the *Majjhi-* MN III 226

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tānusāri, B^{e} and S^{e}: *°gadhitaṃ* and *°vinibandhaṃ*, C^{e} and S^{e}: *°saññojanasaṃyuttaṃ*). MĀ 164 at T I 695a11 depicts the same in the following manner: "consciousness feeds on the sign of form, consciousness attaches to the pleasure of the sign of form, consciousness is fettered by the pleasure of the sign of form", 識食色相, 識著色樂相, 識縛色樂相, concluding that "being fettered to the gratification [derived from] the sign of form, the mind has gone out externally and is scattered", 彼色相味結縛, 心出外灑散. The reference to the 'sign' in this context brings to mind the standard instructions for sense-restraint, which similarly enjoin that a practitioner should avoid taking up the sign in order to steer clear of unwholesome mental reactions, cf., e.g., MN 107 at MN III 2,14: "don't grasp the sign", *mā nimittaggāhī*, and its counterpart in MĀ 144 at T I 652b12: "yet, don't grasp the sign", 然不受相.

[166] In relation to the first *jhāna*, MN 138 at MN III 226,12 applies the same series of expressions it had used earlier in relation to the sign of sense-objects, i.e., "consciousness follows after the happiness and rapture of seclusion, is tied to the gratification [derived from] the happiness and rapture of seclusion, is bound to the gratification [derived from] the happiness and rapture of seclusion, is fettered by the fetter of gratification [derived from] the happiness and rapture of seclusion", *vivekajapītisukhānusārī viññāṇaṃ hoti vivekajapītisukhassādagathitaṃ vivekajapītisukhassādavinibaddhaṃ vivekajapītisukhassādasaṃyojanasaṃyuttaṃ* (B^{e}-MN III 268,29, C^{e}-MN III 476,4, and S^{e}-MN III 416,13: *vivekajapītisukhānusāri*, B^{e} and S^{e}: *°gadhitaṃ* and *°vinibandhaṃ*, C^{e} and S^{e}: *°saññojanasaṃyuttaṃ*). MĀ 164 at T I 695a25 adopts a pattern that differs from its earlier examination of sense-objects, as in relation to the pleasure of the first *jhāna* it describes that "consciousness is attached to the gratification [derived from] seclusion, depends on it, is established in it, is conditioned by it, and is fettered by it", 彼識著離味, 依彼, 住彼, 緣彼, 縛彼. The two versions agree on using the term "mind", *citta*/心, in the heading for this section, cf. MN 138 at MN III 226,9 (except for B^{e}-MN III 268,26, which has neither *citta* nor *viññāṇa* in this sentence) and MĀ 164 at T I 695a23, while the actual exposition employs the term "consciousness", *viññāṇa*/識. In its introductory section, MĀ 164 at T I 694b20 already makes use of the expression "mind", while the corresponding part in MN 138 at MN III 223,10 speaks of "consciousness"; cf. also Vetter 2000: 69. Thus, these two expressions are used as near synonyms in both versions, a usage found (together with *manas*) also in DN 1 at DN I 21,21 and its Tibetan counterpart *sems ... yid ... rnam par shes pa* in Weller 1934: 26,22. Another example of such concurrent occurrence can be found in SN 12:61 at SN II 94,13 and its parallels SĀ 289 at T II 81c7 and fragment S 474 folio 5V3 in Tripāṭhī 1962: 30. Yet another example occurs in the *Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra* and its parallels, cf. fragments S 360 folio 100R5-6 and S 362 (61)R7 in Waldschmidt 1952: 17 and 36, with its Chinese counterpart in T 1450 at T XXIV 134b14 and its Tibetan counterpart in Waldschmidt 1962: 321,10. In the general usage of these two terms in the Pāli discourses, however, *viññāṇa* and *citta* take on different shades of meanings. Bodhi 2000: 769 note 154 succinctly explains that "*viññāṇa* signifies the particularizing awareness through a sense faculty ... as well as the underlying stream of consciousness, which sustains personal continuity through a single life and threads together successive lives", whereas "*citta* signifies mind as the centre of personal experience, as the subject of thought, volition and emotion"; cf. also Anuruddha 2010: 96, Johansson 1965, Lee 2010, Matthews 1983: 37-52, McGovern 1872/1979: 132, Minh Thành 2001: 4, Pieris 1980: 213, Premasiri 2003a: 1-3, Schmithausen 1987/2007: 426 note 820, Somaratne 2005, Sugunasiri 1995: 415-416, and Swearer 1972: 358.

[167] MN 138 at MN III 226,13+20+27+34 examines the gratification derived from the happiness and rapture of seclusion (of the first *jhāna*), *vivekajapītisukhassāda*, from the happiness and rapture of concentration (of the second *jhāna*), *samādhijapītisukhassāda,* from the equanimity and happiness (of the third

ma-nikāya version in as much as it extends its treatment also to the gratification to be derived from the four immaterial attainments.[168]

MN III 227 Both discourses turn to the complementary case, when *jhāna* practice is undertaken without succumbing to attachment. This complementary treatment in both versions makes it clear that it is not the practice and development of *jhāna* itself, but only the wrong attitude to it that comes in for criticism.

The *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel continue by examining how agitation can arise. According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, agitation arises when in regard to any of the five aggregates one has one of the following notions:

- the aggregate is the self,
- the self possesses the aggregate,
- the aggregate is in the self,
- the self is in the aggregate.[169]

Once the aggregate changes and becomes otherwise, agitation arises due to clinging to the aggregate.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version approaches the same topic in a slightly different manner, as instead of taking up the twenty modes of construing a sense of self, covered in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version,[170] it describes how someone becomes attached to and mentally established in an aggregate, considering it as 'I' and 'mine'. Such attachment then results in agitation as soon as the respective aggregate changes and becomes oth-

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jhāna), *upekhāsukhassāda* (B^e-MN III 269,12, C^e-MN III 476,17, and S^e-MN III 417,3: *upekkhāsukhassāda*), and from the neutral feeling (of the fourth *jhāna*), *adukkhamasukhassāda*. MĀ 164 at T I 695a25+28 and T I 695b3+6 similarly takes up the gratification [derived from] seclusion, 離味, the gratification [derived from] concentration, 定味, the gratification [derived from] the absence of rapture, 無喜味, and the gratification [derived from] equanimity together with purity of mindfulness, 捨及念清淨味.

168 In the case of the four immaterial attainments, MĀ 164 at T I 695 b9+12+14+17 mentions the "gratification [derived from] knowledge of space", 空智味, the "gratification [derived from] knowledge of consciousness", 識智味, the "gratification [derived from] knowledge of nothingness", 無所有智味, and the "gratification [derived from] knowledge of the absence of perception", 無想智味.

169 MN 138 at MN III 227,26 introduces this exposition as "agitation due to not clinging", *anupādā paritassanā*, a reading also found in its counterpart in MĀ 164 at T I 695c19: "not clinging [there] is agitation", 不受而恐怖. This reading does not fit the context and one would rather expect the heading to be "agitation due to clinging". Bodhi in Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1350 note 1253 comments that "this reading apparently predates the commentaries, for [the commentary] accepts *anupādā* as correct". The occurrence of the same expression in MĀ 164 reinforces the impression that this reading is quite early, suggesting that an error occurred at an early stage in the transmission of the discourse. Bodhi draws attention to SN 22:7 at SN III 16,3, where a similar treatment uses the heading *upādā paritassanā*, based on which he concludes that "we may safely infer that the Majjhima reading is an ancient error that should be discounted". Horner 1959: 275 note 4 also follows SN 22:7 against the reading found in MN 138. The parallel to SN 22:7, SĀ 43 at T II 10c22, does indeed speak of "clinging", although it relates this to attachment instead of agitation, 取故生著.

170 Another minor difference is that MN 138 at MN III 227,27 begins its treatment by speaking of the unlearned worldling, followed by taking up the learned noble disciple for its complementary examination of the absence of agitation in MN 138 at MN III 228,11. Instead of contrasting the unlearned worldling with the noble disciple, MĀ 164 at T I 659c19 and T I 696a8 has in both cases as its subject a monk.

erwise.[171] The two versions continue by applying their respective treatments to the complementary case of not becoming agitated due to not clinging.[172]

The *Uddesavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel conclude with the monks reporting Mahākaccāna's exposition to the Buddha, who approved of it and lauded Mahākaccāna's wisdom. MN III 229

MN 139 *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta*

The *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta*, the "discourse on an analysis of non-conflict", examines various ways of avoiding conflict. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*.[173] A section of this discourse has also been preserved in a Sanskrit fragment.[174]

The *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel begin by examining the need to avoid both the pursuit of sensual pleasures and the practice of self-mortification, recommending the noble eightfold path as the middle path that is aloof from these two extremes.[175] MN III 230

The two versions reckon the pursuit of sensual pleasures to be a low practice of the commoner, while the practice of self-mortification is according to them ignoble and

[171] In the case of the aggregate of form, MĀ 164 at T I 695c21 depicts attachment in the following way: "he is not separated from defilement in regard to form, not separated from desire in regard to form, not separated from craving in regard to form, not separated from thirst in regard to form, he wishes to obtain form, searches for form, is attached to form, established in form, he [considers] 'form, then, is me', 'form is mine'", 不離色染, 不離色欲, 不離色愛, 不離色渴者, 彼欲得色, 求色, 著色, 住色, 色即是我, 色是我有, with the result that "consciousness grabs and takes hold of form", 識捫摸色.

[172] In both versions, Mahākaccāna concludes by repeating the statement made by the Buddha, with the minor difference that, according to MN 138 at MN III 228,32, he referred to this statement as a statement made "to us" (*no*): *yaṃ kho no, āvuso, bhagavā saṅkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitvā* (B^{e}-MN III 271,16: *saṃkhittena*), whereas in MĀ 164 at T I 696a27 he just speaks of the statement made by the Buddha, 謂世尊略說此義. As according to both versions Mahākaccāna had not been present during the delivery of this statement by the Buddha, the use of the plural personal pronoun *no* does not fit the context and may be due to the reciters just repeating the same formulation used earlier in the reflection of the monks about who could explain this statement, a reflection that appropriately speaks of the statement made by the Buddha "to us". The same difference recurs between MN 18 at MN I 111,31 and its parallels MĀ 115 at T I 604c3 and EĀ 40.10 at T II 743b11, as well as between MN 133 at MN III 195,24 and its parallel MĀ 165 at T I 697c18.

[173] The parallel is MĀ 169 at T I 701b-703c and has the title "discourse [spoken among] the Kurus on [the subject of] non-conflict", 拘樓瘦無諍經. While MN 139 takes place in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī, MĀ 169 takes place among the Bhaggās at Kammāsadhamma, a town of the Kurus, T I 701b24: 婆奇瘦, 劍磨瑟曇, 拘樓都邑. As the Bhaggā country was to the east of Sāvatthī, whereas the Kuru country was to its west, MĀ 169 seems to have conflated two locations. The *Vyākhyāyukti* in Lee 2001: 102,15 refers to the present discourse as *nyon mongs pa med pa'i mdo*, which Skilling 2000b: 340 indicates to correspond to *Araṇa-sūtra*, thereby agreeing with MN 139 on taking the main topic of the discourse as its title. For discourse quotations in Abhidh-k-ṭ and in the *Vyākhyāyukti* cf. below note 187.

[174] The fragment is SHT II 163a (p. 15), which has preserved part of the examination of different language usages found in MN 139 at MN III 234,31.

[175] MN 139 at MN III 230,22 and MĀ 169 at T I 701c7.

not beneficial.[176] The *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse notes that the pursuit of sensual pleasures and the practice of self-mortification are both beset by *dukkha*, vexation, despair, and fever, and thus are both the wrong path.[177]

MN III 231 The qualification of the pursuit of sensual pleasures and self-mortifications as wrong paths beset by *dukkha* is also found in both versions as part of their examination of the next topic, the need to avoid praising and disparaging in order to properly teach the Dharma.

At this point, the *Madhyama-āgama* version also explains the reasons for coming to the conclusion that the pursuit of sensual pleasures and the pursuit of self-mortification are both wrong paths and beset by *dukkha*. According to its explanation, both are seen to be the wrong path and beset by *dukkha* once one realizes that sensual pleasures are impermanent, unsatisfactory, and bound to change,[178] and once one sees how recluses and Brahmins inflict pain on themselves even though they would (by nature) be averse to pain.[179]

MN III 232 The *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel take up the eradication of the fetter to existence as a third instance in regard to which one should avoid praising and disparaging. Both versions explain that, as long as this fetter is not eradicated, existence has not been transcended.[180]

The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse comes out with a fourth instance for avoiding praising and disparaging. This fourth instance takes up the search for happiness within,[181] pointing out that one should not proclaim that those, who do not search for happiness within, are all on the wrong path and beset by *dukkha*, as in this way one would be blaming others.

By taking up the topic of searching for happiness within, the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel offers a lead over to the subsequent topic in both versions, which is indeed the pursuit of happiness within. Before, however, taking up this topic, the two versions conclude their examination of praising and disparaging by explaining how to properly teach the Dharma.

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[176] MN 139 at MN III 230,22+24 and MĀ 169 at T I 701c7+8.

[177] MN 139 at MN III 230,28 and MN III 231,4: "this state is beset by *dukkha*, vexation, despair, and fever, it is the wrong path", *sadukkho eso dhammo sa-upaghāto sa-upāyāso sapariḷāho micchāpaṭipadā.*

[178] MĀ 169 at T I 701c22: "sensual pleasures are impermanent, *dukkha*, of a nature to be worn away", 欲者無常, 苦, 磨滅法.

[179] MĀ 169 at T I 701c27: "recluses and Brahmins who would be afraid of pain ... on going forth from home into homelessness to practise the path, these recluses and Brahmins then embrace this pain", 沙門, 梵志, 所可畏苦 ... 捨家, 無家, 學道者, 彼沙門, 梵志, 復抱此苦.

[180] In the subsequent treatment of this topic, E^e-MN III 232,8 and C^e-MN III 486,30 actually contrast the fetter to existence that has not been eradicated with the fetter of "non-existence" that has been eradicated, *vibhavasaṃyojanaṃ pahīnaṃ*. Later on, however, E^e-MN III 233,5 and C^e-MN III 488,20, speak of the eradicated fetter to existence, *bhavasaṃyojanaṃ pahīnaṃ*, a reading found throughout in the Burmese and Siamese editions and also in the corresponding sections in MĀ 169 at T I 702a7 and T I 702b8: 有結盡.

[181] MĀ 169 at T I 702a9: 求内樂.

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version's presentation, to teach the Dharma instead of praising and disparaging takes place when a statement is not formulated by stating that "all those" who engage in the pursuit of sensual pleasures, etc., are on the wrong path. Instead, to properly teach the Dharma is to simply speak of the pursuit as such.[182] The *Madhyama-āgama* version makes the same point.

In relation to the pursuit of happiness within, the *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel recommend in similar terms that the ignoble pleasure of the senses should be avoided and the inner happiness of the *jhāna*s should be developed.[183] MN III 233

The two versions continue by examining what types of speech should better not be employed. They agree that: MN III 234

- untrue and unbeneficial words should under all circumstances be avoided,
- true but unbeneficial worlds are also better not spoken,
- true and beneficial words can be spoken at the right time.[184]

Yet another perspective on speech is that, according to both versions, hurried speech should be avoided. The reason is that speaking hastily will tire body and mind, moreover, what is said in such a manner will be unclear and therefore difficult to understand.[185]

The *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel next take up dogmatic insistence on local dialects.[186] Parts of this topic have also been preserved in the San-

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[182] E.g., in relation to the pursuit of sensual pleasures, MN 139 at MN III 232,17+13 recommends to teach the Dharma by making a statement in this manner: "this pursuit ... is the wrong path", *anuyogo ... micchāpaṭipadā ti*, instead of proclaiming that "those who engage in this pursuit ... they all are ... on the wrong path", *ye ... anuyutta ... sabbe te ... micchāpaṭipannā ti*.

[183] MN 139 at MN III 233,22 qualifies sensual happiness not only as worldly and ignoble, but also as *mīḷhasukha*, literally "dung [type of] happiness" (for the term cf. also the dung beetle in SN 17:5 at SN II 228,24, or the manure mountain in AN 5:196 at AN III 241,20). Chalmers 1927: 288 renders *mīḷhasukha* as "foul ... ease", Horner 1959: 281 has: "vile happiness", and Ñāṇamoli 1995/2005: 1083 as "filthy pleasure", whereas Neumann 1896/1995: 1020 opts for a literal translation as "kotiges Wohl"; cf. also Hare 1961: 242, who renders another occurrence of the same expression as "dung-like ease", as well as the similar rendering as "dung-like happiness" in Masefield 1986: 7). MĀ 169 at T I 702c4 also lists the worldly and ignoble happiness, followed by explaining that this type of happiness is "rooted in disease and in [being like] a carbuncle", 病本, 癰本, but does not have a counterpart to *mīḷhasukha*.

[184] MN 139 at MN III 234,4 mentions not speaking secret words, *rahovādaṃ na bhāseyya* (which according to Ps V 30,17 refers to malicious speech), nor speaking roughly when face to face, *sammukhā na khīṇaṃ bhane ti* (S^{e}-MN III 428,16: *nātikhīṇaṃ*), and then continues to examine these two alternatives from the perspective of the three types of speech (i.e. untrue and unbeneficial, true and unbeneficial, true and beneficial). MĀ 169 at T I 702c17 instead instructs: "do not speak in an insinuating [manner] and also do not extol [someone] to [his] face", 莫相導說, 亦莫面前稱譽者 (with 道 as a 宋, 元, 明, 德, and 聖 variant reading instead of 導, a reading adopted in the 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition vol. 3 p. 1517). The first part of this instruction could be similar to MN 139, in the sense of envisaging some indirect form of communication, while the second part is exactly the opposite of MN 139, which refers to rough speech when being in front of someone else, not praise. MĀ 169 then takes up the first case of 相導說, from the same three perspectives, but does not apply this threefold treatment to the other case of "extolling [someone] to [his] face".

[185] MN 139 at MN III 234,20 contrasts "unhurriedly", *ataramāna*, with "hurriedly", *taramāna*, MĀ 169 at T I 702c26: "speak regularly and restrained, do not speak irregularly and unrestrained", 齊限說, 莫不齊限者.

skrit fragment and in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[187] The parallel versions agree in listing various terms for a bowl to illustrate variations between different local dialects in ancient India. The Sanskrit fragment and the discourse quote in the commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* not only list various words for a "bowl", but also illustrates language variations with the example of different terms employed to refer to a "person".[188]

MN III 235 The *Araṇavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel recapitulate their exposition by taking up the topics covered so far from the perspective of whether such conduct leads to conflict or to absence of conflict.[189] The two versions conclude with the Buddha encouraging the monks to undertake what leads to the absence of conflict, praising Subhūti as exemplary in this respect.[190]

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[186] MN 139 at MN III 235,1 and MĀ 169 at T I 703a4; cf. also the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* in Pradhan 1950: 83,5. Kalupahana 1999: 50 highlights the emphasis in this passage on the "practical and communicative value of concepts", instead of grasping them as in any way ultimate. Norman 1992: 234 takes up the present passage as an example for dialect variations and comments that the Buddha "in the course of his preaching tours ... varied his language to suit his audience ... it can be assumed, therefore, that from the beginning the teachings of the Buddha ... were not restricted to a single dialect or language"; on the term *janapadanirutti* cf. also Norman 1980/1991: 129 and Ruegg 2000: 288 note 14.

[187] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 46a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 50a2; cf. also Abhidh-k 1:43 in Ejima 1989: 49,17 or Pradhan 1967: 31,14, paralleling MN 139 at MN III 234,30, with its Chinese parallels in T 1558 at T XXIX 11b5 and T 1559 at T XXIX 171a24. For counterparts to MN 139 at MN III 230,15-17 in *Vyākhyāyukti* literature cf. Skilling 2000b: 340.

[188] SHT II 163aA3: "a 'living being', or a 'man', or a 'human being', or a 'person', or a 'human'", *(jīv)[o] vā jantur-vā [poṣo] vā pudgalo vā manujo*; cf. also Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 46b2 or Q (5595) *tu* 50a7. Other examples of such listings can be found, e.g., in the *Pṛṣṭhapāla-sūtra*, fragment 423r6 in Melzer 2006: 284, in the *Dharmaskandha*, fragment 4737 folio 19v10 to 20r1 in Dietz 1984: 81,1, in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 4668-4676 in Sakaki 1926: 311-312, and in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* in Gnoli 1977: 157,24. A series of different terms used to refer to a being are also listed in the Jain *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* 2.14 in Lalwani 1973b: 149,22.

[189] The recapitulations in each of the two versions do not seem to take into account all the subjects mentioned earlier, since MN 139 does not mention the topic of the fetter to existence, although both versions covered this topic earlier and MĀ 169 at T I 703a26 does include it in its recapitulation. MĀ 169 in turn does not mention the topic of praising and blaming, although both versions took up this topic earlier and MN 139 at MN III 236,6 includes it in its recapitulation.

[190] MĀ 169 at T I 703c10 adds to this a verse in praise of Subhūti, according to which he practised true emptiness, 行真實空. References to Subhūti's qualities recur in other discourses, although with some differences in the qualities that are highlighted. The list of outstanding disciples in AN 1:14 at AN I 24,8 takes up Subhūti's excellence in dwelling free from conflict, to which it adds his worthiness in receiving gifts; cf. also Maithrimurthi 2004: 205. Ud 6:7 at Ud 71,10 records the Buddha praising Subhūti for his meditative abilities, in particular for his removal of thoughts and his ability to attain the perception of the immaterial. According to Th 1, in what tradition reckons to be his own verse, Subhūti highlights his liberated and concentrated state of mind. The listing of outstanding disciples in EĀ 4.8 at T II 558b15 extols Subhūti for his continuous delight in emptiness concentration and his ability to discriminate properly the meaning of emptiness, 恒樂空定, 分別空義, followed by praising him for his resolution on being established in the peace of emptiness and his sublime and virtuous actions, 志在空寂, 微妙德業. Subhūti's understanding of emptiness comes up for praise again in EĀ 22.3 at T II 663a4

MN 140 *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta*

The *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta*, the "discourse on an analysis of elements", offers a detailed instruction on the elements. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and in an individual translation,[191] in addition to which another parallel can be found in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[192]

The *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta*, the *Madhyama-āgama* version, and the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* begin by relating that the Buddha had come to the place of a potter in Rājagaha and asked permission to stay overnight. MN III 237

The individual translation precedes the same event with a narration that gives some background to Pukkusāti, the person whom the Buddha met at the potter's place, a narration found also in the Pāli commentary and in a Chinese *Dharmapada Avadāna* collection.[193] With some variations, the individual translation, the Pāli commentary, and

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and in EĀ 46.3 at T II 795c24. Subhūti's being outstanding for his worthiness to receive gifts recurs in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932a: 161,17, while his excellence in living without conflict is mentioned in the *Avadānaśataka* in Speyer 1909/1970: 131,6 or in Vaidya 1958a: 232,23, in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, cf. the Sanskrit version in Conze 1957: 35,8 and its Chinese translations in T 220 at T VII 981b17, T 235 at T VIII 749c10, T 236a at T VIII 753c18, T 237 at T VIII 763a16 (= T 236b at T VIII 758b8), T 238 at T VIII 768a14, and T 239 at T VIII 772c23, and in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, cf. the Sanskrit version in Mitra 1888: 20,8 and its Chinese translation in T 227 at T VIII 538b9; cf. also T 223 at T VIII 234a12 and T VIII 238b21.

191 The parallels are MĀ 162 at T I 690a-692b, entitled "discourse on an analysis of the six elements", 分別六界經 (which thereby has the same title as MĀ 163, the parallel to the *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta*, MN 137), and T 511 at T XIV 779a-781a, entitled "discourse spoken by the Buddha on the five wishes of King Bimbisāra", 佛說蓱沙王五願經. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 511 was translated by Zhī Qīan (支謙). MĀ 162 and T 511 agree with MN 140 on locating the discourse at Rājagaha. Parts of MĀ 162 have been studied by Minh Chau 1964/1991: 70 and 117-120. Skilling 1997a: 34 notes a reference to the present discourse in the *Āgamakṣudraka-vyākhyāna* as *khams drug gi rnam par dbye ba*, which would correspond to *Ṣaddhātuvibhaṅga*. The *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T T XXVI 394a24, refers to the present discourse as the "discourse on an analysis of the six elements", 六界記別經.

192 Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 34b6-43a3 or Q (5595) *tu* 38a2-46b5; cf. also Abhidh-k 1:35 in Ejima 1989: 38,1 or Pradhan 1967: 24,10, paralleling MN 140 at MN III 239,10, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 8c20 and T 1559 at T XXIX 168c15 (for discourse quotation parallels in Abhidh-k to the listing of hair (etc.) as manifestations of the earth element, mentioned in MN 140 at MN III 240,22, cf. above p. 194 note 259). Abhidh-k-ṭ agrees with MN 140 on the location and, as part of the Buddha's announcement of what he will teach, at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 35b5 or Q (5595) *tu* 39a1 gives the title of the discourse as *khams drug rab tu rnam par 'byed pa*, "full analysis of the six elements". Another brief quote can be found at Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 34b1 or Q (5595) *tu* 37b4; cf. also Abhidh-k 1:35 in Ejima 1989: 37,1 or Pradhan 1967: 24,1, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 8c9 and T 1559 at T XXIX 168c2. For another quote in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 195.

193 Ps V 33,21 and T 211 at T IV 580c19, translated in Willemen 1999: 41-42. T 511 at T XIV 779a10 differs from these two in as much as it begins by describing five wishes made by King Bimbisāra (these

the Chinese *Dharmapada Avadāna* collection report that Pukkusāti had been a king and friend of King Bimbisāra, who had informed Pukkusāti of the appearance of the Buddha and his teaching. This had inspired Pukkusāti so much that he decided to go forth on his own, with the intention of approaching the Buddha to become his disciple.

MN III 238 The *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels agree that Pukkusāti, who was already residing at the potter's place, readily agreed to share the place with the Buddha, whom he did not recognize. The four versions describe in similar terms that the two spent most of the night in meditation. After this a conversation began, during which the Buddha found out that Pukkusāti had gone forth on his account. Without revealing his identity, the Buddha thereon decided to give Pukkusāti a teaching.

MN III 239 This teaching in all versions begins by mentioning:

- the six elements,[194]
- the six types of contact,
- the eighteen types of mental exploration that are based on these contacts.[195]

The four versions continue by briefly presenting four maxims,[196] after which they turn to a more detailed analysis of the elements mentioned earlier.[197]

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five wishes are also mentioned in Vin I 37,17). The relation of these five wishes to the remainder of the discourse is tenuous, even though they account for the title of T 511. Regarding the similar narrations found in the Pāli commentary and T 511, Nattier 2008: 165 note 6 observes that this "demonstrates that material classified as a commentary in one tradition (e.g., that presented by Buddhaghosa) could be incorporated into a sūtra itself in another textual lineage". A to some degree similar narration can also be found in the first part of the *Rudrāyaṇāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 544,22 or in Vaidya 1999: 465,1.

[194] A minor difference in the exposition of the six elements is that, whereas MN 140 at MN III 239,19 and MĀ 162 at T I 690b28 have as the sixth element consciousness, *viññāṇa*/識, T 511 at T XIV 780a12 speaks instead of the "mind", 心, a character that usually corresponds to *citta.* When taking up the sixth sense, to which MN 140 at MN III 239,25 refers as *manas* and MĀ 162 at T I 690c2 similarly as 意, T 511 at T XIV 780b19 uses the same 心.

[195] A discourse quotation from an exposition of the six elements and contacts can be found in the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, T 1545 at T XXVII 381c3; for a discussion of the eighteen types of mental explorations cf. the same work, T 1545 at T XXVII 716b6. A teaching that similarly begins with the six elements, the six types of contact, and the eighteen types of mental exploration occurs also in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* in Bendall 1902/1970: 244,11. A discourse quotation paralleling the reference to the eighteen mental explorations in MN 140 at MN III 239,28 (or in MN 137 at MN III 216,29) can be found in Abhidh-k 3:32 in Pradhan 1967: 146,22, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 53b29 and T 1559 at T XXIX 210b18; cf. also D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 165b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 191b1. A discourse quotation paralleling the subsequent mental explorations of pleasure in MN 140 at MN III 239,30 (or in MN 137 at MN III 216,31) can be found in Abhidh-k 3:32 in Pradhan 1967: 147,10, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 53c16 and T 1559 at T XXIX 210c4.

[196] MN 140 at MN III 240,9 refers to these as four "resolutions", *adhiṭṭhāna*, MĀ 162 at T I 690c9 as "four spheres of establishment", 四住處, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 35b7 or Q (5595) *tu* 39a3 as "four resolutions", *byin gyis brlabs* (D: *gyi rlabs*) *bzhi pa*, while T 511 varies, cf. T XIV 780b27: "four solid phenomena", 四事堅, but then T XIV 780b28: "four solid intentions", 四堅志. Horner 1959: 286 note 1 draws attention to AN 3:61 at AN I 175,28, where the six elements, the six types of contact, and the eighteen types of mental exploration recur, with the difference that they are followed by the four noble

The *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels list various manifestations of the five physical elements, found within oneself.[198] They conclude that any instance of these elements, whether found inside or outside of oneself, should be contemplated as not-self in order to develop detachment. MN III 240

In regard to the sixth element of consciousness, the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels highlight in similar ways that pleasant, unpleasant and neutral experiences depend on contact, hence once contact ceases, these experiences will also cease.[199] The *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* illustrates the dependence of the three types of experience on the corresponding type of contact with the image of sticks employed to make a fire, a comparison found also in the parallel versions.[200] MN III 242

The *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels continue by describing a level of equanimity that can be directed to attaining the immaterial spheres, which they compare to a MN III 243

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truths. The four *adhiṭṭhāna*s can also be found in DN 33 at DN III 229,18 and in its Chinese and Sanskrit parallels, DĀ 9 at T I 51a17 (where they are introduced as "spheres", 處) and fragment S 510R1 in Stache-Rosen 1968: 24.

[197] Unlike the other versions, T 511 at T XIV 780a13 has this detailed examination of the elements already earlier, when listing the six elements together with the six types of contact and the eighteen mental explorations.

[198] Abhidh-k-ṭ also offers a definition of the external element, cf. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 37a3 or Q (5595) *tu* 40a8 for the case of earth. A comparable exposition in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* also gives examples for the manifestation of the external earth element, cf. Shukla 1973: 212,2 or ŚSG 2007: 72,11 and T 1579 at T XXX 430a22. A noteworthy variation in the listings of the internal elements is that MĀ 162 at T I 690c22, T 511 at T XIV 780a19, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 37a7 or Q (5595) *tu* 40b5 mention the brain, including it under manifestations of the water element; cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 117. According to Vism 240,24, the brain should be understood to be implicitly included under bone marrow, which MN 140 at MN III 240,24 lists under the earth element, so that on this explanation the brain would be an instance of the earth element. The brain is included under the water element also in MĀ 30 at T I 465a27; cf. also the *Śrāvakabhūmi*, Shukla 1973: 213,8 or ŚSG 2007: 74,4 and T 1579 at T XXX 430a26. EĀ 28.4 at T II 652a19, however, reckons the brain as part of the earth element.

[199] While MN 140 at MN III 242,11 applies this treatment to experiences that are *sukha*, *dukkha,* or *adukkhamasukha*, MĀ 162 at T I 691b4 lists and then examines 樂識, 苦識, 喜識, 憂識, 捨識, thereby adding mental pleasure and mental displeasure, corresponding to *somanassa* and *domanassa*, to the three feeling tones taken into account in MN 140, a difference already noted by Lin Li-Kouang 1949: 260-261 note 8. The same fivefold presentation recurs in D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 38b7 or Q (5595) *tu* 42a7, which covers *bde ba, sdug bsngal*, *yid bde ba, yid mi bde ba* and *btang snyoms*. At a later point, however, in what appears to be a summary of the present exposition, MĀ 162 at T I 691c5 speaks only of "these three feelings", 此三覺. This suggests the fivefold presentation to be a later expansion of what originally was only a treatment of the three types of feeling found also in MN 140. The corresponding part in Abhidh-k-ṭ, however, speaks of "four feelings", D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 39b1 or Q (5595) *tu* 42b8: *tshor ba bẕhi po*. T 511 at T XIV 780b29 refers only to the three feelings, although it differs from the other version by not examining their dependence on contact. This part of T 511 is rather cryptic and may have suffered from textual loss.

[200] MN 140 at MN III 242,32, MĀ 162 at T I 691b27, T 511 at T XIV 780c3, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 39a6 or Q (5595) *tu* 42b6. The same simile as an illustration of the dependent nature of the three types of feeling on contact recurs in SN 36:10 at SN IV 215,21, but is absent from the parallel version SĀ 466 at T II 119a11.

goldsmith who refines gold until it is pure and wieldy in order to make ornaments and jewellery.[201]

MN III 244 In agreement with its parallels, the *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* indicates that, after realizing the true nature of the immaterial attainments, the meditating monk goes beyond them.[202]

The *Dhātuvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels agree that someone who has reached this level of detachment and experiences feelings limited by the body or by life will simply reflect that after death all that is felt will come to an end,[203] similar to an oil lamp that will be extinguished once the wick and the oil are used up.[204]

MN III 245 The three versions continue by taking up four maxims,[205] according to which:

- to destroy all *dukkha* is to reach the peak of wisdom,[206]
- to realize liberation is to attain the supreme truth,[207]
- to abandon all attachments is to accomplish supreme relinquishment,
- to overcome all defilements is to find supreme peace.[208]

MN III 246 The parallel versions next turn to various modes of mental speculation.[209] According to the Pāli and Tibetan account, a sage, who is beyond such conceivings, will not be born, grow old, or pass away.[210] The Chinese version does not speak of not being born, grow-

[201] MN 140 at MN III 243,12, MĀ 162 at T I 691c10, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 39b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 43a4. The simile is also found in T 511 at T XIV 780c5.

[202] MN 140 at MN III 244,19, MĀ 162 at T I 692a2, T 511 at T XIV 780c11, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 40a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 43b5.

[203] MN 140 at MN III 244,34, MĀ 162 at T I 692a3, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 40a6 or Q (5595) *tu* 43b6. This part does not have a counterpart in T 511. MN 140 precedes this treatment by referring to the attainment of full liberation, followed by describing the arahant's detached attitude towards the three types of feeling. Such a description is not found in MĀ 162 or in Abhidh-k-ṭ.

[204] After the examination of feelings, illustrated by the simile of the lamp, Abhidh-k-ṭ refers to the attainment of full liberation, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 40b3 or Q (5595) *tu* 44a3, which it has again after the exposition on conceivings, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 41b5 or Q (5595) *tu* 45a6.

[205] A counterpart to the present passage can be found in the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, T 1536 at T XXVI 394a25 to T XXVI 394b15.

[206] While MN 140 at MN III 245,15 presents the knowledge of the destruction of all *dukkha*, *sabbadukkhakkhaye ñāṇa*, as the peak of wisdom, MĀ 162 at T I 692a12 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 40b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 44a5 apply the same to having reached the destruction of the influxes, 漏盡/*zag pa zad pa*.

[207] While MN 140 at MN III 245,17 qualifies Nirvāṇa as the supreme truth, *taṃ saccaṃ yaṃ amosadhammaṃ nibbānaṃ*, MĀ 162 at T I 692a13 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 40b5 or Q (5595) *tu* 44a5 present liberation, 解脫/*rnam par grol ba*, as the supreme truth.

[208] The overcoming of lust, anger, and delusion is also mentioned in T 511 at T XIV 780c18.

[209] The terminology employed in this context differs considerably. MN 140 at MN III 246,13 speaks of these speculations as "conceivings", *maññita*, MĀ 162 at T I 692a22 presents them as forms of "elevating oneself", 自舉, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 41a3 or Q (5595) *tu* 44b4 qualifies these as manifestations of "instability", *mi brtan pa*, followed by later on indicating that each of these occasions the arising of craving, *sred par 'gyur ba*. The corresponding section in T 511 at T XIV 780c23 similarly refers to "instability" or "motion", 動. An occurrence of *maññati* in MN 1 at MN I 4,27 has as its counterpart in MĀ 106 at T I 596b21 the term "to speculate", 計.

[210] MN 140 at MN III 246,21 explains that in the case of the sage "there is nothing in him by which he

ing old, or dying, but instead describes that the mental peace accomplished in this way leads to transcending dislikes, sadness, vexation, and fear, and to attaining Nirvāṇa.[211] The Chinese discourse continues with the standard description of full liberation,[212] which in the Pāli version already occurred at an earlier point, while the Tibetan version has the same twice, earlier and at the present junction (see table 14.4).

Table 14.4: Exposition on Wisdom in MN 140 and Some of its Parallels[213]

MN 140	MĀ 162	Abhidh-k-ṭ
5 elements (1) feelings and contact (2) immaterial attainments (3) full awakening (4) feelings and death (5) four maxims (6) speculations on self (7)	5 elements (→ 1) feelings and contact (→ 2) immaterial attainments (→ 3) feelings and death (→ 5) four maxims (→ 6) speculations on self (→ 7) full awakening (→ 4)	5 elements (→ 1) feelings and contact (→ 2) immaterial attainments (→ 3) feelings and death (→ 5) full awakening (→ 4) four maxims (→ 6) speculations on self (→ 7) full awakening (→ 4)

The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary indicate that Pukkusāti attained stream-entry while listening to this exposition.[214] All versions report that Pukkusāti, on realizing that he had met his teacher, apologized for not having recognized the Buddha and not having treated him with the proper respect.[215]

might be born, not being born how could he age, not aging how could he die", *tam pi 'ssa ... n' atthi yena jāyetha, ajāyamāno kiṃ jiyyissati, ajiyyamāno kiṃ miyyissati* (B^e-MN III 289,24: *tañ hi 'ssa*, B^e and C^e-MN I 508,31: *jīyissati*, *ajīyamāno*, and *mīyissati*)?, a reasoning similarly found in D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 41b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 45a5: *'di nyid rgyu dang rkyen med pas, skye ba med pa'o, ma skyes* (D adds: *pa*) *na gang las rga bar 'gyur zhing, ma rgas na gang las 'chi bar 'gyur la*. Karunadasa 1991: 62 explains that, although "decay and death as physical facts cannot be overcome with the attainment of Nibbāna", yet, "since the liberated saint (*arahant*) does not identify himself with the five *khandhas* ... he has won a psychological victory over ... decay and death. The experience of decay and death is there only when one identifies oneself with what is subject to decay and death"; cf. also Tilakaratne 2008: 100.

211 MĀ 162 at T I 692b1: "there is nothing [in him] any more that can be spoken of as dislike; as there is no dislike, there is then no sadness; there being no sadness, there is then no worry; there being no worry, there is then no vexation; there being no vexation, there is then no agitation; because of this absence of agitation, he will [attain] Nirvāṇa", 不復有可說憎者, 若不憎則不憂, 不憂則不愁, 不愁則不勞, 不勞則不怖, 因不怖便當般涅槃.

212 MĀ 162 at T I 692b4.

213 The present survey does not take into account T 511, whose exposition differs considerably from the other versions, making it difficult to adequately represent this version in the context of the above table.

214 MĀ 162 at T I 692b6 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 42a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 45b1.

215 MN 140 at MN III 247,1 reports that Pukkusāti made a formal confession of having used the inappropriate address "friend", *āvuso*, which has as its counterpart in D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 42a3 or Q (5595) *tu* 45b4 the expression *tshe dang ldan pa*. While T 511 does not report him using any mode of address, according to MĀ 162 at T I 690a28 Pukkusāti had earlier used the address "dear sir", 君, which he then confessed at MĀ 162 at T I 692b13. Elsewhere, however, MĀ 162 at T I 690b7+13 records Pukkusāti

MN III 247 While the *Madhyama-āgama* version ends at this point, the other versions continue by narrating that Pukkusāti was killed by a cow. The monks reported this accident to the Buddha, who according to the Pāli version and the individual translation told them that Pukkusāti had become a non-returner,[216] whereas according to the Tibetan version Pukkusāti passed away as an arahant.[217]

A discourse in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and its parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* concord with the Pāli version and the individual translation by reporting that Pukkusāti had been reborn in a realm where non-returners take birth.[218]

MN 141 *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, the "discourse on an analysis of the truths", records an exposition of the four noble truths delivered by Sāriputta. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama*, a parallel in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, and a parallel in an individual translation.[219]

MN III 248 The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* begins with the Buddha's declaration that at the Deer Park near Vārāṇasī he had set in motion the wheel of Dharma by teaching the four noble truths.[220] The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation instead proclaim

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using the address 賢者, the usual counterpart to *āvuso* in *Madhyama-āgama* discourses. Another noteworthy point is that MN 140 MN III 247,4, MĀ 162 at T I 692b14, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 42a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 45b5 agree that the Buddha addressed Pukkusāti as *bhikkhu*/比丘/*dge slong*, even though at this point he had not yet received full ordination (T 511 at T XIV 781a3 does not record any form of address). A similar instance of such a more informal use of *bhikkhu* can be found in MN 26 at MN I 170,23 and MN 36 at MN I 247,14, where the five companions of the bodhisattva are referred to as the "five *bhikkhu*s".

216 MN 140 at MN III 247,31 and T 511 at T XIV 781a12, the same is also reported in T 211 at T IV 581a24, translated in Willemen 1999: 43.

217 D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 43a2 or Q (5595) *tu* 46b3.

218 SN 1:50 at SN I 35,10 (or SN[2] 50 at SN[2] I 75,14) and SĀ 595 at T II 159b14.

219 The parallels are MĀ 31 at T I 467a-469c, EĀ 27.1 at T II 643a-c, and T 32 at T I 814b-816c. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 32 was translated by Ān Shìgāo (安世高), an attribution that according to Zacchetti 2010a: 253 is probably correct. MĀ 31 has the title "discourse on an analysis of the noble truths", 分別聖諦經. T 32 has the title "discourse spoken by the Buddha on the four truths", 佛說四諦經. The qualification "spoken by the Buddha", 佛說, occurs frequently in the title of individual translations (cf. above p. 23 note 4). In the present case, 佛說 appears to have been applied to T 32 somewhat automatically, without proper consideration of its contents, as the main part of the discourse is not "spoken by the Buddha", but rather by Sāriputta. While MN 141 is located in the Deer Park by Vārāṇasī, the three parallel versions take place in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. MĀ 31 has been studied by Minh Chau 1964/1991: 23-24, 56, 59, 96-98, and 122-126. A translation of EĀ 27.1 can be found in Anālayo 2006e. Harrison 1997: 277 lists T 32 among translations by Ān Shìgāo that may stem from an *Ekottarika-āgama* collection.

220 According to SĀ 389 at T II 105a25 (translated in Anālayo 2012f) and SĀ[2] 254 at T II 462c10, the four aspects of this basic scheme of the four noble truths correspond to four qualities of a doctor, who needs to be able to identify a disease, to diagnose its cause, to know the appropriate remedy, and to administer the actual cure until the disease is over; cf. also the *Saundaranandakāvya* 16:41 in Johnston

that past, present, and future Tathāgatas teach these four noble truths,[221] while the *Ekottarika-āgama* account simply declares that the Buddha always taught and explained the four truths.[222]

Notably, the *Ekottarika-āgama* version speaks only of "four truths", without employing the qualification "noble".[223] The same is the case in other discourses in this collection,[224] in discourses from the partially preserved *Saṃyukta-āgama*,[225] as well as in several *Vinaya*s.[226] This suggests the possibility that this qualification may be a later addition to formulations of the four noble truths.[227]

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* and its Chinese parallels agree in reporting that the Buddha told the assembled monks that Sāriputta was able to give a full exposition of the four noble truths.[228] The Buddha further explained that, while Sāriputta led disciples to the

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1928: 116,17, and the discussion in Halbfass 1991/1992: 246, Kern 1896: 46-47, Wezler 1984: 319-320, and Zysk 1991: 38.

[221] MĀ 31 at T I 467b4 and T 32 at T I 814b14.

[222] EĀ 27.1 at T II 643a27.

[223] For a more detailed examination cf. Anālayo 2006e.

[224] EĀ 4.1 at T II 557a20, EĀ 24.5 at T II 619a9, EĀ 25.1 at T II 631a8, EĀ 26.9 at T II 639b8, EĀ 28.1 at T II 649b20, EĀ 28.3 at T II 650b17, EĀ 29.6 at T II 657c29, EĀ 29.9 at T II 658c9, EĀ 30.2 at T II 659c25, EĀ 30.3 at T II 665b8, EĀ 31.9 at T II 672c20, EĀ 37.8 at T II 714c5, EĀ 37.10 at T II 717a25, EĀ 39.8 at T II 733a25, EĀ 41.2 at T II 745a17, EĀ 42.4 at T II 753c6, and EĀ 45.5 at T II 773b11 (not taking into account verses, where the absence of the qualification 'noble' could be due to the need to fit the syllable count). The same is also absent from T 32.

[225] $SĀ^2$ 81 at T II 402a23, $SĀ^2$ 92 at T II 405b15, $SĀ^2$ 152 at T II 431b21, and $SĀ^2$ 184 at T II 439c13 refer to the "four truths" (not taking into account verses). $SĀ^2$ 322 at T II 481c8 uses the expression "four truths", but then at T II 481c10 refers to the "four noble truths". $SĀ^2$ 198 at T II 445b9 qualifies only the first truth as a "noble truth", while the other three are simply "truths". A similar pattern occurs in $SĀ^2$ 340, which at T II 487b20 qualifies the first truth as a "noble truth", and then turns to the remaining three without bringing in any truth qualification at all.

[226] The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya* speaks only of the "four truths" in T 1428 at T XXII 606a19 and at T XXII 910a4, but then uses the qualification "noble" in its version of the Buddha's first discourse at T XXII 788a14. The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* speaks of the "four truths" in T 1421 at T XXII 105b12, but then uses the qualification "noble"' in its version of the first discourse at T XXII 104b28. The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* refers to the "four truths" in T 1435 at T XXIII 122b23, at T XXIII 122c1+9, at T XXIII 131c25, at T XXIII 193a11, at T XXIII 244b12, and at T XXIII 368b16, but then uses the qualification "noble" in its version of the first discourse at T XXIII 448b19.

[227] For arguments in support of this suggestion cf. Norman 1982/1984; cf. also id. 1990/1993b and Weller 1940.

[228] While in MN 141 at MN III 248,23 the Buddha highlighted the wisdom of Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna and encouraged the monks to frequent these two, according to MĀ 31 at T I 467b10 and T 32 at T I 814b21 he only praised Sāriputta, making use of a string of epithets similar to those used in MN 111 at MN III 25,5 to describe Sāriputta's wisdom. In regard to the difference between praises given to Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna or only to Sāriputta, it is perhaps noteworthy that MN 141 at MN III 248,22 qualifies Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna as "helpful" to their fellow monks, *anuggāhaka*, a qualification that recurs in relation to Sāriputta only in SN 22:2 at SN III 5,32 and in SN 47:13 at SN V 162,28. According to EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b8, the Buddha simply told the monks to associate with Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna and hold them in high regard.

attainment of stream-entry, Mahāmoggallāna led them further on to full awakening,[229] which the Buddha compared to the roles performed by a mother (who nourishes the foetus in her womb and gives birth) and the role of a foster mother (who then raises the child).[230]

MN III 249 According to all versions, the Buddha retired to his dwelling, whereon Sāriputta gave a more detailed exposition of the topic broached by the Buddha.

When defining *dukkha*, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Ekottarika-āgama* accounts Sāriputta mentioned sorrow and dejection, aspects of *dukkha* not covered in the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse or in the individual translation.[231] The three Chinese versions agree in mentioning disease, association with what is disliked, and dissociation from what is liked,[232] aspects of *dukkha* not explicitly taken into account in the *Sacca-vibhaṅga-sutta*, although the same can be found in the Pāli version of what according to tradition was the first discourse delivered by the Buddha, the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*.[233]

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, the *Madhyama-āgama* version, and the individual translation continue by explaining each of the terms mentioned in their definition of *dukkha*.[234] While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version only defines the term birth, the *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation also explain why birth is *dukkha*, highlighting that

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[229] According to MN 141 at MN III 248,25, Sāriputta leads others to the fruit of stream-entry, while Mahāmoggallāna leads them to the highest. MĀ 31 at T I 467b17 reports that Sāriputta guides others to the attainment of right view, while Mahāmoggallāna leads them higher, to the destruction of the influxes. EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b11 describes Sāriputta teaching so that others reach insight into the four truths, while Mahāmoggallāna leads them to the destruction of the influxes. T 32 at T I 814b26 indicates that Sāriputta "can teach [how to] follow the path", 能令隨道, while Mahāmoggallāna "can teach the completion of the path", 能令竟道.

[230] MN 141 at MN III 248,23, MĀ 31 at T I 467b19, and T 32 at T I 814b28. According to EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b10, the Buddha spoke of Sāriputta as a mother and father to living beings, 眾生之父母, which may be a transmission or translation error of a comparison similar to the one found in the other versions.

[231] MN 141 at MN III 249,10 lists: "sorrow, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair", *sokaparidevadukkhadomanassupāyāsā*, while EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b18 lists: "dejection, sorrow, and vexation", 憂, 悲, 惱.

[232] MĀ 31 at T I 467b29, EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b18, and T 32 at T I 814c7. Disease, association with what is not liked, and dissociation from what is liked are also mentioned in the definition of *dukkha* in the parallels to MN 9, cf. MĀ 29 at T I 462a27, SĀ 344 at T II 95a2, and folio 17 V12 in Tripāṭhī 1962: 52. In this case, E^e-MN I 48,32 and C^e-MN I 114,20 mention disease, while B^e-MN I 59,27 and S^e-MN I 88,22 mention association with what is not liked and dissociation from what is liked, cf. also above p. 69. Disease, sorrow and pain, etc., and association with what is not liked, together with dissociation from what is liked, occur in the definitions of *dukkha* given in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 104c1. Disease and association with what is not liked, together with dissociation from what is liked, are also found in the corresponding definition in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 788a16, and in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1450 at T XXIV 128b4.

[233] SN 56:11 at SN V 421,19 and Vin I 10,26. The E^e edition of DN 22 at DN II 305,2 also mentions disease, while B^e-DN II 243,17, C^e-DN II 478, and S^e-DN II 341,1 mention association with what is not liked and dissociation from what is liked; for a survey of the parallel versions cf. Chung 2006.

[234] MN 141 at MN III 249,14, MĀ 31 at T I 467c2, and T 32 at T I 814c8, explanations not given in EĀ 27.1. The explanations found in MN 141 recur in DN 22 at DN II 305,6.

on being born one experiences bodily and mental pain, bodily heat and mental fever, whereby one is afflicted and troubled.[235]

In relation to disease, a manifestation of *dukkha* not covered in the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, the *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation list various afflictions and diseases.[236] According to the same two versions, association with what is disliked and dissociation from what is liked refers to disagreeable or agreeable experiences that take place by way of the six senses or by way of the six elements (i.e., the four material elements, space, and consciousness).[237]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation agree with the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* that not obtaining what is wished for stands for the impossibility to be free from birth, old age, and death, etc., by mere wishing. These two Chinese versions additionally mention the wish to change pain into pleasure, as well as the wish for pleasure to last forever, these being another two instances where it is not possible to achieve what one would wish.[238] MN III 250

While the *Majjhima-nikāya* and the *Madhyama-āgama* discourses round up their examination of *dukkha* by simply listing the five aggregates [affected by] clinging,[239] the individual translation additionally points out that the five aggregates [affected by] clinging are *dukkha* because they are impermanent and subject to disease, old age, etc.[240] The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation conclude their exposition

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[235] MĀ 31 at T I 467c5 and T 32 at T I 814c11, explanations both versions repeat for old age and death.

[236] MĀ 31 at T I 467c22 and T 32 at T I 815a2, a listing that brings to mind AN 10:60 at AN V 110,1.

[237] MĀ 31 at T I 468a14 and T 32 at T I 815a27.

[238] MĀ 31 at T I 468b9 and T 32 at T I 815b27 (both deal in the same way with disagreeable and agreeable thoughts).

[239] In relation to the standard reference to the five aggregates [affected by] clinging in formulations of the first noble truth, Vetter 1998: 384 notes that in some instances a reading can be found that adds *pi* to this formulation, so that the statement reads *saṅkhittena pañc' upādānakkhandhā pi dukkhā* (e.g., Vin I 10,29). He then suggests (p. 386) that *saṅkhittena* may only mean that "this is a short remark that has to be explained to the neophyte who does not know what the five *upādānakkhandhas* are and/or why they are called *dukkha*", proposing that the *pi* indicates the reference to the five aggregates [affected by] clinging to be another alternative instance of what is *dukkha*, instead of being a summary of what has been listed before. Yet, SN 56:13 at SN V 425,17 defines the first noble truth by only listing the five aggregates [affected by] clinging alone, *katamañ ca, bhikkhave, dukkham ariyasaccaṃ? pañc' upādānakkhandhā ti 'ssa vacanīyaṃ*. This confirms that *saṅkhittena* in the standard expositions does introduce a summary statement. Moreover, formulations of the first noble truth in the Chinese *Āgama*s do not seem to have an equivalent to *pi* in their listings, in fact in most cases their way of presentation indicates that the translators understood whatever equivalent they found to *saṅkhittena* in their original to introduce a summary statement, cf., e.g., MĀ 13 at T I 435c28: 略五盛陰苦, SĀ 344 at T II 95a3: 如是略說, 五受陰苦, and EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b19: 取要言之, 五盛陰苦, a formulation that recurs also in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 788a17: 取要言之, 五盛陰苦, and with only a slight difference in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 104c2: 以要言之, 五盛陰苦.

[240] T 32 at T I 815c11: "their nature is to be impermanent, distressful, afflicted, they are affected by destruction, disease, loss, and old age, they are not stable, they cannot be changed or left behind by mere faithful wishing, for this reason the five aggregates [affected by clinging] are *dukkha*", 是法非常, 厄, 病, 為壞, 疾, 敗, 老, 不堅, 不信欲轉離為, 是故本五陰苦.

by proclaiming that the noble truth of *dukkha* has been true in past, is true at present, and will be true in future times.[241]

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* and its Chinese parallels agree in relating the origin of *dukkha* to craving, although they differ in the extent to which they explain such craving. The shortest treatment occurs in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, which simply declares that the arising of *dukkha* is due to the fetter of craving.[242] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version offers more details, as it explains that such craving leads to renewed existence and is accompanied by delight and lust, followed by distinguishing craving into three types:

- craving for sensual pleasures,
- craving for existence,
- craving for non-existence.[243]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation do not mention these three types of craving, nor do they speak of renewed existence. Instead, they explain that the arising of *dukkha* is due to craving for the six senses or the six elements, a craving that then leads to the arising of attachment.[244] These two Chinese versions illustrate this predicament by describing various manifestations of craving, such as craving for relatives or possessions, etc.

MN III 251 The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels agree that the cessation of *dukkha* comes about through the cessation of craving, which the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the individual translation explain to imply the cessation of craving in relation to the six senses or the six elements.[245]

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[241] MĀ 31 at T I 468b23: "in past times this is the noble truth of *dukkha*, in future times, and in present times this is the noble truth of *dukkha*, it is a real truth, not false", 過去時是苦聖諦, 未來, 現在時是苦聖諦, 真諦, 不虛, a statement applied also to the other three noble truths in MĀ 31 at T I 468c15, T I 469a9, and T I 469b29. T 32 at T I 815c12: "venerables, this is the same truth of *dukkha* in the past, venerables, it is also the truth of *dukkha* in the future, and, venerables, it is the truth of *dukkha* in the present, it is not otherwise", 過世賢者同是苦諦, 未來世賢者亦是苦諦, 現在世賢者亦是苦諦, 是無有異, a statement applied also to the other three truths in T 32 at T I 815c24, T I 816a9, and T I 816c20. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 124 suggests this statement to be an expression of the Sarvāstivāda doctrine of the existence of phenomena in past and future times. Ibid. p. 24 takes the absence of such a statement in MN 141 to be a case of omission and concludes that the occurrence of this passage in MĀ 31 proves that the *Madhyama-āgama* stems from the Sarvāstivāda tradition. Against Minh Chau's suggestion, however, it could be objected that SN 12:66 at SN II 110,23 also highlights the applicability of the four noble truths to past and future times, explaining that to know pleasant sense objects to be *dukkha* (as well as impermanent, not-self, etc.) led to freedom from craving in the past, leads to such freedom in the present, and will lead to such freedom in the future. Thus, for the four noble truths to be considered as true in past and future times is a position held not only in Sarvāstivāda texts. In fact, that certain principles and natural laws exist in the past, present, and future seems to have been a position shared by different Buddhist schools, so that the reciters of MN 141 would have had little reason to omit a passage that makes such a statement.

[242] EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b20: 愛結.

[243] MN 141 at MN III 250,34: *kāmataṇhā bhavataṇhā vibhavataṇhā.* On the three types of craving cf. also above p. 70.

[244] MĀ 31 at T I 468b28 and T 32 at T I 815c17.

[245] MN 141 at MN III 251,4, MĀ 31 at T I 468c20, EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b21, and T 32 at T I 815c29.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version presents the path to the cessation of *dukkha* by simply listing the eight factors of the noble eightfold path, to which the other three versions add a more detailed examination of each of these eight factors.[246]

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, and the individual translation define right view to be knowledge of *dukkha*, its arising, its cessation, and the path leading to its cessation.

The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation indicate that right view requires analysing, investigating, contemplating, and observing. It is noteworthy how the examination of the path in these two Chinese versions acquires a somewhat more abhidharmic flavour in this way, where interest proceeds from what tasks the path-factors perform to an analysis of what is performing them, i.e., to the mental factors that are present in each case.[247]

According to the *Madhyama-āgama* presentation, such analysing and observing can be directed in various ways, such as contemplating one's former deeds, or being mindful of mental formations, or seeing the disadvantage inherent in formations, or seeing the peacefulness of Nirvāṇa, or remaining with detachment and mindfulness when attaining a temporary liberation of the mind (i.e. a deeper state of concentration).[248]

When defining right intention, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version lists three types of right intention, namely intention of renunciation, of non ill will, and of non cruelty.[249] The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation approach this topic differently, as instead of listing instances of this path factor, they define right intention in terms of thoughts and aspirations that are based on the four noble truths' perspective.[250] The two Chinese versions adopt this procedure in relation to each of the path factors, in the sense that each time they reiterate that the main requirement for any path factor is to maintain the proper perspective of the four noble truths. This way of presentation highlights the importance of the four noble truths as a basis for developing each factor of the noble eightfold path.[251]

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[246] The exposition of the eight path factors found in MN 141 at MN III 251,12 recurs in DN 22 at DN II 312,1 and in SN 45:8 at SN V 8,30.

[247] For an examination of another such instance cf. Anālayo 2010i.

[248] MĀ 31 at T I 469a16 speaks of analysing, etc., "when he contemplates former deeds, or trains to be mindful of formations, or sees the disadvantage in formations, or sees Nirvāṇa as the supreme peace, or with detachment and mindfulness contemplates a wholesome liberation of the mind", 或觀本所作, 或學念諸行, 或見諸行災患, 或見涅槃止息, 或無著念觀善心解脫時. MĀ 31 applies this description, together with the four noble truths' perspective, to each path factor. The present description in MĀ 31 has its counterpart in T 32 at T I 816a20, which also applies it to each path factor.

[249] MN 141 at MN III 251,16.

[250] MĀ 31 at T I 469a20 and T 32 at T I 816a24.

[251] This foundational importance of right view for each path factor is explicitly highlighted in MN 117 and its parallels, according to which right view is a precursor to the other path factors, cf. MN 117 at MN III 72,29: *sammādiṭṭhi pubbaṅgamā hoti*, MĀ 189 at T I 735c13: 正見最在其前, and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 44b6 or Q (5595) *thu* 84a8: *yang dag pa'i lta ba sngon du 'gro ba*. The same notion also underlies the qualification *sammā* or *samyak*, which conveys a sense of several parts that are combined together and lead in one direction, cf. MW: 1181 s.v. *samyañj* and Böhtlingk 1883/1998g: 75 s.v. *saṃ-*

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, and the individual translation agree that right speech and right action require abstention from the four unwholesome types of speech and from the three unwholesome types of action.[252]

In regard to right livelihood, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version and the individual translation speak simply of abstaining from wrong means of livelihood.[253] The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse offers further explanations, as it specifies that to undertake right livelihood requires developing contentment together with fewness of wishes, as well as abstaining from various improper means of livelihood, so that one seeks for requisites only by means that are righteous.[254]

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* defines right effort by listing the effort to prevent evil states, overcome evil states, arouse wholesome states, and maintain wholesome states. The *Madhyama-āgama* version and the individual translation do not take up these four in-

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yañj. That is, the factors of the path become *sammā* in as much as they are practised in conjunction and in such a way as to lead to the cessation of *dukkha*.

252 MĀ 31 at T I 469a28 instructs (after stipulating the need for the four noble truths' perspective): "herein, except for the four types of pure verbal conduct, in regard to any other type of evil verbal conduct, he keeps far away [from them], discards [them], eradicates [them], does not undertake [them], does not perform [them], does not apply [himself to them], has no connection [with them], this is called right speech", 於中, 除口四妙行, 諸餘口惡行, 遠離, 除, 斷, 不行, 不作, 不合, 不會, 是名正語, a way of presentation MĀ 31 at T I 469b4 then uses in a similar way when defining right action. Instead of contrasting pure speech and action with their evil counterparts, T 32 at T I 816b3+12 speaks of stopping the four types of verbal transgressions and any other type of evil verbal conduct, 止四口犯, 有餘口惡行, and enjoins discarding the three types of evil bodily conduct and any other type of evil bodily conduct, 除身三惡行, 亦餘身惡行. The reference in MĀ 31 to pure or even "sublime" conduct, 妙行, equivalent to *sucarita*, stands for the wholesome courses of action (*kammapatha*), cf. MĀ 171 at T I 707c14 (the 佛光 *Madhyama-āgama* edition p. 261 note 5 seems to be mistaken in identifying the three types of pure conduct with the absence of lust, anger, and delusion, 十善中之身妙行有三, 即不貪, 不瞋, 不癡). These wholesome courses of action cover precisely the types of speech and action mentioned in the definition of right speech and right action in MN 141 at MN III 251,19, namely abstention from false speech, malicious speech, harsh speech, idle chatter, as well as abstention from killing, taking what is not given, and sexual misconduct. The same would also correspond to the types of speech and action envisaged in T 32. Thus, in spite of different formulations, the Pāli and Chinese versions agree on the implications of these two path factors. Notably, MN 141 at MN III 251,24 speaks of sexual misconduct, thereby describing lay ethics, but then has a *bhikkhu* as the subject for the last three path factors. A similar definition in SN 45:8 at SN V 9,11, which also has a *bhikkhu* as its subject, instead speaks of *abrahmacariya*.

253 MN 141 at MN III 251,27: "having left behind wrong livelihood he makes his living by way of right livelihood", *micchā ājīvaṃ pahāya sammā ājīvena jīvikaṃ kappeti*. T 32 at T I 816b21 instructs to not get one's livelihood "by practising various lowly [literally: animal] type of deeds, or through wicked practices", 行若干畜生業, 從邪行.

254 MĀ 31 at T I 469b10 explains that one should "not search for what is unreasonable, not [search] by having many wishes and being without contentment, not undertake wrong livelihood by doing various types of crafts, or reciting spells, but only seek for robes ... food ... beds and seats through what is righteous, not through what is unrighteous, this is called right livelihood", 非無理求, 不以多欲無厭足, 不為種種技術, 呪說, 邪命活, 但以法求衣 ... 食 ... 床座, 不以非法, 是名正命 (adopting the 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading 技 instead of 伎).

stances of right effort, but instead explain right effort to stand for maintaining unwavering energy that is based on the four noble truths' perspective.[255] According to the individual translation, to arouse joy and to maintain mindfulness are also aspects of right effort.[256]

The *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta* continues by defining right mindfulness with the help of the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s, while the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the individual translation only mention unwavering mindfulness that is developed based on the four noble truths' perspective. The individual translation additionally recommends speaking little as a way of avoiding loss of mindfulness.[257] MN III 252

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version and the *Madhyama-āgama* account agree in taking right concentration to stand for *jhāna* attainment. While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version lists the four *jhāna*s, the *Madhyama-āgama* version only describes that the mind is established in a *jhāna* without being scattered, without specifying a particular level of *jhāna* attainment.[258]

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[255] Although a full listing of the four types of right effort is not found in MĀ 31, such a full treatment can be found in MĀ 86 at T I 563a11 and MĀ 222 at T I 806a1. These discourses differ from MN 141 in regard to the sequence in which they lists the first two types of right effort, as they begin with the need to overcome what is evil, after which only they turn to the need to prevent evil. This sequence thus progresses from the gross to the respectively subtler, a progression adopted in all versions for the remaining two right efforts, the arousing of wholesome states and the maintenance of wholesome states. The *Madhyama-āgama* sequence recurs in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, cf. SĀ 178 at T II 46c25, SĀ 622 at T II 174a10, SĀ 647 at T II 182b29, SĀ 877 at T II 221a24, SĀ 878 at T II 221b6, SĀ 879 at T II 221b19, and SĀ 920 at T II 233c28. The same sequence can also be found in a treatment of right effort in SĀ³ 17 at T II 497b3, a partial *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection that according to Harrison 2002: 3 could be a translation by Ān Shìgāo (安世高), in SHT I 614R1-3 (p. 273), and in the *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* in Samtani 1971: 29,3. Discourses in the *Dīrgha-āgama* and in the *Ekottarika-āgama* agree with the Pāli sequence, as they also begin with the effort to prevent evil and only then take up the effort to overcome evil, cf. DĀ 9 at T I 50c14, EĀ 26.1 at T II 635b16, EĀ 26.2 at T II 635b29, EĀ 26.3 at T I 635c11, and EĀ 26.4 at T I 635c23. From a practical perspective, the sequence found in the *Madhyama-āgama* and *Saṃyukta-āgama* is appealing, since often the most urgent task is to deal with evil that has already arisen, before being able to turn to the prevention of evil still to arise.

[256] T 32 at T I 816c1: 喜不毀不滅, 念正止. This stipulation brings to mind an exposition of the seven *bojjhaṅga*s in MN 118 at MN III 85,33 and its parallel SĀ 810 at T II 208b21, according to which the development of the awakening factor of energy leads to the arising of the awakening factor of joy. Another related presentation can be found in MN 117 at MN III 72,22 and its parallels MĀ 189 at T I 735c24 and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 44b5 or Q (5595) *thu* 84a7, according to which right effort requires the co-operation of mindfulness.

[257] T 32 at T I 816c9: "speaking little and without being separated from mindfulness", 少言念不離.

[258] MĀ 31 at T I 469b28: "the mind is established, absorption is established, well established, without wavering and without being scattered", 心住, 禪住, 順住, 不亂, 不散. T 32 at T I 816c15 similarly describes how "because of mental tranquillity [the mind] is unmoving and steadfast, because of having taken hold of tranquillity, the mind and mindfulness are established in oneness", 意止故, 不動不走, 已攝止故, 意念在一, a description which in its recapitulation at T I 816c19, however, reads rather differently. According to MN 52 at MN I 350,10 (= AN 11:17 at AN V 343,18), the destruction of the influxes is possible with each of the four *jhāna*s, i.e., even with the first *jhāna*, so that the standard definition of right concentration in the Pāli discourses by listing all four *jhāna*s may not intend to stipulate

While the *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, and the individual translation conclude with the delight of the monks,[259] the *Ekottarika-āgama* version concludes by reporting that the delivery of this discourse by Sāriputta led innumerable beings to stream-entry.[260]

MN 142 *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*

The *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*, the "discourse on an analysis of offerings", surveys the merits that accrue from offering to different types of recipient. This discourse has a parallel in the *Madhyama-āgama* and a parallel in an individual translation.[261]

In addition, a version of this discourse is also extant in a Gāndhārī fragment.[262] Parts of the earlier section of this discourse can also be found in Sanskrit fragments and in fragments of the *Maitrisimit*, preserved in Tocharian and Uighur.[263]Another parallel

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the attainment of all four *jhāna*s in order for the noble eightfold path to lead to full awakening. The additional stipulation made in MĀ 31 that right concentration needs to be based on the perspective of the four noble truths squares well with an exposition on the topic of proper effacement given in MN 8 at MN I 42,27 and MĀ 91 at T I 573c20. These two discourses agree in reckoning right concentration as an instance of proper effacement, yet MN 8 at MN I 40,30 and MĀ 91 at T I 573b28 also agree that mere attainment of the *jhāna*s falls short of being proper effacement. In the light of MĀ 31, this could be understood to imply that attainment of a *jhāna* only becomes an instance of right concentration – and therewith an instance of proper effacement – when it takes place based on the four noble truths' perspective, thereby with the insight that such attainment is also of an ultimately unsatisfactory nature.

[259] According to MĀ 31 at T I 469c5, Sāriputta concluded his exposition with a verse in praise of the Buddha's teaching of the four noble truths, a verse which has a prose counterpart in T 32 at T I 816c26.

[260] EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b26. EĀ 27.1 at T II 643b29 then concludes with the monks delighting in what the Buddha had said, 諸比丘聞佛所說, 歡喜, which in view of the fact that the discourse had been given by Sāriputta does not fit the context too well.

[261] The parallels are MĀ 180 at T I 721c-723a and T 84 at T I 903b-904b. According to the information given in the Taishō edition, T 84 was translated by Dānapāla (施護). While MĀ 180 has the title "discourse to Gotamī", 瞿曇彌經, T 84 has the title "discourse on an analysis spoken by the Buddha on giving", 佛說分別布施經, which according to Tsukamoto 1985: 1097 might render *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga-sūtra*. The title *Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅga* occurs also in a reference to a passage from the present discourse in the *Karmavibhaṅga* in Kudo 2004: 122,9 or in Lévi 1932a: 61,5, while the title "discourse to Gotamī" recurs in a quotation from the present discourse in the Chinese *Udāna* collection, T 212 at T IV 679c14. Ps I 187,5 quotes a passage from the present discourse and refers to it as *Dakkhiṇāvisuddhi-sutta*, cf. also B^e-Pj I 222 and B^e-Mp-ṭ I 103, a title taken from the exposition of four types of purity in regard to giving described in the final part of the discourse. MĀ 180 and T 84 agree with MN 142 on the location. MĀ 180 and T 84 have been translated in Tsukamoto 1985: 1093-1100. Discourse quotations that parallel the examination of the merit of giving to various recipients in MN 142 at MN III 255,15 can be found in Abhidh-k 3:42 and 4:117 in Pradhan 1967: 155,5 and 270,5; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 56a1 and T XXIX 96b15, as well as T 1559 at T XXIX 213a11 and T XXIX 250b29.

[262] The parallel is Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1; two extracts from this fragment have been published by Strauch 2008: 20-21, which parallel the exposition on the four purifications of a gift found in MN 142 at MN III 256,13 and the first of the seven offerings in MN 142 at MN III 255,28 (I am indebted to Ingo Strauch for kindly providing me with a draft transliteration and translation of the whole fragment).

[263] The Sanskrit fragments are SHT III 979 (pp. 241-242, cf. also SHT VIII p. 186) and the so far unpub-

can be found in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[264] The beginning part of the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* has also a counterpart in two individual translations and in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, where it forms part of this *Vinaya*'s account of the events that led to the founding of the order of nuns.[265]

The *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*, the *Madhyama-āgama* version, the individual translation, the Gāndhārī fragment, and the Tibetan parallel in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* begin by narrating how Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī tried for up to three times to offer a robe to the Buddha,[266] who told her to offer it to the monastic community instead.[267] The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* and the two individually translated dis- MN III 253

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lished fragment no. 2379/15 of the Schøyen collection, identified by Peter Skilling (I am indebted to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for kindly providing me with a preliminary draft transliteration of this fragment). The Tocharian fragments have been published and translated in Xianlin 1998: 169-189, while the Uighur fragments have been published and translated in Geng 1988: 191-209 and Tekin 1980: 69-70 (being unable to read Tocharian or Uighur, my study is based on the translations provided with the editions of these texts). Regarding the Uighur fragment in Geng, the interpretation of this passage by Laut 1991: 266-268 (an interpretation accepted by Pinault 1991: 181 and Schmidt 1996: 276) seems to be based on a confusion of the community of noble ones with the monastic community (which are in fact easily confounded, cf. Hirakawa 1966: 131 for what appears to be another such case). Closer inspection indicates that the *Maitrisimit* does not implicitly refer to the foundation of the order of nuns, as assumed by Laut, but only to the attainment of stream-entry by Gautamī and her companions (cf. in more detail Anālayo 2008h: 107 and Hüsken 2000: 46 note 9). The parts that have been preserved in the Sanskrit and Uighur fragments correspond to the introductory section in MN 142 at MN III 253-254, the Uighur fragment in Geng 1988: 200-204 also covers the seven kinds of offerings and the fourteen types of personal offering described in MN 142 at MN III 254-256.

264 Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 254a1-257a6 or Q (5595) *tu* 289a8-293a3; cf. also Abhidh-k 4:117 in Pradhan 1967: 270,5, paralleling MN 142 at MN III 255,12, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 96b15 and T 1559 at T XXIX 250c1. Abhidh-k-ṭ agrees with MN 142 on the location. For another discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 299.

265 T 202 at T IV 434a6, T 203 at T IV 470a15 (translated in Chavannes 1911: 46 and Willemen 1994: 112-113, on T 203 cf. also Willemen 1992), and T 1421 at T XXII 185b21; cf. also Jaini 1988/2001: 461 and Lamotte 1958/1988: 703-705 for these and several other related tales.

266 In T 84 at T I 903c7 she offers it with the explanation that "it was only for the Blessed One that I made this robe, may the Buddha accept it", 唯為世尊故造此衣, 願佛納受, preceded by her indication in T 84 at T I 903c2 that she had made this robe with her own hands, 我自手作. Ps V 67,18 describes her reasoning in a similar way, "this [robe] has been spun and woven by me personally for the Blessed One, thus, venerable sir, let the Blessed One accept it", *idaṃ pana me bhagavantaṃ uddissa sāmaṃ kantaṃ sāmaṃ vāyitaṃ, taṃ me, bhante, bhagavā paṭigganhātū ti*. The Uighur fragment folio 1b2231-2238 in Geng 1988: 172 even reports that Gautamī had personally sown the cotton, weeded, watered, and harvested it, before spinning the thread and then weaving the cloth. Regarding the nature of the cloth that she tried to offer to the Buddha, while T 84 at T I 903b29 agrees with MN 142 at MN III 253,3 on simply speaking of a "new" cloth, MĀ 180 at T I 721c25 specifies that it was not only new but also made of golden [coloured] thread, as do D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 254a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 289b1, T 202 at T IV 434a8, and T 203 at T IV 470a15.

267 For appreciating the reasoning behind this injunction cf. AN 6:59 at AN III 392,15, where the Buddha instructs a layman to give to the community instead of trying to choose particular recipients this layman

courses that parallel only the introductory narration of the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* also report that the Buddha refused her gift and told her that she should give the robe to the community instead.[268]

The *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, the Tibetan parallel, and the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya* report that Ānanda intervened on behalf of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī by reminding the Buddha of her services when she acted as his fostermother, after his own mother had passed away.[269]

Ānanda's reminding the Buddha of his debt of gratitude to his fostermother can also be found in a different context in the Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika, (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda, and Theravāda *Vinaya*s,[270] and in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, together with its two Chinese discourse parallels.[271] In these instances, Ānanda's reminder had the purpose of convincing the Buddha to allow women to go forth as Buddhist nuns.[272]

Placing these accounts side by side with the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels suggests that Ānanda reminded the Buddha on two occasions of his debt of gratitude to Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī. Curiously enough, while in relation to the relatively insignifi-

might deem worthy of gifts; cf. also the discussion in Mil 240,1. A reference to the present event can also be found in the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-(upadeśa-)śāstra*, T 1509 at T XXV 225b9, cf. Lamotte 1970a: 1403, in T 212 at T IV 691b13 (as part of a prose narration to a verse that parallels Ud 6.2 at Ud 66,12), and in the travel records by Fǎxiǎn (法顯), T 2085 at T LI 861b3, translated in Legge 1886/1998: 66; cf. also Silk 2002/2003 for an examination of a range of texts on the meritoriousness of giving to the Buddha or to the monastic community respectively, thematized in the injunction given in the present discourse.

[268] T 1421 at T XXII 185b22, T 202 at T IV 434a13, and T 203 at T IV 470a19. T 202 and T 203 continue by reporting that after the Buddha had refused and explained the reasons for his refusal, she attempted to give the robe to the community of monks, but none of the monks dared to take the robe, until finally the monk Maitreya (彌勒) accepted it. The same two versions then continue to relate what took place when the next day Maitreya wore the robe and went begging, so that the remainder of T 202 and T 203 no longer parallels MN 142. Notably, T 203 at T IV 470a15 renders the name of the Buddha's fostermother as 大 愛道, which Brough 1975: 582 explains to be due to a misunderstanding of a Prākrit form of her name as being an equivalent of *priyapada* or *priyapatha*.

[269] MN 142 at MN III 253,18, MĀ 180 at T I 722a6, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 254a7 or Q (5595) *tu* 289b8, and T 1421 at T XXII 185c11. Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 7 appears to report a similar intervention, although in the parts that have been preserved Ānanda is not explicitly mentioned. T 84 at T I 903c11 differs in so far as it does not record that Ānanda reminded the Buddha of his debt of gratitude to his fostermother. On the Buddha's indebtedness to Gautamī cf. also Ohnuma 2006.

[270] The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 923a6, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, Roth 1970: 14,8, translated in Nolot 1991: 7, the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 350c20, and the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin II 254,37.

[271] AN 8:51 at AN IV 276,15 and its parallels MĀ 116 at T I 605c12 (translated in Anālayo 2011d) and T 60 at T I 856c7.

[272] His support for the cause of women on this occasion, according to the account given by the Chinese pilgrim Fǎxiǎn (法顯), T 2085 at T LI 859b24, translated in Legge 1886/1998: 45, inspired later generations of nuns to make regular offerings at a *stūpa* dedicated to Ānanda, in expression of their gratitude for his intervention on their behalf; cf. also the travel records of Xuánzàng (玄奘), T 2087 at T LI 890b16, translated in Beal 1884/2001a: 181. Deeg 2005: 142 notes that the worship paid by the nuns to the memory of Ānanda is also recorded in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, cf. Roth 1970: 314,27.

cant issue of accepting a gift Ānanda's intervention was not successful, the same argument was apparently more successful as part of an attempt to convince the Buddha to permit women to go forth, even though according to the same sources the Buddha presumably knew that this permission was going to considerably shorten the duration of his dispensation.[273]

According to the main Chinese and Tibetan parallels to the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*, in reply to this reminder by Ānanda the Buddha explained that he also had benefited Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, as due to him she had gone for refuge and taken the five precepts, was free from doubt in the three jewels, and had acquired insight into the four noble truths.[274] This listing of benefits implies that she had become a stream-enterer.

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse, however, it was Ānanda who mentioned the benefits that Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī had derived from her association with the Buddha. The different *Vinaya* accounts agree with the *Madhyama-āgama* version, the individual translation, and the Tibetan parallel, as they also report that it was the Buddha who had taken up the topic of how he had benefited his foster mother,[275] a presentation that receives further support from the Gāndhārī, Sanskrit, Tocharian, and Uighur fragments.[276]

The *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* and its main Chinese and Tibetan parallels continue by MN III 254
describing the debt of gratitude one owes to the person who establishes one in taking refuge, in observing the precepts, in acquiring unwavering confidence in the three jewels, and in going beyond doubt in regard to the four noble truths.[277]

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273 For an examination of this prophecy of future decline cf. Nattier 1991: 28-33, a theme also taken up in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* in Roth 1970: 16,14; cf. also Anālayo 2010o.

274 MĀ 180 at T I 722a12 adds that she had also acquired faith, morality, learning, generosity, and wisdom, 成就信, 戒, 多聞, 施, 慧, cf. also the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* in Roth 1970: 15,11: *śraddhayā vardhati, śīlena vardhati, śrutena vardhati, tyāgena vardhati, prajñayā vardhati.*

275 The Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 185c13, only mentions her acquisition of faith in the three jewels. The individual translation, T 84 at T I 903c22, and the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* in Roth 1970: 15,13 add to this her insight into the four noble truths. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 923a21, reports that she attained the right path. The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 350c23, explicitly speaks of her stream-entry, an attainment implicit in the descriptions given in the other texts. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 254b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 290a5 goes still further, however, as it indicates that she had reached the fruit of non-returning, *phyir mi 'ong ba'i 'bras bu rtogs te*. MĀ 116 at T I 605c17 and T 60 at T I 856c10 list the same benefits as MĀ 180, whereas AN 8:51 does not take up the topic of how the Buddha had benefited his foster mother at all. Her attainment of stream-entry is mentioned also in the *Mahāvastu* in Basak 1968/2004: 154,17 or in Senart 1897: 257,15.

276 Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 8, SHT III 979V5, YQ 1.41 1/2a1-7 in Xianlin 1998: 176, folio 7b2623 - 8a2643 in Geng 1988: 198-200, and fragment 199 recto 3 in Tekin 1980: 70. Judging from the dynamics of the exchange between the Buddha and Ānanda, the presentation in the parallel versions would fit the context better than the account in MN 142, since such a statement would come naturally as a reply to Ānanda's intervention.

277 Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 lines 11-18 has preserved parts of what appears to have been a similar presentation. A related treatment can be found in AN 3:24 at AN I 123,13, which highlights the benefit derived from those who are instrumental in helping one to become established in refuge, to attain stream-entry, and to attain full awakening.

A noteworthy aspect in the individual translation is that it refers to Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī throughout as a nun.[278] At first sight this may seem surprising, since according to the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels one of the benefits she had acquired thanks to the Buddha was her observance of the five precepts, which suggests her to be still a laywoman. Moreover, if at the time of the present event she already had been a nun, one would expect her going forth to be mentioned among the benefits she had derived from the Buddha, all the more so as according to a range of accounts it was on her request that the nun's order had been instituted in the first place.[279]

Yet, if Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī was indeed the first woman to receive the going forth as a Buddhist nun, then at the time of the present discourse she should already be a nun, as all three versions explicitly mention the community of nuns in their examination of the merits that accrue from different recipients of gifts.[280] A reference to the existence of the order of nuns would not fit an event in which Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī takes part as a laywoman.[281]

Perhaps the reference to her observance of the five precepts could be understood to be simply a part of the pericope used to describe her taking of refuge, both together referring to the moment when she had become a lay follower. On adopting this viewpoint, her having taken the five precepts need not necessarily imply that she was still a laywoman at the time of the present discourse, but would only refer to the point of time in the past when she had become a lay follower. If the main point of this description of benefits was to highlight that she had become a Buddhist and a stream-enterer, then the absence of any explicit reference to her going forth may become less puzzling.[282]

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[278] T 84 at T I 903c22: 摩訶波闍波提苾芻尼.

[279] The discourse versions of this account are AN 8:51 at AN IV 276,21, MĀ 116 at T I 605c28, and T 60 at T I 857a22. *Vinaya* reports of the same can be found in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 923a27, in the (presumably) Haimavata *Vinaya*, T 1463 at T XXIV 803b12, in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* in Roth 1970: 18,14 (the corresponding section in the Chinese version, T 1425 at T XXII 514b4, is abbreviated), in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 185c19, in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 350c26, and in the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin II 255,4. The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 290c23, does not give a full account.

[280] MN 142 at MN III 255,33, MĀ 180 at T I 722a28, and T 84 at T I 904a18; cf. also folio 8b2659 in Geng 1988: 200.

[281] Williams 2000: 170 alternatively suggests that the order of nuns may have been in existence already and the story of its foundation at the request of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī in the *Vinaya* "may have been added on by later compilers of the text"; for an examination of this suggestion cf. Anālayo 2008h: 108-110.

[282] Another problem could seem to be the circumstance that her attainment of full liberation is also not mentioned, an attainment that according to Thī-a 136,13 she reached soon after her going forth. In fact, another discourse concerned with benefits derived through the help of others, AN 3:24 at AN I 123,13, lists the benefits of becoming established in refuge, of attaining stream-entry, and of attaining full awakening. From this listing it would seem that, had Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī already reached full awakening by the time of the present discourse, this would merit explicit mentioning. Yet, the expression *na cirass' eva,* used in Thī-a 136,13 to describe the period it took her to reach full liberation, is used in other contexts for larger periods of time, cf., e.g., MN 82 at MN II 61,3, according to which Raṭṭhapāla similarly became an arahant "in no long time", *na cirass' eva*, with the commentary at Ps III 293,7 then explain-

Another point to be taken into consideration is that the different *Vinaya*s record a stipulation according to which it was allowable for a monk to accept the gift of a robe from a nun if they were relatives.[283] Hence, independent of whether the present event took place before or after this regulation, for Gotamī to give a robe to the Buddha would in principle have been possible even if she had already gone forth.[284]

The *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* and its main parallels agree that the Buddha took the opportunity to examine different recipients of a gift by describing fourteen types of personal offering and seven types of offering to the monastic community. They differ in the sequence in which they present these two topics (see table 14.5).[285]

The fourteen recipients of personal offerings are presented in the parallel versions in similar ways,[286] although here, too, a difference in sequence manifests in as much as the individual translation and the Gāndhārī fragment begin with the lowest recipient,[287] whereas the other versions start off with the foremost recipient. While the *Madhyama-āgama* and Tibetan versions, as well as the Gāndhārī fragment, agree with the *Majjhi-*

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ing that it took him twelve years (a prolonged time period similarly reflected in the parallels to MN 82, which speak of nine or ten years, cf. MĀ 132 at T I 624b6, T 68 at T I 869c26, T 69 at T I 872c26, and D (1) *'dul ba, kha* 103a1 or Q (1030) *ge* 95a4). Thus, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī's offering of a robe to the Buddha could find a placing at some point during the time period between her going forth and her attainment of full liberation.

[283] This regulation is the *nissaggiya pācittiya* or *niḥsargikāḥ pātayantika* rule 4 in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 606c11; rule 4 in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 299c19; rule 4 in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 26c6; rule 5 in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 727a29; rule 4 in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 42c13; and rule 5 in the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin III 209,15. According to this regulation, a monk should not accept the gift of a robe from a nun that is not related to him.

[284] Another argument in favour of her lay status would be that, according to MN 142 at MN III 253,8, she had personally spun and woven the robe, *sāmaṃ kantaṃ sāmaṃ vāyitaṃ*, an activity not befitting a nun. Yet, according to the Chinese parallels she had only "made" the robe, which could intend just their sewing, an activity quite appropriate for a monastic, cf. MĀ 180 at T 721c26: 我自為世尊作 and T 84 at T I 903c2: 我自手作.

[285] T 84 at T I 903c27 and Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 18 agree in this respect with MN 142 at MN III 254,28. MĀ 180 at T I 722a21 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 255a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 290a8 take up the same topics in the opposite order, as they first examine the seven types of offering to the monastic community and only after that turn to the fourteen individual recipients, cf. MĀ 180 at T I 722b14 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 255b2 or Q (5595) *tu* 291a2, a sequence also found in the Sanskrit, Tocharian, and Uighur fragments, cf. SHT III 979R6, YQ 1.41 1/1b1-8 in Xianlin 1998: 176-178, folio 8a2649 in Geng 1988: 200, and fragment 199 verso 7-9 in Tekin 1980: 69.

[286] A minor difference is that while MN 142 at MN III 255,9, T 84 at T I 903c28, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 255b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 291a8, and Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 19 envisage giving either to a virtuous person or else to someone who is not virtuous, MĀ 180 at T I 722b19 takes up this pair by contrasting someone who is energetic with someone who is not energetic, 施精進人, 施不精進人. The qualification of a Tathāgata as the supreme recipient of a gift, found in all versions, recurs also in the **Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa* in Lévi 1932a: 156,13 as a quotation from the present discourse. A variation among the Pāli editions is that B^e^-MN III 297,24 and S^e^-MN III 459,2 speak of giving to a *paccekasambuddha*, while E^e^-MN III 254,30 and C^e^-MN III 522,28 refer to the same recipient as a *paccekabuddha*.

[287] T 84 at T I 903c27 and Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 19.

ma-nikāya discourse in ranking a gift to an animal as the lowest in their respective listings,[288] in the individual translation the lowest recipient of gifts is someone who is sick.[289]

Table 14.5: Analysis of Gifts in MN 142 and its Parallels

MN 142 & T 84 & Bajaur frgm.	MĀ 180 & Abhidh-k-ṭ
14 recipients (1) 7 offerings (2)	7 offerings (→ 2) 14 recipients (→ 1)

MN III 255 The *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels take up the seven types of offering to the monastic community in similar terms.[290] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues by describing the case of a gift that is received by evil and immoral monks. It explains that

288 MN 142 at MN III 255,14, MĀ 180 at T I 722b20, Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 19; cf. also YQ 1.20 1/1b1 in Xianlin 1998: 182 and folio 9a2703 in Geng 1988: 204. The reference to the merit of giving to an animal occurs as a discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Abhidh-k 4:117 in Pradhan 1967: 270,5, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 96b15 and T 1559 at T XXIX 250c1. The discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ that parallels MN 142 taking this quote as its starting point, cf. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 253b7 or Q (5595) *tu* 289a7. The circumstance that in these listings an animal ranks lower than an immoral person is put into question in the **Tattvasiddhi*, T 1646 at T XXXII 291c16; cf. also Schmithausen 2009: 95.

289 T 84 at T I 903c27: "he practises giving to a sick and suffering person", 於病苦人而行布施. T 84 also differs from the other versions in the numerical value of the result it attributes to the different recipients. MN 142, MĀ 180, Abhidh-k-ṭ, and Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 attribute a hundred-fold result to the lowest gift, given to an animal, and then mention a thousand-fold result for giving to an immoral or not energetic worldling, a hundred-thousand-fold result for giving to a virtuous or energetic worldling, a hundred-thousand times a hundred-thousand-fold (or a million-fold) result for giving to an outsider free from lust, and an immeasurable result for giving to a noble one; cf. also folio 9b in Geng 1988: 204. T 84 at T I 904a8 begins with a twofold result for giving to someone who is sick, followed by a hundred-fold result for giving to an immoral worldling, a thousand-fold result for giving to a virtuous worldling, and a hundred-thousand-fold result for giving to an outsider free from lust, until it similarly mentions the immeasurable result for giving to a noble one. In EĀ 23.1 at T II 609b13, King Pasenadi refers to a version of this exposition, which he claims to have heard from the Buddha, according to which a hundred-fold result is to be expected in case of making an offering of food to an animal, a thousand-fold result for making an offering to an immoral person, a ten-thousand-fold result if the recipient is a virtuous person, a hundred-million-fold result if the offering is given to a seer who is free from lust, and an immeasurable result in the case of making an offering to one who is on the path to stream-entry.

290 A minor difference is that, whereas MN 142 at MN III 255,29 begins its listing with a gift given to both communities headed by the Buddha, *buddhapamukhe ubhatosaṃghe dānaṃ deti*, the parallels only speak of the monk community headed by the Buddha, MĀ 180 at T I 722a23: 施佛及比丘眾, T 84 at T I 904a16: 施佛現前諸苾芻眾, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 255a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 290a8: *sangs rgyas la mngon du phyogs te dge slong gi dge 'dun*. The same is also the case for Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 35 (corresponding to part 2 line 5 in Strauch 2008: 21): *budhap[r]amu[haṣa] (bhi)[kh](usaṃghaṣa)*. Another minor difference is that MĀ 180 at T I 722a26 does not list an offering given by requesting the appointment of some monks and some nuns, mentioned in MN 142 at MN III 255,34, T 84 at T I 904a21, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 255a3 or Q (5595) *tu* 290b3.

such an offering will nevertheless be of incalculable merit, as long as the gift is given to the community as a whole.[291]

Notably, the individual translation and the parts that have been preserved in the Gāndhārī fragment do not take up this case at all. The *Madhyama-āgama* discourse and the Tibetan version have a comparable treatment, although this differs from the *Majjhima-nikāya* version. Both do not speak of evil and immoral monks as the recipients of gifts given to the community. While the Tibetan version does not provide any explicit ethical qualification of such monks,[292] in the *Madhyama-āgama* account such monks are just not energetic.[293]

The *Madhyama-āgama* version then continues by explaining that, when even a gift to a monk who is not energetic is of great merit on account of being given to the community, what can be said of the merit of giving to a monk who practises and has reached various accomplishments. MN III 256

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version instead states that a gift to an individual will never be as meritorious as a gift given to the whole community.[294] The commentary reports the reasoning that a gift given to the community will be purified on account of former arahants like Sāriputta and Mahāmoggallāna.[295] The commentary further explains that even a gift given to an arahant individually will not measure up to a gift given to someone of bad morality, as long as the gift is given to the latter on behalf of the community as a whole.[296]

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[291] MN 142 at MN III 256,7 predicts that in the future there will be "clan members, with yellow robes around their necks, immoral and of evil character", *gotrabhuno kāsāvakaṇṭhā dussīlā pāpadhammā*. Ruegg 1974: 200 comments that "this reference to evil *gotrabhūs* seems ... to be isolated in the Pāli canon", as in AN 9:10 at AN IV 373,7 and AN 10:41 at AN V 23,7 the same term rather stands for a someone about to become a noble one; on the term cf. also, e.g., Boucher 2008: 233 note 234, Dayal 1932/1970: 51, Norman 1987/1992: 163, Ruegg 1969: 456, id. 1974, id. 1981, von Hinüber 1978/1994: 93, Wijesekera 1979: 382, and Wright 1996: 46. The expression *kāsāvakaṇṭha* recurs in Dhp 307 (= It 2:11 at It 43,3 and Vin III 90,25).

[292] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 255a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 290b4.

[293] MĀ 180 at T I 722b1: 名姓種, 不精進. The Uighur fragment folio 8b2668-2670 in Geng 1988: 202 seems to be similar to MN 142, however, as it speaks of an undisciplined and lawless monk, as is the case for a quotation from the present discourse in the Chinese *Udāna* collection, T 212 at T IV 679c15. On 姓種, the equivalent to the *gotrabhū* in MN 142, cf. also Takasaki 1993: 256; the counterpart to this term in D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 255a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 290b4 is *sa'i rigs*.

[294] MN 142 at MN III 256,10: "I say that in no way is a gift given to an individual person of greater fruit than a gift given to the community", *na ... kenaci pariyāyena saṅghagatāya dakkhiṇāya pāṭipuggalikaṃ dānaṃ mahapphalataraṃ vadāmi* (S^{e}-MN III 461,4: *pāṭipuggalikadānaṃ*). De Silva 1990a: 33 notes that "this statement is contradictory to ideas expressed elsewhere, that what is given to the virtuous is greatly beneficial but not what is given to the immoral. It is evident here that a later interpolation cannot be altogether ruled out". Witanachchi 2006a: 701 comments that this statement "is a far cry from the place given to moral discipline and spiritual development in [other] early discourses".

[295] Ps V 75,15. An extract from the present discussion already appeared in Anālayo 2005c: 102-103.

[296] Ps V 75,28; cf. also EĀ 48.5 at T II 791c29 which, although not speaking of a someone of bad morality, nevertheless highlights the superiority of giving to a single member from the monastic community compared to giving to five hundred arahants. On the question of giving to an evil monk cf. also Mil 257,4.

The suggestion that a gift given on behalf of the order, even if it is given to an immoral monk, will be of incalculable merit seems difficult to reconcile with the subsequent exposition of the four purifications of a gift in the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* and its parallels, which clearly indicates that the purification of a gift depends also on the degree of purity of the receiver.[297]

From this perspective, it seems doubtful if the existence of former arahant monks would suffice to turn a gift given on behalf of the community to a monk of evil character and bad morality into a gift that produces abundant merit. In fact, if dedicating a gift to the Buddhist order would suffice to ensure the fruitfulness of such a gift, it would be difficult to understand why elsewhere the discourses give so much importance to the ethical purity of a recipient of gifts.[298]

In view of the absence of such a reference to the fruitfulness of giving to immoral monks in the parallel versions, it seems quite possible that this particular passage in the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta* is a later addition to the discourse. The present reference thus could be reflecting the concerns of later generations of monastics to ensure constant supplies and therewith their safe survival among competing religious groups in ancient India even in case some members of the Buddhist monastic community should not be able to maintain the proper standards of moral conduct.

MN III 257 After surveying the four purifications of a gift in similar ways,[299] the *Dakkhiṇāvibhaṅga-sutta*, its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, the Gāndhārī fragment, and the Tibetan

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[297] MN 142 at MN III 256,20 refers to such purity only in terms of being "virtuous and of good character", *sīlavā kalyāṇadhammo*, a reference found similarly in Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 67 (corresponding to part 3 line 13 in Strauch 2008: 20: *śilava bhoti kalanadhaṃmo*, cf. also lines 10-11). MĀ 180 at T I 722c3 speaks of being energetic and having the right view that there is karmic retribution for deeds, while T 84 at T I 904a27 deals with the same topic in terms of purity of bodily, verbal, and mental action, purity of livelihood, and purity of view (the listing of the four types of purification in T 84 seems to have suffered from some textual error). The four purifications of a gift recur in AN 4:78 at AN II 80,26.

[298] Thus, e.g., MN 39 at MN I 271,16 or MN 40 at MN I 281,10, in agreement with their parallels MĀ 182 at T I 724c25 and MĀ 183 at T I 725c24, give recommendations to monks on proper conduct in order to ensure that gifts given to them will be fruitful. MN 6 at MN I 33,16 and its parallel MĀ 105 at T I 595c23 stipulate morality and meditation practice as the factors required to make the services and support a monk receives become fruitful. The same theme recurs also in other discourses, according to which a gift given to a moral recipient is of much fruit, unlike the gift given to an immoral recipient, cf. SN 3:24 at SN I 98,27 (or SN^2 135 at SN^2 I 220,3): *sīlavato ... dinnaṃ mahapphalaṃ, no tathā dussīle*, AN 3:97 at AN I 246,32: *bhikkhu hoti dussīlo ... yesaṃ kho pana paṭigaṇhāti cīvarapiṇḍapātasenāsanagilānapaccayabhesajjaparikkhāraṃ tesaṃ taṃ na mahaphalaṃ hoti na mahānisaṃsaṃ*. Notably, both of these discourses use the same expression *dussīla* as found in the passage under discussion, MN 142 at MN III 256,7. Similarly in AN 5:199 at AN III 244,7 a description of how someone gone forth can become a source of merit in various ways invariably stipulates that he or she should be *sīlavant*; cf. also Freiberger 2005: 238.

[299] MĀ 180 at T I 722c3 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 256a7 or Q (5595) *tu* 292a2 are more detailed in their description of what makes a giver or recipient pure, indicating that this also requires upholding the view that there are future results of one's actions. Fragment 2379/15 of the Schøyen collection appears to have preserved part of this exposition. A discourse quotation paralleling the reference to a gift given by one free from passion to one who is also free from passion in MN 142 at MN III 257,22 can be found in

version conclude with a set of stanzas on how a gift may be purified by the giver or by the recipient.[300] The individual translation instead reports that, on hearing this exposition on the merits of giving to the community, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī decided to give the robe to the community of monks.[301]

Abhidh-k 4:117 in Pradhan 1967: 270,14, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 96b25 and T 1559 at T XXIX 250c11, cf. also Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 258a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 293b6.

300 To the five verses found in MN 142 at MN III 257,6 and Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 73, the parallels MĀ 180 at T I 723a1 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 257a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 293a1 add a sixth verse in praise of gifts made by slaves and the poor. For a translation of the six verses in MĀ 180 and a comparison with their Pāli counterparts cf. Minh Chau 1964/1991: 191-192. MĀ 180 at T I 723a5 also differs from MN 142 by reporting the delighted reaction of Ānanda and the assembled monks. Ānanda's delighted reaction is also mentioned in Bajaur Kharoṣṭhī fragment 1 line 80.

301 T 84 at T I 904b15.

Chapter 15 *Saḷāyatana-vagga*

MN 143 *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta*

The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta*, the "discourse on an instruction to Anāthapiṇḍika", records the teachings given by Sāriputta to the dying Anāthapiṇḍika. The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* has a parallel in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.[1] The first part of the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta*, which reports Sāriputta's visit to Anāthapiṇḍika, has also a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*,[2] while the later part of the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta*, which takes place after Anāthapiṇḍika's death, has a Pāli parallel in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and two Chinese parallels found in two *Saṃyukta-āgama* collections.[3]

The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* begins by narrating that Anāthapiṇḍika, who was sick, MN III 258
dispatched a messenger to Sāriputta with an invitation to visit him.[4] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* and *Ekottarika-āgama* versions do not record such an invitation, in fact according to them, Sāriputta had decided on his own to pay a visit to Anāthapiṇḍika. While the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version indicates that Sāriputta had heard about the sick condition of Anāthapiṇḍika,[5] according to the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, Sāriputta had come to know about it through his divine eye.[6]

The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* reports that, when Sāriputta arrived together with Ānan- MN III 259
da at Anāthapiṇḍika's dwelling place, the householder described his deteriorating condition to the visiting monks with a set of similes.[7] According to the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, however, Anāthapiṇḍika merely stated that his condition was getting worse, without making use of any simile.[8]

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[1] The parallel is EĀ 51.8 at T II 819b-820c, which agrees with MN 143 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. Akanuma 1929/1990: 171 also lists MĀ 28 at T I 458b-461b as a parallel to MN 143. The instructions given by Sāriputta to Anāthapiṇḍika in MĀ 28, however, rather parallel SN 55:26 at SN V 380-385, a discourse that also agrees with MĀ 28 in reporting that Anāthapiṇḍika recovered from his disease. Hence MĀ 28, together with a Sanskrit fragment parallel to MĀ 28, SHT VI 1397 (pp. 116-117), are better reckoned as parallels to SN 55:26. Yet another discourse given to Anāthapiṇḍika at a time when he was sick is SN 55:27 at SN V 385-387, in which Ānanda is the speaker.

[2] The parallel to Sāriputta's visit to Anāthapiṇḍika is SĀ 1032 at T II 269c-270a, which agrees with MN 143 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. For a translation of SĀ 1032, together with extracts from the present study, cf. Anālayo 2010n.

[3] The parallels to Anāthapiṇḍika's post mortem visit to the Buddha are SN 2:20 at SN I 55-56 (or SN^2 101 at SN^2 I 126-129), SĀ 593 at T II 158b-c, and SĀ^2 187 at T II 441a-442a. SĀ^2 187 at T II 441a28 also covers the events that took place before, although, according to its account, it was not Sāriputta who went to visit Anāthapiṇḍika on his deathbed, but rather the Buddha himself. According to SĀ^2 187 at T II 441b13, the instruction given by the Buddha on this occasion was concerned with the six recollections.

[4] MN 143 at MN III 258,5.

[5] SĀ 1032 at T II 269c9.

[6] EĀ 51.8 at T II 819b13.

[7] MN 143 at MN III 259,6. The corresponding part in SĀ 1032 at T II 269c14 is abbreviated.

[8] EĀ 51.8 at T II 819b20. Notably, the description of Sāriputta's visit to Anāthapiṇḍika in SN 55:26 at SN

The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* and its two parallels in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and the *Ekottarika-āgama* agree that Sāriputta instructed Anāthapiṇḍika on the development of detachment towards various aspects of experience.[9] In all versions, these instructions take up the six objects of the senses, encouraging Anāthapiṇḍika to avoid clinging to them and not to let his consciousness become dependent on them. While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version simply speaks of consciousness being dependent on the senses or their objects,[10] the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version specifies that such dependence takes place through the arising of desire and lust.[11] The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* stands alone in also applying the instructions to the six types of consciousness, the six types of contact, and the six types of feeling that arise based on them (see table 15.1).

Table 15.1: Instructions to Anāthapiṇḍika in MN 143 and its Parallels

MN 143	SĀ 1032	EĀ 51.8
6 sense-organs (1)	6 sense-organs (→ 1)	3 recollections
6 sense-objects (2)	6 sense-objects (→ 2)	6 sense-objects (→ 2)
6 consciousness (3)	6 elements (→ 6)	this/next world (→ 9)
6 contacts (4)	5 aggregates (→ 7)	craving, which causes grasping, becoming, etc.
6 feelings (5)		5 aggregates are not-self
6 elements (6)		senses arise from nowhere
5 aggregates (7)		12 links of dependent arising
4 immaterial attainments (8)		
this/next world (9)		
sensed, heard, etc. (10)	(≠ 3-5, 8-10)	(≠ 1, 3-8, 10)

The *Ekottarika-āgama* version's instructions on detachment do not mention the senses, but only their objects, although later on this discourse takes up the senses for a

V 381,19 (a discourse which is not a parallel to MN 143) also does not employ any simile to illustrate the householder's sick condition. In contrast, SĀ[2] 187 at T II 441b5 (a discourse that otherwise does not parallel the first part of MN 143) does report that Anāthapiṇḍika illustrated his sick condition with the image of a rope tightened around the head, of a butcher cutting up the belly of an ox, and of two strong man roasting a weak man over a fire, thereby paralleling similes used in MN 143.

[9] Preceding these instructions, according to EĀ 51.8 at T II 819b21 Sāriputta also told Anāthapiṇḍika to develop recollection of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha. SĀ[2] 187 at T II 441b13 similarly reports that the Buddha taught Anāthapiṇḍika these recollections, as well as recollection of morality, of generosity, and of *deva*s. The descriptions of a noble disciple's unwavering confidence, found as part of the instructions given to Anāthapiṇḍika in SN 55:26 at SN V 381,26 and SN V 382,3+11, also uses the formulations employed in these three recollections, although without explicitly instructing on the practice of recollection. EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c2 continues by proclaiming that undertaking the three recollections will ensure that rebirth does not take place in the three evil realms. For another instance where these recollections are given particular importance in the *Ekottarika-āgama* cf. above p. 513 note 340.

[10] MN 143 at MN III 259,13.

[11] SĀ 1032 at T II 269c16 instructs (in the case of the eye): "I will not be attached to the eye and in dependence on the eye-element there will be no arising of lust and desire in my consciousness", 不著眼, 不依眼界生貪欲識.

more detailed treatment, explaining that, when a sense arises, one does not know from where it comes, and when it ceases, one does not know where it goes.[12] The *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse continues by highlighting that all things manifest by way of dependent arising (*paṭicca samuppāda*), a principle it then expounds by way of the twelve links from ignorance to old age and death.[13]

The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version agrees with the *Majjhima-nikāya* account in examining the six elements and the five aggregates in a similar manner.[14] These are not found in the *Ekottarika-āgama* version, which, however, agrees with the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse in taking up this world and the next world.[15] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version stands alone in also taking up the four immaterial attainments and what is seen, heard, sensed, and cognised as experiences in regard to which Anāthapiṇḍika should avoid clinging and dependencies.[16] MN III 260

The parallels report that, at the end of Sāriputta's instruction, Anāthapiṇḍika was in tears, as in spite of his devoted service to the Buddha and the monks he had never received such a penetrative instruction. In the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Saṃyukta-āgama* versions, Anāthapiṇḍika is told that such discourses are generally not given to laity.[17] MN III 261

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[12] EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c14: "at the time of the arising of the eye, when it arises one does not know from where it comes, at the time of the cessation of the eye, when it ceases one does not know where it goes", 若眼起時, 則起亦不知來處, 若眼滅時, 則滅亦不知去處 (adopting a 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading that adds 則起 after 時 in the case of arising, in analogy to the case of cessation), a treatment that EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c21 then applies also to the sense-objects (with the first of the sense-objects, form, not being explicitly mentioned). Baba 2004: 946 points out that this type of presentation is not found in the Pāli discourses, but occurs only in commentarial Pāli literature, such as Vism 484,6, according to which the sense-spheres "do not come from anywhere before they arise, do not go anywhere after they cease", *na hi tāni pubbe udayā kutoci āgacchanti, na pi uddhaṃ vayā kuhiñci gacchanti*. Baba concludes that this instance exemplifies a tendency for *Āgama* discourses to incorporate modes of presentation that in the Pāli tradition have not made their way into the discourses, but are found only in commentarial literature (cf. also above p. 616 note 154).

[13] EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c18. EĀ 51.8 also differs from the other versions in as much as it turns to the senses only at this point of its treatment. In contrast, MN 143 at MN III 259,12 and SĀ 1032 at T II 269c16 take up the senses as their first topic, together with the objects of the senses, a passage whose counterpart in EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c5 only covers the sense-objects. EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c24 concludes by explaining that to develop insight into the dependent arising of the senses and their objects is the supreme dwelling in emptiness.

[14] SĀ 1032 at T II 269c20.

[15] EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c9.

[16] MN 143 at MN III 260,34. Whereas what is seen, heard, sensed, and cognised fits the present context well, the reference to the four immaterial attainments is to some extent puzzling, as the way other discourses depict Anāthapiṇḍika does not give any indication that he might have been a meditator of such proficiency as to be capable of entering the immaterial attainments. This impression is confirmed by the fact that, according to all versions, on passing away Anāthapiṇḍika was reborn in a heavenly world of the sensual sphere. From this it would follow that he had not been even a *jhāna* attainer. Thus, it is surprising to find him being instructed on avoiding clinging to experiences that would have been far beyond his range of experience.

[17] MN 143 at MN III 261,22: "such talk on the Dharma, householder, is [usually] not given to lay people

In reply, Anāthapiṇḍika requested that such instructions be given to lay followers in the future.[18]

MN III 262 The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* and its Chinese parallels report that Anāthapiṇḍika passed away soon after Sāriputta's visit. According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse and one of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* versions that parallel this part of the *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta*, he was reborn in the Tusita heaven,[19] while the *Ekottarika-āgama* version locates his rebirth in the heaven of the Thirty-three.[20]

The *Anāthapiṇḍikovāda-sutta* and its parallels report that, reborn as a *deva*, Anāthapiṇḍika visited the Buddha and spoke a set of stanzas.[21] The next day, when the Bud-

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clothed in white. Such talk on the Dharma, householder, is [usually] given to those gone forth", *na kho, gahapati, gihīnaṃ odātavasanānaṃ evarūpi dhammī kathā paṭibhāti. pabbajitānaṃ kho, gahapati, evarūpī dhammī kathā paṭibhātī ti* (B^e-MN III 305,19, C^e-MN III 534,16, and S^e-MN III 471,2: *evarūpī*, S^e also reads *dhammikathā* and does not have the second *kho*). Ps V 80,13 explains the reason for this to be that lay followers usually do not like such instructions, since they live immersed in possessions and do not appreciate being instructed to give up desire and attachment to these. The identity of the speaker of this explanation is not clear in MN 143, since no explicit indication is made and the preceding sentence is spoken by Ānanda, while Anāthapiṇḍika's reply is addressed to Sāriputta. According to SĀ 1032 at T II 269c27, it was Sāriputta who explained to Anāthapiṇḍika that for a long time he had not given such teachings to householders. EĀ 51.8 at T II 819c30 reports that Ānanda gave a longer explanation to Anāthapiṇḍika, distinguishing between two types of disciple. The point made by this explanation might be that teaching methods differ according to the propensity of individual disciples. For a discussion of why Anāthapiṇḍika did not receive such instructions earlier cf. Anālayo 2010n: 8-12 and Falk 1990: 130.

18 SĀ 1032 at T II 270a3 adds that Anāthapiṇḍika also offered food to Sāriputta, after which this discourse ends. For the remainder of MN 143, the relevant parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* is SĀ 593 at T II 158b24, which begins by reporting that Anāthapiṇḍika had just passed away.

19 MN 143 at MN III 262,1 and SĀ 593 at T II 158b25. SĀ^2 187 at T II 441c12 does not specify in which heaven he had been reborn.

20 EĀ 51.8 at T II 820a16. EĀ 51.8 notes that, as a *devaputta*, Anāthapiṇḍika excelled other *devas* in life span, beauty, happiness, might, and radiance.

21 MN 143 at MN III 262,8 (on these stanzas cf. also Franke 1912: 218-221) and SN 2:20 at SN I 55,12 (or SN^2 101 at SN^2 I 126,13). The first of these stanzas, in which Anāthapiṇḍika expresses joy at beholding Jeta's Grove inhabited by sages and the king of the Dharma, recurs in all Chinese versions, although SĀ 593 at T II 158c3 speaks of "kings", 諸王, instead of the king or lord of Dharma, *dhammarāja*/法主/法王, mentioned in MN 143 at MN III 262,9, SN 2:20 at SN I 55,13 (or SN^2 101 at SN^2 I 126,15), SĀ^2 187 at T II 441c17, and EĀ 51.8 at T II 820a26. EĀ 51.8 has only this first stanza. SĀ 593 at T II 158c4 and SĀ^2 187 at T II 441c18 also have a counterpart to the second stanza in MN 143 at MN III 262,10 and SN 2:20 at SN I 55,14 (or SN^2 101 at SN^2 I 126,17), according to which purity is to be reached through deeds and morality. The same two discourses also have a counterpart to the fourth stanza in MN 143 at MN III 262,14 and SN 2:20 at SN I 55,18 (or SN^2 101 at SN^2 I 127,6), although their praises of Sāriputta differ from the Pāli versions. According to EĀ 51.8 at T II 820b1, the visiting *deva* also informed the Buddha of his identity and scattered heavenly flowers on the Buddha as well as on Ānanda and Sāriputta. This would imply that Ānanda was present when the *deva* revealed his identity, which does not fit too well with the remainder of the same discourse, as according to EĀ 51.8 at T II 820b12 the Buddha asked Ānanda who that *deva* could have been and then praised Ānanda for rightly divining that it had been Anāthapiṇḍika. The four stanzas found in MN 143 and SN 2:20 recur again as a discourse on its own in SN 1:48 at SN I 33,23 (or SN^2 48 at SN^2 I 71,3). In regard to the first of these four stanzas, it may also be worthwhile to note that this stanza does not imply that the Buddha had already passed away and Sāri-

dha told the monks about this visit, Ānanda was quick to divine that this *deva* had been Anāthapiṇḍika.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version and one of the two *Saṃyukta-āgama* versions end with the Buddha's approval of Ānanda's inference.[22] The other of the two *Saṃyukta-āgama* versions adds a stanza spoken by the Buddha in praise of Sāriputta,[23] while according to the *Ekottarika-āgama* account the Buddha delivered a long prose passage in praise of Ānanda.[24]

MN 144 *Channovāda-sutta*

The *Channovāda-sutta*, the "discourse on an instruction to Channa", records the events related to Channa's suicide. This discourse recurs in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.[25]

The *Channovāda-sutta* and its parallels begin by narrating that Sāriputta and another monk went to visit Channa, who was sick. The Pāli and Chinese versions disagree on the identity of this other monk, as according to the Pāli versions Sāriputta was accompanied by Mahācunda, while according to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version he was in the company of Mahākoṭṭhita.[26] MN III 263

When Sāriputta and his companion came to Channa's presence,[27] Channa told his visitors that his condition was getting worse and that he had decided to commit suicide. According to all versions, Sāriputta attempted to stop Channa from committing suicide and offered to get supplies for him or to act as his attendant,[28] to which Channa replied by indicating that he did not lack any of these. According to the Pāli versions, at this point Channa proclaimed that his suicide was going to be blameless.[29] According to the MN III 264

putta was now the leader of the community, as assumed by Aramaki 2005: 789, in fact according to SN 47:13 at SN V 161,24, SĀ 638 at T II 176c1, and EĀ 26.9 at T II 640c14 Sāriputta passed away earlier than the Buddha. Regarding the motif of a visit paid by a deceased disciple, Feer 1884a: 22 notes that in the *Avadānaśataka* it is a standard procedure that former disciples, on being reborn as *deva*s, pay a visit to the Buddha.

[22] MN 143 at MN III 263,8 and SĀ² 187 at T II 442a15.

[23] SĀ 593 at T II 158c25.

[24] EĀ 51.8 at T II 820b21.

[25] The Pāli parallel is SN 35:87 at SN IV 55-60 and has the title *Channa-sutta*. The Chinese parallel is SĀ 1266 at T II 347b-348a, for which Akanuma 1929/1990: 112 notes "Channa", 闡陀, as a tentative title; for a translation of SĀ 1266, together with extracts from the present study, cf. Anālayo 2010b. The three versions agree on locating the discourse at Rājagaha.

[26] SĀ 1266 at T II 347b18: 摩訶拘絺羅.

[27] According to SĀ 1266 at T II 347b22, on seeing the two monks coming from afar, Channa tried to get up from his bed as a sign of respect, but Sāriputta told him to stay where he was. A similar pericope can be found, e.g., in SN 22:87 at SN III 120,1, SN 22:88 at SN III 125,3, SN 35:74 at SN IV 46,14, SN 35:75 at SN IV 47,32, or AN 6:56 at AN III 379,15.

[28] While according to MN 144 at MN III 264,14 and SN 35:87 at SN IV 57,11 Sāriputta offered to supply Channa with food and medicine, according to SĀ 1266 at T II 347c2 he only offered medicine.

[29] MN 144 at MN III 264,26 (cf. also SN 35:87 at SN IV 57,26): "'the monk Channa will use the knife

Saṃyukta-āgama account, however, Channa only indicated that the pains he had were hard to bear.[30]

MN III 265 The parallel versions report that Sāriputta inquired if Channa took the senses, the corresponding consciousness, or the objects of the senses as a self or as belonging to a self.[31] Channa explained that he did not take any of these as a self or as belonging to a self, as he had seen and known their cessation.

MN III 266 The monk who had come together with Sāriputta intervened at this point and reminded Channa of a statement made by the Buddha, according to which only one who is free from agitation and dependencies has fully transcended *dukkha*.[32] According to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* account, in reply to this admonishment Channa declared to have honoured the Buddha with what is pleasing, adding that he had done what should be done, thereby implicitly laying claim to being an arahant.[33] Channa's claim to have honoured the Buddha with what is pleasing is also found at an earlier junction in the Pāli versions, where it comes together with Channa's declaration that his suicide will be blameless.[34]

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blamelessly', remember it like this, friend Sāriputta", *anupavajjaṃ channo bhikkhu satthaṃ āharissatī ti, evam etaṃ, āvuso sāriputta, dhārehī ti*.

[30] SĀ 1266 at T II 347c7: "yet, my disease oppresses this body with extreme pain that is difficult to bear. I wish to kill myself, [since] I do not delight in a life of pain", 但我疾病苦痛逼身, 難可堪忍, 欲自殺, 不樂苦生.

[31] MN 144 at MN III 265,7 and SN 35:87 at SN IV 58,10 mention, besides each sense and the corresponding type of consciousness, also the "things", dharmas, to be experienced through this type of consciousness, e.g., in the case of the eye, *cakkhuviññāṇaviññātabbe dhamme*. SĀ 1266 at T II 347c9 differs in formulation in regard to the last of these three, as it explicitly names the type of sense object, e.g., "form(s) cognisable through the eye", 眼所識色.

[32] MN 144 at MN III 266,6 and SN 35:87 at SN IV 59,10 examine the negative case only in short by proclaiming that "for one who is dependent there is agitation", *nissitassa calitaṃ*, after which they take up the positive case of being free from such dependencies. SĀ 1266 at T II 347c25 takes up both cases in full, explaining that "if there is dependency, there is agitation. If there is agitation, there is inclination. If there is inclination, there is no tranquillity. If there is no tranquillity, then there arises coming and going. If coming and going arises, then there is future birth and death ... in this way, this entire great mass of *dukkha* arises", 有所依者, 則為動搖, 動搖者, 有所趣向, 趣向者, 為不休息, 不休息者, 則隨趣往來, 隨趣往來者, 則有未來生死 ... 如是純大苦聚集 (adopting the 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading 大 instead of 一), followed by presenting the positive case in the same terms, i.e., "when there is no dependency ... in this way this entire great mass of *dukkha* ceases". A version of the statement found in MN 144 and SN 35:87 recurs in Ud 8:4 at Ud 81,6 (with the reading *rati* instead of *nati*). SĀ 1266 at T II 347c28 does not have a counterpart to the indication, given in MN 144 at MN III 266,9 and SN 35:87 at SN IV 59,14, that for one who is free from agitation, etc., there is no here, no beyond, and "no in-between", *na ubhayam anatarena*, an expression that Somaratne 1999: 150 suggests to refer to an intermediate existence (Ps V 83,12, in line with the Theravāda position that denies an intermediate existence, glosses as *na ubhayattha hoti*, "not being in both places").

[33] SĀ 1266 at T II 348a7: 所作, 於今已作. The expression "having done what should be done", 所作已作, is a standard pericope in descriptions of the attainment of full liberation.

[34] MN 144 at MN III 264,24 and SN 35:87 at SN IV 57,23. References to having honoured the teacher recur elsewhere in the discourses as part of a declaration of having attained full awakening, cf. MN 73 at MN I 497,5, Th 178, Th 604, Th 656, Th 687, Th 792, Th 891, Th 918, Th 1016, Th 1050, Th 1088, and

The three versions report that Channa committed suicide, after which Sāriputta approached the Buddha and asked where Channa had been reborn. In reply, according to the Pāli versions the Buddha reminded Sāriputta of Channa's earlier declaration of blamelessness,[35] while in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version he reminded Sāriputta of Channa's claim to having honoured the Buddha with what is pleasing.[36] Thus the Buddha's reply in the Pāli and Chinese versions, although differing in formulation, clearly endorses Channa's earlier claim.

According to the *Channovāda-sutta* and its parallels, Sāriputta remarked that Channa had closely associated with lay families,[37] a remark apparently meant to explain why Sāriputta had thought Channa's claim to be mistaken. In reply, the Buddha clarified that he did not deem such association blameworthy, as he only considered it blameworthy if someone were to give up the body and then take up another body, which had not been the case with Channa.

The Buddha's reply in the Pāli and Chinese versions indicates that Channa passed away as an arahant. According to the commentarial explanation, at the time of committing suicide Channa was still a worldling and it was only during the interval between using the knife and passing away that he developed insight and became an arahant.[38] This commentarial explanation does not seem to fit the discourse too well, as in the Pāli and Chinese versions the Buddha explicitly states that Channa had used the knife without incurring blame.[39] This would imply that Channa was already blameless at the time he used the knife to commit suicide, not only when he passed away.[40]

Th 1185; cf. also AN 6:103 AN III 443,24, where full awakening could also be implicit, as here the reference to having honoured the teacher is preceded by *kiccakārī ca bhavissāmi*. References to a behaviour that is pleasing occur also in AN 4:87 at AN II 88,12 and AN 5:104 at AN III 131,25 in a description of the conduct displayed by monks towards the Buddha.

35 MN 144 at MN III 266,21 and SN 35:87 at SN IV 59,26.

36 SĀ 1266 at T II 348a17.

37 MN 144 at MN III 266,24 indicates that Channa had "families that were his friends, with whom he was intimate, that he could approach", *mittakulāni suhajjakulāni upavajjakulānī ti* (on *upavajja* in this passage cf. also Bodhi 2000: 1407 notes 56 and 57), cf. also SN 35:87 at SN IV 59,29. SĀ 1266 at T II 348a22 indicates that Channa "had families of supporters, he was very intimate with these families and was spoken well of in these families", 有供養家, 極親厚家, 善言語家.

38 Ps V 83,19. Keown 1996: 27 comments that "why the commentary should take such pains to establish that Channa was not an Arhat ... is that the tradition simply found it inconceivable that an Arhat would be capable of suicide ... by maintaining that Channa was unenlightened until the very end, the image of the Arhat remains untarnished".

39 MN 144 at MN III 266,31: *anupavajjo* (S^e-MN III 479,20: *anupavajjaṃ*), SN 35: 87 at SN IV 60,4: *anupavajjaṃ*, and SĀ 1266 at T II 348a27: 無大過故. The wording in SĀ 1266 does not support Keown 1996: 23, who suggests taking *anupavajja* in the sense of "not being reborn" (following the commentarial gloss at Ps V 82,9: *anupavajjan ti anuppattikaṃ appaṭisandhikaṃ*), instead of understanding *anupavajja* to mean "not blameworthy". According to Delhey 2009b: 87, from an early Buddhist perspective "the released one ... can, at least if he is gravely ill, end his life by his own hand". Filliozat 1963: 36 comments that "l'attentat à sa propre vie est un péché grave, mais il n'en est pas de même de l'abandon d'un corps devenu inutile et dont on est déjà tout à fait détaché affectivement". Lamotte 1965/1987: 106 explains that "from the point of view of Early Buddhism, suicide is a normal matter in the case of the

MN 145 *Puṇṇovāda-sutta*

The *Puṇṇovāda-sutta*, the "discourse on an instruction to Puṇṇa", records the teachings given by the Buddha to Puṇṇa. This discourse has a Pāli parallel in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*,[41] and two Chinese parallels, one of which is found in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*,[42] while the other Chinese parallel is an individual translation.[43]

In addition to these discourse parallels, the events described in the *Puṇṇovāda-sutta* recur also in the context of a longer narration found in the *Divyāvadāna* and in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, preserved in Chinese and Tibetan.[44]

MN III 267 The *Puṇṇovāda-sutta* and its parallels begin by reporting that Puṇṇa approached the Buddha and requested an instruction in brief.[45] In reply, the Buddha took up the need to avoid unwholesome reactions in relation to the objects of the six senses.[46]

Noble Ones who, having completed their work, sever their last link with the world and voluntarily pass into Nirvāṇa". Schmithausen 2000a: 36 comments that "in contrast to ordinary living beings, saints (i.e. fully liberated persons, arhats) do *not* regard their biological life as something valuable and are indifferent to it". De La Vallée Poussin 1922: 25 remarks that "the *arhat* ... if he is not, like a Buddha, capable of abandoning life in a quiet way, there is no reason why he should not have recourse to more drastic methods"; cf. also Thakur 1963: 109. Wayman 1982: 290 comments that "the example of Channa shows the acknowledgement of exceptional cases where suicide was justified". Wiltshire 1983: 137 concludes that "if this body has lost its essential usefulness ... then the body can be relinquished"; cf. also Anālayo 2007f: 162, Becker 1990: 547, Berglie 1986: 34, Filliozat 1967: 73, and Oberlies 2006: 218.

[40] Delhey 2006: 35 concludes that there is "no reason for doubting that he already was released from rebirth when he decided to commit suicide".

[41] SN 35:88 at SN IV 60-63. The deeds performed by Puṇṇa in a former life are the theme of his stanzas in the *Therāpadāna*, Ap 399:1-16 at Ap II 341,1. A stanza spoken by Puṇṇa can also be found at Th 70.

[42] SĀ 311 at T II 89b-c, for which Akanuma 1929/1990: 46 notes "Puṇṇa", 富樓那, as a tentative title. Akanuma 1929/1990: 171 suggests SĀ 215 at T II 54b to be another parallel to MN 145. However, closer inspection shows that SĀ 215 is considerably different from MN 145 and should rather be reckoned a parallel to SN 35:70 at SN IV 41, with which it agrees closely except for the fact that the protagonist in SN 35:70 is the monk Upavāna, whereas SĀ 215 speaks of the monk Puṇṇa, 富留那 (which may have led Akanuma to associate this discourse with MN 145).

[43] T 108 at T II 502c-503a, which is entitled "discourse spoken by the Buddha to Mantāṇiputta", 佛說滿願子經, apparently confusing the protagonist of the present discourse, Puṇṇa of Sunāparanta, with Puṇṇa Mantāṇiputta from Kapilavatthu. The Taishō edition indicates that the translator of T 108 is not known.

[44] The relevant part in the *Divyāvadāna* can be found in Cowell 1886: 37-40 or in Vaidya 1999: 22-24, the Chinese (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* tale in T 1448 at T XXIV 11c-12c, and its Tibetan counterpart in D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 304b-307b or Q (1030) *khe* 284b-286b. For representations of this longer narration in ancient Indian art cf. Sarkar 1990: 152 and Schlingloff 1988b; for a study of its different versions cf. Tatelman 2000. A version of this longer narration can also be found in T 202 at T IV 393c-397a and in T 211 at T IV 588b-c (translated in Willemen 1999: 91-93). T 202 at T IV 396c19 and T 211 at T IV 588c2 mention the events covered in MN 145 only briefly, as they simply report that, after Puṇṇa had gone forth, the Buddha taught him the Dharma so that he became an arahant.

[45] MN 145 at MN III 267,7, SN 35:88 at SN IV 60,10, SĀ 311 at T II 89b3, T 108 at T II 502c11, the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 37,8 or in Vaidya 1999: 22,22, and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 12a1 and at D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 304b6 or Q (1030) *khe* 284b2. A reference to the present discourse, found in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 415c15, also records that Puṇṇa asked for an instruction in brief.

The Pāli versions of this instruction describe how rejoicing in and welcoming the objects of the six senses and holding on to them causes delight, which leads to the arising of *dukkha*.[47] The Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan parallels examine the repercussions of such delighting in more detail than the Pāli versions.[48]

The *Puṇṇovāda-sutta* and its parallels continue by applying their respective treatments to the complementary case, when such unwholesome reactions to the objects of the six senses are avoided. After delivering these instructions, the Buddha asked Puṇṇa where he intended to go in order to put into practice the instructions he had received.

On hearing that Puṇṇa planned to go to his home country, the Buddha warned Puṇṇa MN III 268
of the rude and rough nature of its inhabitants and asked him what he would do if they were to abuse him. Puṇṇa replied that, if he were to meet with abuse, he would reflect on the kindness of the people in as much as they did not give him a blow.

The exchange between the Buddha and Puṇṇa continues in the same manner with Puṇṇa mentioning each time a worse alternative he would reflect on in order to maintain patience, followed by the Buddha inquiring what he would do if that worse alternative should happen. This exchange takes up the possibility that Puṇṇa might:

- receive a blow,
- have a clod thrown at him,
- be hit with a stick,
- be attacked with a knife,
- be deprived of life.[49]

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[46] According to SĀ 311 at T II 89b5, the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 37,17 or in Vaidya 1999: 22,28, and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 12a6 and at D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 305a2 or Q (1030) *khe* 284b5, before delivering this instruction the Buddha praised Puṇṇa for asking such a question.

[47] MN 145 at MN III 267,16: *nandīsamudayā dukkhasamudayo* (C^e-MN III 546,16 and S^e-MN III 481,15: *nandisamudayā*), cf. also SN 35:88 at SN IV 60,15. The same instruction recurs in SN 35:64 at SN IV 38,1, given by the Buddha to the monk Migajāla.

[48] The parallel versions explain with the help of various intermediate steps how such delight eventually leads to lust, as a result of which one is far from Nirvāṇa, cf. SĀ 311 at T II 89b10: 歡喜 ... 貪愛, 阨礙故, 去涅槃遠, Cowell 1886: 37,24 or Vaidya 1999: 23,1: *ānandī bhavati ... sarāgo bhavati ... ārān-nirvāṇasyocyate* (Bailey 1950: 177 suggests to read *saṃrāgo*, instead of *sarāgo*), T 1448 at T XXIV 12a10: 樂欲 ...貪 ... 遠離涅槃, D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 305a5 or Q (1030) *khe* 284b8: *kun du dga' ba 'byung ngo ... kun du chags par 'gyur ro ... mya ngan las 'das pa las ring du gyur pa zhes bya'o*. T 108 at T II 502c16 also relates the arising of delight to lust, which it explains to ultimately result in misery and vexation.

[49] MN 145 at MN III 268,11 and SN 35:88 at SN IV 61,9 present these as six separate cases. T 108 at T II 502c23 has the same as five cases, combining the attack by stick and knife into one instance. SĀ 311 at T II 89b21, the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 38,10 or in Vaidya 1999: 23,11, and the Chinese (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 12a20, present the same as four separate cases, by treating attack with the hand and a clod as one case, and attack with a stick or a knife as one case. The Tibetan (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* at D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 306a1+5+7 or Q (1030) *khe* 285b2+5+8 covers only three cases, which are being abused, being hit with a stick, and being killed. Oldenberg 1912b: 162 already noted that, whereas in several other respects the Pāli versions are shorter than the *Divyāvadāna* tale, when describing variations of being attacked the Pāli treatments are longer than their parallels. A similar description of patience when confronted with increasing manifestations of hostility can be found

In case he should be deprived of life, Puṇṇa explained that he would still be able to consider this in a positive light, as other disciples had to go searching for means to commit suicide, whereas he would be achieving the same result without having to do any searching.[50] According to all versions, the Buddha approved of Puṇṇa's patient attitude and sanctioned Puṇṇa's plan to go and live among the fierce people of his home country.[51]

Puṇṇa's patience finds an additional illustration in the *Divyāvadāna* and in the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* tale. According to their account, once he had arrive in his home country, Puṇṇa encountered a hunter who, thinking that to see a monk was inauspicious, got ready to attack Puṇṇa.[52] On seeing the hunter rush towards him, Puṇṇa bared his chest and told the hunter to strike right there. The hunter was so mollified by this reaction that he not only desisted from his attack, but gave ear to instructions and finally took refuge and the five precepts.[53]

MN III 269 According to the *Puṇṇovāda-sutta* and its parallels, while living in his home country Puṇṇa realized the three higher knowledges and converted a substantial number of lay

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in the *Isibhāsiyāiṃ* in Schubring 1969: 538, noted as a parallel to this part of MN 145 by Matsunami 1961: 742 and Nakamura 1983a: 306.

[50] MN 145 at MN III 269,11 speaks in this context of *satthahāraka pariyesanti*, "they search for someone who carries a knife", cf. also SN 35:88 at SN IV 62,24. The Indic original used for translating T 108 appears to have had a similar expression, rendered in T 108 at T II 503a6 as "searching a knife for food", 求刀為食, perhaps mistaking √*hṛ* for *ā*+√*hṛ*, "nourishing". The other versions also refer to the possibility of using a knife to commit suicide, cf. SĀ 311 at T II 89c10: 以刀自殺, the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 39,8 or in Vaidya 1999: 23,31: *śastram ... ādhārayanti*, T 1448 at T XXIV 12b7: 以其刀, and its Tibetan counterpart at D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 306b2 or Q (1030) *khe* 286a2: *mtshon gyis kyang 'debs par byed*, in addition to which they also mention the possibilities of taking poison, of hanging oneself, and of jumping down a precipice (T 1448 at T XXIV 12b7 differs in that it only mentions the [taking of] poison). Blum 2008: 143 holds that the present passage in SĀ 311 affirms that "self-destruction can lead to emancipation", an opinion he bases on translating SĀ 311 at T II 89c12: 於我朽敗之身, 以少作方便, 便得解脫 as implying that "if this putrefying body [is destroyed] through some means that they employ, then [I] will attain liberation". I am under the impression that this does not fully capture the sense of the passage, whose implications are rather that "this rotten body of mine, through little effort I am able to get rid of it". The expression 解脫 can render a range of derivatives of √*muc* and thus need not invariably refer to *vimutti* or *vimukti*. In the present context it seems to refer to the body, a way of understanding that would allow translating the whole phrase without needing to supplement a verb to the first part, such as "[is destroyed]".

[51] In the *Divyāvadāna* and in the Chinese and Tibetan (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the Buddha not only accepts Puṇṇa's plans, but also tells him to work for the salvation of others, cf. Cowell 1886: 39,14 or Vaidya 1999: 24,3, T 1448 at T XXIV 12b11, and D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 306b4 or Q (1030) *khe* 286a4, an instruction recorded also in SĀ 311 at T II 89c15.

[52] Cowell 1886: 39,25 or Vaidya 1999: 24,11, T 1448 at T XXIV 12b19, and D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 307a2 or Q (1030) *khe* 286a8.

[53] Tatelman 2000: 87 note 85 points out that the formulation in the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 40,12 or in Vaidya 1999: 24,23 does not make it unequivocally clear if it was Puṇṇa who became an arahant, or rather the hunter. He notes that in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* 36:47 (cf. Das 1888: 900,2 and 901,2 or Vaidya 1959: 236,2) the hunter also reaches awakening. In the Chinese (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 12c5, however, it is clearly Puṇṇa who became an arahant, 圓滿即 ... 證阿羅漢果.

followers.[54] The *Divyāvadāna* and the Chinese and Tibetan (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*,[55] together with the Pāli commentary,[56] continue by describing how, by dint of his supernormal power, Puṇṇa rescued his brother and a group of merchants who were about to suffer misfortune in the midst of the sea, followed by getting a sandalwood building constructed for the Buddha and inviting the Buddha to partake of a meal in this building,[57] an invitation the Buddha accepted by using psychic power to travel through the air with a group of monks.

The *Puṇṇovāda-sutta*, its *Saṃyutta-nikāya* parallel, and the individual translation report that, when Puṇṇa had passed away, the monks approached the Buddha to find out about his level of accomplishment. In reply, they were told that Puṇṇa had passed away as an arahant. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse also notes that he passed away as an arahant, without, however, reporting an inquiry by the other monks.[58]

MN 146 *Nandakovāda-sutta*

The *Nandakovāda-sutta*, the "discourse on an instruction by Nandaka", records the teachings given by Nandaka to a group of nuns. This discourse has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* and a parallel in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, preserved in Chinese and in Tibetan.[59] Several shorter parts of a version of the present discourse are also extant in Sanskrit fragments.[60]

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[54] SĀ 311 at T II 89c21, T 108 at T II 503a12, the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 40,10 or in Vaidya 1999: 24,21, and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 12c4 and D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 307a6 or Q (1030) *khe* 286b4, add that he also established a substantial number ('500') of dwelling places for the monastic community.

[55] The *Divyāvadāna*, Cowell 1886: 42,8 or Vaidya 1999: 25,29, and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1448 at T XXIV 13a29 and D (1) *'dul ba, ka* 308b2 or Q (1030) *khe* 287b6.

[56] Ps V 89,1.

[57] The construction of this sandalwood building for the Buddha is also recorded in the *Karmavibhaṅga*, Kudo 2004: 126,1 and 127,1 or Lévi 1932a: 63,3, as well as in a Sanskrit fragment in Minayeff 1983: 6.

[58] SĀ 311 at T II 89c23, which indicates that this happened soon after Puṇṇa had attained the three higher knowledges. According to SN 35:88 at SN IV 63,7, Puṇṇa passed away at the end of the same rainy season during which he had converted the laity and had reached liberation himself. MN 145 at MN III 269,29 does not give such precise indications on the time of his passing away, only reporting that it took place after some time.

[59] The parallels are SĀ 276 at T II 73c-75c and T 1442 at T XXIII 792a-794a, with its Tibetan counterpart in D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 50b7-59a4 or Q (1032) *nye* 48b5-56a5, cf. also D (4106) *'dul ba'i 'grel pa, phu* 81b-83a or Q (5607) *mu* 94b-96b. The parallel versions agree with MN 146 on locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī. Akanuma 1929/1990: 44 notes "Nanda[ka] teaches the Dharma", 難陀說法, as a tentative title for SĀ 276, a translation of which, together with extracts from the present study and a translation of the *'dul ba* version, can be found in Anālayo 2010a.

[60] SHT VI 1226 folios 5R-11 (pp. 22-26, regarding folio 5Ra cf. also SHT IX p. 413) and the so far unpublished SHT XI 4560, identified by Jin-il Chung and Klaus Wille (I am indebted to Klaus Wille for kindly providing me with a draft transliteration of this fragment). SHT VI 1226 has preserved numerous short parts of the whole discourse; SHT XI 4560 corresponds to the final part of Nanadaka's first teaching and the Buddha's comment on this at MN III 275-276.

MN III 270 The *Nandakovāda-sutta* begins by relating that Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī, followed by a group of nuns, had approached the Buddha and requested an instruction. On inquiring from Ānanda, the Buddha found out that Nandaka had not been willing to take his turn at teaching the nuns, whereon the Buddha told Nandaka that he should go and give them a teaching.[61]

The accounts in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* agree with the *Majjhima-nikāya* account that a group of nuns under the leadership of Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī had approached the Buddha. They differ from the *Majjhima-nikāya* account in that they introduce this event with a listing of the names of several eminent nuns that were dwelling at the nunnery at that time.[62] Another difference is that, according to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, the Buddha taught the Dharma to the nuns.[63] Once the nuns had left, the Buddha told the monks that he was getting too old to keep on giving talks and asked them to give instructions to the nuns in his stead.[64]

In agreement with the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* report that Nandaka was not willing to teach the nuns. The nuns thereon came to visit the Buddha again, who gave them another talk on the Dharma and, once they had left, inquired from Ānanda whose turn it had been to instruct the nuns. On finding out that Nandaka was not willing to teach the nuns, according to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* the Buddha told Nandaka that he should teach the nuns.[65]

MN III 271 The *Nandakovāda-sutta* and its parallels report that the next day Nandaka went to the nuns' quarters and engaged the nuns in a question and answer catechism on the six senses, their objects, and the corresponding types of consciousness.[66]

The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* continue from these three (i.e., the senses, their objects, and the corresponding types of consciousness) to the contact that arises in dependence on them, the feelings that arise in dependence

[61] Ps V 93,8 explains that this group of nuns had been Nandaka's wives in a former existence and he was afraid that another monk with the power to see former existences might find out and think that Nandaka was not able to separate himself from his former wives.

[62] SĀ 276 at T II 73c11, T 1442 at T XXIII 792a19, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 50b7 or Q (1032) *nye* 48b5.

[63] SHT VI 1226 folio 5Rb-c has preserved *(saṃpra)harṣayitvā samāda[pa](yitvā) and (bhagavato bhāṣita)[m-abhi]nanditvā anu(m)o(ditvā)*, so that in the Sanskrit version the Buddha also gave a talk to the nuns.

[64] While according to SĀ 276 at T II 73c24 the Buddha explained that he was getting too old to give talks to the nuns, according to T 1442 at T XXIII 792b1 and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 51a7 or Q (1032) *nye* 49a4 he indicated that he was too old to give talks to the four assemblies (i.e., monks, nuns, male lay followers, and female lay followers).

[65] Judging from what has been preserved in SHT VI 1226 folio 6V5, the Sanskrit version would have had a similar statement.

[66] SĀ 276 at T II 74a11, T 1442 at T XXIII 792b21, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 52a5 or Q (1032) *nye* 49b8 describe how, after begging and taking his meal, Nandaka spent some time in meditation before approaching the nuns. The parallel description in MN 146 at MN III 271,2 only records that Nandaka went begging and took his meal, without mentioning that he engaged in meditation after the meal.

on contact, and the craving that arises in dependence on feeling (see table 15.2), an exposition to which the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse further adds perception and intention.[67]

Table 15.2: Nandaka's Instructions in MN 146 and its Parallels

MN 146	SĀ 276	T 1442 & *'dul ba*
sense-organs (1) sense-objects (2) consciousness (3)	sense-organs (→ 1) sense-objects (→ 2) consciousness (→ 3) contact feeling perception intention craving	sense-organs (→ 1) sense-objects (→ 2) consciousness (→ 3) contact feeling craving

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, Nandaka highlighted the impermanent nature of each of the senses, their objects, and the corresponding types of consciousness, driving home the point that what is impermanent is unsatisfactory, and what is unsatisfactory is not fit to be regarded as mine, I, or my self.

In the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, Nandaka directly approaches the not-self characteristic of all aspects of experience, without referring to impermanence or unsatisfactoriness.[68] According to all versions, the nuns made it clear that they already had developed insight into the true nature of these aspects of experience.

The different versions report that Nandaka compared the impermanent nature of feelings that are experienced based on the six senses to the impermanent nature of the light of a lamp, which depends on oil, wick, and flame.[69] MN III 273

According to all versions, he further used the image of the impermanent shadow of a tree to illustrate the nature of feelings experienced in dependence on sense-objects.[70] The parallels report that he continued with yet another simile, which describes how a butcher skins a cow by cutting through the tendons that connect flesh and hide, and then puts the hide back on the cow. In all versions, the flesh of the cow stands for the senses MN III 274

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67 While T 1442 at T XXIII 792c23 and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 53b6 or Q (1032) *nye* 51a5 only apply the insight treatment to contact, feeling, and craving, SĀ 276 at T II 74b17 covers contact, feeling, perception, intention, and craving. SHT VI 1226 folio 7Rz appears to have preserved a reference to craving, *(ca)kṣ[u] saṃsparśajā [tṛ](ṣṇā)*.

68 SĀ 276 at T II 74a25, T 1442 at T XXIII 792c5, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 53a1 or Q (1032) *nye* 50b2. A reference to the not-self characteristic can also be found in SHT VI 1226 folios 6Rx+z, 7V4+5, and 7Ry.

69 While MN 146 at MNN III 273,31 applies the image of the lamp to the dependent nature of the three types of feeling, SĀ 276 at T II 75a7, T 1442 at T XXIII 793a12, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 55a2 or Q (1032) *nye* 52b1 only use it to illustrate the dependent nature of pleasant feeling.

70 The image of a tree's shadow recurs in AN 4:195 at AN II 198,34, in a context related to the objects of the six senses.

and the hide for their objects. To cut the connection between them represents the exercise of wisdom that cuts through the bondage of desire and lust between the senses and their objects.[71]

MN III 275 The *Nandakovāda-sutta* and its parallels next take up the seven factors of awakening.[72] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* lead over to the practice of the seven factors of awakening with an injunction to go beyond lust, anger, and delusion, and with a recommendation to develop the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s.[73]

MN III 276 After completing his instruction,[74] according to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* Nandaka got up and left, while according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version he told the nuns that it was time for them to go.[75]

The *Nandakovāda-sutta* and its parallels report that the Buddha told Nandaka to instruct the nuns again. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* indicate that the nuns had reached non-return with the first teaching delivered by Nandaka.[76] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version does not explicitly refer to such attainment, but only indicates that the intention of the nuns had not been fulfilled.[77] The different

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[71] SĀ 276 at T II 75b9+11, T 1442 at T XXIII 793b16+21, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 56b2+5 or Q (1032) *nye* 53b6+54a1 additionally explain that the "cow" stands for the physical body and the "butcher" stands for the noble disciple or the disciple in higher training. A version of this simile can be found in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, T 1579 at T XXX 748a6, for the Tibetan version cf. Schmithausen 1969: 44,27.

[72] MN 146 at MN III 275,26 describes how the seven awakening factors are developed based on seclusion, dispassion, cessation, and relinquishment, a specification not made in the corresponding passage in SĀ 276 at T II 75b18, T 1442 at T XXIII 793b29, or D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 57a3 or Q (1032) *nye* 54a6.

[73] SĀ 276 at T II 75b17, moreover, enjoins to contemplate the arising and passing away of the five aggregates and of the six spheres. The same is also mentioned in D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 57a1 or Q (1032) *nye* 54a5, while T 1442 at T XXIII 793c1 additionally brings in the noble eightfold path. The need to beware of lust, anger, and delusion, mentioned in SĀ 276 and T 1442, recurs in another discourse by Nandaka, AN 3:66 at AN I 194,5. Yet another discourse by Nandaka, which takes up the five advantages of listening to the Dharma, can be found in AN 9:4 at AN IV 361,3.

[74] The instructions given in the present discourse would presumably be earlier than the regulation found at Vin IV 52,12, according to which a monk who instructs the nuns should begin by ascertaining if they were keeping the eight *garudharma*s, cf. Hüsken 1997: 454 and Sujāto 2009: 67-68. Alternatively, it could also be that such a formulaic beginning of an exhortation given to the nuns was not considered worth recording and for this reason has not found a place in MN 146 and its parallels.

[75] MN 146 at MN III 276,2: "go, sisters, it is time", *gacchatha, bhaginiyo, kālo.* This is to some extent surprising, since Nandaka had come to the nunnery to give his talk, so that it would be more natural for him to leave, instead of telling the nuns to go. The same injunction *gacchatha bhaginiyo* recurs in Vin IV 50,7, Vin IV 51,18, and Vin IV 54,29 in situations where it is clear that a group of nuns has approached monk(s) in order to receive instructions. Thus, the conclusion of this talk in MN 146 reads as if the nuns had come to the monks' quarters in order to receive instructions from Nandaka, an impression strengthened by the circumstance that MN 146 at MN III 276,6 continues by reporting that the nuns also paid their respect to the Buddha and then left. SĀ 276 at T II 75b23, T 1442 at T XXIII 793c7, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 57a7 or Q (1032) *nye* 54b2 also report that the nuns went to the Buddha's presence, although according to T 1442 this took place only the next morning.

[76] SĀ 276 at T II 75c2, T 1442 at T XXIII 793c12, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 57b7 or Q (1032) *nye* 55a2, the same is the case for SHT XI 4560R4, which has preserved a part of the present section.

[77] MN 146 at MN III 276,17.

versions agree on comparing the situation of the nuns to the day before the full moon, when the moon is not yet completely full.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version indicates that, when teaching the nuns again, Nandaka repeated exactly the same instruction he had already given on the first instance.[78] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* only report that he taught the Dharma to the nuns, so that in their versions it is not clear if he repeated the same instruction or else if he gave some other teachings.[79] MN III 277

According to the *Majjhima-nikāya* account, with this second instruction by Nandaka the intention of the nuns had been fulfilled, since the least developed of them had reached stream-entry. The commentary explains that some nuns had only aspired to become stream-enterers, so they realized only that much, while others had aspired to a higher level of awakening and had in due turn been able to fulfil their aspirations.[80]

According to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, however, on hearing Nandaka's second instruction all of the nuns had become arahants.[81]

The *Nandakovāda-sutta* and its Chinese parallels agree that the Buddha compared the attainment reached by the nuns to the full moon.[82] This illustration fits well with the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, according to which all of the nuns had reached the final goal.[83] That the nuns had all reached full liberation also receives support from several Pāli commentaries, according to which with Nandaka's second instruction the nuns had indeed all become arahants.[84]

[78] Falk 1989: 162 suggests that perhaps "the implication is that they were a little on the slow side".

[79] SĀ 276 at T II 75c6, T 1442 at T XXIII 794a3, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 58b1 or Q (1032) *nye* 55b3.

[80] Ps V 97,12.

[81] SĀ 276 at T II 75c16, T 1442 at T XXIII 794a14, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 59a1 or Q (1032) *nye* 56a2.

[82] While according to MN 146 at MN III 277,10 the image of the full moon illustrates that the intention of the nuns had been fulfilled through Nandaka's teaching, according to SĀ 276 at T II 75c11, T 1442 at T XXIII 794a12, and D (3) *'dul ba, ja* 59a4 or Q (1032) *nye* 56a5 the same image illustrates their attainment of full awakening through Nandaka's teaching. Hu-von Hinüber 1996: 92-93 clarifies that the comparison with the moon on the 14th and 15th day does not necessarily imply that the nuns were taught on two successive days.

[83] Cf., e.g., Sn 3:9 at Sn 637 and Dhp 413, where the image of the pure moon stands for those who have reached full awakening. Another example can be found in Th 306, which compares one who has destroyed the net of craving to the moon on a clear full-moon night. These instances make it probable that the simile used in MN 146 and its parallels intends to illustrate the attainment of full awakening.

[84] This statement is found in the commentarial gloss on AN 1:14 at AN I 25,10, which reckons Nandaka as outstanding for instructing the nuns (the counterpart EĀ 4.5 at T II 558a3 reckons Nandaka to be outstanding for teaching disciples in general). Mp I 314,11 explains that with his first teaching Nandaka established all the nuns in stream-entry, *sabbā va tā bhikkhuniyo ... dhammadesanāya sotāpattiphale patiṭṭhāpesi*, while on hearing his instructions the next day they all reached full awakening, *tā punadivase dhammaṃ sutvā sabbāva arahattaṃ pattā*. Th-a II 116,24, Thī-a 4,14, and Thī-a 136,14 also report their attainment of full awakening with Nandaka's second teaching. It is rather surprising that these Pāli commentaries should agree with the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse and the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* against the Pāli discourse. Falk 1989: 162 takes MN 146 to be a case where "stories initially intended to celebrate the nuns' achievements had been altered to play down their accomplishments".

MN 147 *Cūḷarāhulovāda-sutta*

The *Cūḷarāhulovāda-sutta*, the "lesser discourse on an instruction to Rāhula", records the meditation instruction that led to the full awakening of Rāhula. This discourse recurs in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and has a Chinese parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.[85]

MN III 277 The two Pāli versions begin by reporting that Rāhula's mental development had ripened sufficiently for him to be led to awakening.[86] Unlike the Pāli versions, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version also describes what led to this mental ripening of Rāhula. According to its report, Rāhula had approached the Buddha and requested to be given a teaching so that he could retreat into seclusion and practise intensively in order to reach awakening. The Buddha knew that Rāhula's mind at this point was not yet ripe and told Rāhula that he should teach others the subject of the five aggregates.[87]

When Rāhula had delivered teachings on the five aggregates, he again approached the Buddha and requested teachings for retiring into seclusion and undertaking intensive practice. The Buddha saw that Rāhula's mind was still not ripe enough and told him that he should also teach on the six sense-spheres.[88] The same happened again for a third time, when the Buddha indicated that Rāhula should also give teachings on conditionality.[89]

When Rāhula had given teachings on conditionality and again requested instruction for retiring into seclusion, the Buddha told Rāhula that he should retire into seclusion and take as his meditation subject the three topics on which he earlier had given teachings, i.e., the five aggregates, the six sense-spheres, and conditionality.

While being in seclusion, Rāhula reviewed and examined these three topics, until he came to understand that they all lead to the realization of Nirvāṇa.[90] When the Buddha heard Rāhula reporting this insight, he knew that Rāhula's mind had sufficiently ripened for him to be led to awakening.[91]

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[85] The parallels are SN 35:121 at SN IV 105-107, entitled *Rāhula-sutta*, and SĀ 200 at T II 51a-c, for which Akanuma 1929/1990: 39 notes "Rāhula", 羅睺羅, as a tentative title. A translation of SĀ 200 and SN 35:121, together with extracts from the present study, can be found in Anālayo 2011h. The three versions agree in locating the discourse in Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī.

[86] MN 147 at MN III 277,25: *paripakkā kho rāhulassa vimuttiparipācaniyā dhammā* (B^{e}-MN III 325,1, C^{e}-MN III 574,5, and S^{e}-MN III 504,5: *vimuttiparipācanīyā*); cf. also SN 35:121 at SN IV 105,15.

[87] SĀ 200 at T II 51a23 indicates that Rāhula's "liberation of the mind and wisdom are not yet mature, [he is] not yet ready to receive the higher Dharma", 心解脫慧未熟, 未堪任受增上法.

[88] SĀ 200 at T II 51b4.

[89] SĀ 200 at T II 51b13: 尼陀那法.

[90] SĀ 200 at T II 51b23: "all these teachings proceed towards Nirvāṇa, flow towards Nirvāṇa, behind them stands Nirvāṇa", 此諸法一切皆順趣涅槃, 流注涅槃, 後住涅槃.

[91] Although MN 147 and SN 35:121 do not record any preliminary stages of training Rāhula, or that he wished to undertake intensive practice in seclusion, another set of discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, SN 18:1-5 at SN II 244-247, reports how Rāhula approached the Buddha and requested to be given a teaching so that he could retire into seclusion and undertake intensive practice. In reply to this request, according to SN 18:1-5 the Buddha delivered a set of instructions that are closely similar to the instructions in MN 147 and SN 35:121, with the main difference that each aspect of experience (such as the senses, their objects, etc.) forms the topic of a separate discourse. Another difference is that SN 18:5 at

The actual instructions given to Rāhula in the *Cūḷarāhulovāda-sutta* and its parallels are to contemplate the six senses – together with their respective objects, types of consciousness, and contact – as impermanent, unsatisfactory, and not-self.[92] The Pāli versions of the *Cūḷarāhulovāda-sutta* combine this instruction with the aggregates and with the principle of conditionality, as they proceed from contact to the four mental aggregates that arise in dependence on contact.[93] MN III 278

This part of the Pāli versions thus takes up the topics mentioned in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version's introductory account of Rāhula's development, namely the six sense-spheres, the five aggregates, and conditionality. Hence, in spite of substantially different modes of presentation, the Pāli and Chinese versions agree that Rāhula's development of insight revolved around these three topics.

The *Cūḷarāhulovāda-sutta* and its parallels report that Rāhula reached full awakening. Whereas according to the Pāli versions this took place while the Buddha was delivering the discourse,[94] according to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse the same happened after Rāhula had retired into seclusion and undertaken further practice.[95] The Pāli versions also report that a congregation of *deva*s, which had been following the Buddha in order to witness the instruction to Rāhula, reached stream-entry through this discourse. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version does not mention their presence at all. MN III 280

SN II 247,4 only mentions that feelings are conditioned by contact, whereas MN 147 at MN III 279,5 highlights that all four mental aggregates are conditioned by contact. The counterpart to SN 18:1-5, SĀ 897 at T II 225b11, reports a considerably shorter instruction, which just enjoins to contemplate the six sense-spheres, without taking up their impermanent nature or mentioning any other insight perspective to be used for such contemplation. SĀ 897 at T II 225b17 continues by indicating that this mode of contemplation is to be applied in the same way (up to) the five aggregates, 如是外六入處, 乃至五陰亦如是說 (a standard mode of abbreviation, used frequently in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*), so that perhaps the same range of topics should be supplemented as mentioned in SN 18:1-10, which covers the senses, their objects, consciousness, contact, feeling, perception, volition, craving, the six elements, and the five aggregates. SĀ 897 also differs from SN 18:1 in as much as, according to its account, Rāhula had not asked for a teaching so that he could withdraw into seclusion. Instead, he rather had inquired how to avoid giving attention to any sign in regard to this body with its consciousness and in regard to external elements, T II 225b9: 我此識身及外境界, 一切相不憶念. The first part of this instruction is similar to the recurrent expression *imasmiñ ca saviññāṇake kāye bahiddhā ca sabbanimittesu*, found, e.g., in MN 109 at MN III 18,30; on this expression cf. also Bucknell 1999b: 325. An account similar in several respects to SĀ 200 can be found in T 212 at T IV 626b27, where the Buddha tells Rāhula that he should recite teachings on dependent arising, then on the five aggregates, and finally on the six types of contact. Rāhula then attains liberation after he has subsequently reflected on the significance of these teachings, cf. T 212 at 626c12.

[92] SĀ 200 at T II 51c3 refers to this teaching only in an abbreviated manner, indicating that the instruction given in the present instance on the impermanent nature of the senses, their objects, the corresponding types of consciousness and contact are the same "as spoken above in detail on impermanence", 如上無常廣說. This could refer to the instructions found in SĀ 196 at T II 50a26, which proceed from impermanence to a whole range of insight perspectives, including among others also *dukkha* and not-self.

[93] MN 147 at MN III 279,4 and SN 35:121 at SN IV 106,15.

[94] MN 147 at MN III 280,7 and SN 35:121 at SN IV 107,28.

[95] SĀ 200 at T II 51c5: 獨一靜處, 專精思惟, 不放逸住 ... 成阿羅漢.

MN 148 *Chachakka-sutta*

The *Chachakka-sutta*, the "discourse on the six sixes", examines the absence of a self in all aspects of six sense-door experience. This discourse has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama,*[96] as well as in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan translation.[97] Parts of the *Chachakka-sutta* have also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[98]

MN III 280 The *Chachakka-sutta* and its parallels begin with an announcement by the Buddha that he will give a teaching that is good in the beginning, middle, and end, and reveal a pure and perfect holy life.[99] In other Pāli discourses, the qualification of being good in the beginning, middle, and end, etc., occurs regularly as a description of the Dharma, although not as an introduction to a discourse.[100] In the Chinese *Āgama*s, however, the same qualification serves this introductory function also on other occasions.[101]

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[96] The parallel is SĀ 304 at T II 86c-87a, which takes place at Kammāsadhamma in the Kuru country and has the title "discourse on the teaching of the six sixes", 六六法經 (given at T II 87a24). A reference to the present discourse in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* speaks of the *ṣaṭṣaṭko dharmaparyāyaḥ*/六六法門, cf. Abhidh-k 3:30 in Pradhan 1967: 143,8, T 1558 at T XXIX 52b16, and T 1559 at T XXIX 209b4. Akanuma 1929/1990: 171 also lists MĀ 86 at T I 562a-566a as a parallel to MN 148. MĀ 86 begins by reporting that Ānanda had come with a group of young monks to the Buddha and asked how he should instruct these monks. In reply, the Buddha takes up the five aggregates, then the six senses in a way that parallels MN 148, after which he continues by teaching a broad range of other topics, covering the six elements, dependent arising, the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s, the four right efforts, the four ways to [psychic] power, the four *jhāna*s, the four noble truths, four perceptions, the four divine abodes, the four immaterial attainments, the four *ariyavaṃsa*s, the four fruits of recluse-ship, five perceptions ripening in liberation, the five spheres of liberation, the five faculties and powers, the five elements of release, seven types of (spiritual) wealth, seven powers, the seven factors of awakening, the eightfold noble path, and the summit of the Dharma (cf. also Minh Chau 1964/1991: 35-36). Thus, apart from an overlap of its treatment of the six senses with part of the exposition given in MN 148, MĀ 86 differs to such an extent from MN 148 that it can safely be concluded that the two discourses stem from different occasions. On the parallelism between the topics covered in MĀ 86 and the *Dharmaskandha* cf. Watanabe 1983/1996: 54.

[97] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 159a4-161a6 or Q (5595) *tu* 183b7-186b1; cf. also Abhidh-k 3:30 in Pradhan 1967: 143,8, paralleling MN 148 at MN III 280,22, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 52b16 and T 1559 at T XXIX 209b4. Abhidh-k-ṭ refers to the discourse as *drug* (not in D) *tshan drug pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs*, "Dharma exposition on six groups of sixes". For another discourse quotation in Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 105.

[98] The fragments are SHT VI 1226 folios 24R and 25 (p. 34), which have preserved a few words of the introductory statement and the listing of the six sixes found in MN 148 at MN III 280-281.

[99] Part of this statement has also been preserved in the Sanskrit fragment, cf. SHT VI 1226 folio 24Rb: (*bra*)*hmacaryye prakāśiṣye*, corresponding to MN 148 at MN III 280,19: *brahmacariyaṃ pakāsissāmi* (B^{e}-MN III 327,20: *pakāsessāmi*), SĀ 304 at T II 86c25: 梵行清白, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 159a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 184a2: *tshangs par spyod pa yongs su gsal bar byed pa bshad par bya*.

[100] E.g., in the *Majjhima-nikāya* in MN 27 at MN I 179,6, MN 38 at MN I 267,18, MN 41 at MN I 285,13, MN 42 at I MN 290,24, MN 51 at MN I 344,24, MN 60 at I MN 401,8, MN 82 at MN II 55,8, MN 91 at MN II 133,26, MN 92 at MN II 146,22, MN 94 at MN II 162,9, MN 95 at MN II 164,9, MN 101 at MN II 226,8, MN 125 at MN III 134,2, and MN 150 at MN III 291,3. Parts of this qualification as an introduction to a description of the gradual path have been preserved in SHT III 807 V3 (p. 14).

[101] MĀ 162 at T I 690b19, MĀ 163 at T I 692b25, MĀ 164 at T I 694b17, MĀ 168 at T I 700b27, MĀ 169

The *Chachakka-sutta* and its parallels take up six sets of sixes as the basis of their exposition, which are:

- the six senses,
- the six sense-objects,
- the six types of consciousness,
- the six types of contact,
- the six types of feeling,
- the six types of craving.[102]

The three versions examine the not-self nature of all these aspects of experience in similar terms, explaining that, since they are impermanent, to identify them as a self would imply that the self arises and passes away. MN III 282

A difference is that the Pāli and Tibetan versions apply the same treatment also to craving.[103] While the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse agrees with the other versions on including craving in the earlier listing of the six sets of sixes, it does not take up the possibility that craving could be identified as a self. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version concludes by indicating that contemplating as devoid of self the three types of feeling, arisen in dependence on the senses, leads to Nirvāṇa.[104] MN III 283

The Pāli version approaches the same topic in a different manner, as it contrasts the path leading to the arising of personality (by identifying with these aspects of experience) with the path leading to the cessation of personality (by contemplating their not-self nature). The *Chachakka-sutta* continues by giving a more detailed treatment to the three types of feeling, depicting how pleasant feeling leads to attachment and painful feeling to aversion, while with neutral feeling its advantage, its disadvantage and the escape from it is ignored. Only by going beyond these unwholesome reactions and the corresponding underlying tendencies can liberation be attained. MN III 284

While the Tibetan version does not refer to the theme of personality, it takes up the three types of feeling for a similar treatment.[105] The Tibetan version concludes its expo-

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at T I 701b25, MĀ 177 at T I 716b17, SĀ 297 at T II 84c12, SĀ 305 at T II 87a28, SĀ 334 at T II 92b22, SĀ 335 at T II 92c13, EĀ 16.6 at T II 580b4, EĀ 40.6 at T II 740a26, and EĀ 44.6 at T II 766a6; cf. also the *Mahāvyutpatti* no. 1280-1289 in Sakaki 1926: 97-98, where the same qualifications form the beginning of a listing under the heading of *dharmaparyāyaḥ*.

[102] The same six sets of sixes recur again in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, T II 91c-92b, as part of a set of consecutive discourses, each of which takes up one of these sixes: SĀ 323 (senses), SĀ 324 (objects), SĀ 325 (consciousness), SĀ 326 (contact), SĀ 327 (feeling), and SĀ 330 (craving), all of which take place in Jeta's Grove. For Sanskrit fragment parallels to these discourses cf. Enomoto 1989a; cf. also SHT VIII 1879 (p. 69).

[103] MN 148 at MN III 283,10: *taṇhā attā ti* and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 159b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 184b4: *sred pa bdag ces smra ba*.

[104] SĀ 304 at T II 87a21.

[105] D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 160a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 185a3. The absence of any reference to this treatment in SĀ 325 thus appears be a case of textual loss, in fact the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* refers to a statement from the present discourse that examines precisely the relationship of the three types of feeling to their underlying tendencies, Abhidh-k 5:2 in Pradhan 1967 279,1: *yattarhi sūtre kleśa evānuśaya uktaḥ ṣaṭ-ṣaṭke so 'sya bhavati sukhāyāṃ vedanāyāṃ rāgānuśaya' iti*, paralleling MN 148 at MN III 285,6; cf.

sition by indicating that contemplation of the not-self nature of all aspects of sense-experience, up to the three types of feeling, leads to Nirvāṇa. It thereby parallels the exposition found at the end of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse.

MN III 287 The *Chachakka-sutta* and its parallels conclude with the delight of the monks. The Pāli version notes that sixty monks reached the destruction of the influxes while listening to this exposition on the six sets of sixes.[106]

MN 149 *Mahāsaḷāyatanika-sutta*[107]

The *Mahāsaḷāyatanika-sutta*, the "discourse on the great six sense-spheres", gives a short but penetrative instruction on the development of insight in regard to the six sense-spheres. This discourse has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*,[108] as well as in a discourse quotation in Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, extant in Tibetan.[109]

MN III 287 The *Mahāsaḷāyatanika-sutta* and its parallels offer a closely similar exposition on the six sense-spheres, which highlights how lack of proper vision and knowledge in regard to the six senses, their objects, consciousness, contact, and the three types of feeling leads to the arising of lust, and therewith to the continuation of the five aggregates, to future rebirth, and to bodily and mental affliction.[110]

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also T 1558 at T XXIX 99a12, T 1559 at T XXIX 253a23, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 262a2 or Q (5595) *thu* 4a8.

[106] MN 148 at MN III 287,5; on this passage cf. also Dissanayaka 1993: 143.

[107] S^{e}-MN III 521,1 gives the discourse's title as *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta*. Thus, the Siamese edition has two discourses with this title, the present discourse and MN 137. MN 149 at MN III 287,13 introduces the theme of the exposition with the Buddha announcing that he will teach "the great six sense-spheres", *mahāsaḷāyatanikaṃ ... desissāmi* (B^{e}-MN III 335,11: *desessāmi*), which would have made this expression an obvious choice for the title. Ps V 103,7 explains that *mahā* qualifies the six sense-spheres, *mahāsaḷāyantikan ti mahantānaṃ channaṃ āyatanānaṃ jotakaṃ dhammapariyāyaṃ.* According to SĀ 305 at T II 87b1, the Buddha began his exposition by announcing that he would teach a "discourse on the six analyses of the six sense-spheres", 六分別六入處經, a term that recurs again at the conclusion of SĀ 305 at T II 87c15. Comparing this title to the Pāli titles suggests the possibility that 六 could be a scribal error for 大, on which assumption the title would have been "discourse on the great analysis of the six sense-spheres", 大分別六入處經. In fact, the corresponding part in the Tibetan version employs "six" only once, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 203b2 or Q (5595) *tu* 232a7: *skye mched drug gi tshogs zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs*, confirming the impression that the doubling of the "six" could be the result of a scribal error.

[108] The parallel is SĀ 305 at T II 87a-c. While MN 149 takes place in Jeta's Grove, SĀ 305 and Abhidh-k-ṭ have Kammāsadhamma in the Kuru country as their venue.

[109] Abhidh-k-ṭ at D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 203b1-205b6 or Q (5595) *tu* 232a5-234b8; cf. also Abhidh-k 4:4 in Pradhan 1967: 196,21, paralleling MN 149 at MN III 289,2, with its Chinese counterparts in T 1558 at T XXIX 69a22 and T 1559 at T XXIX 226c28. For another quotation from Abhidh-k-ṭ cf. below note 111.

[110] SĀ 305 differs from the standard sequence of enumerating the three types of feeling, as it begins with "painful" feeling, 苦, followed by "pleasant" feeling, 樂, and then "neither-painful-nor-pleasant" feeling, 不苦不樂. The same sequence can be found in several other discourses in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*, cf.

The Chinese and Tibetan versions additionally point out that in this way birth, old age, disease, and death arise, as well as the whole great mass of *dukkha*.[111] The three versions continue by applying the same treatment to the complementary case when vision and knowledge are present, whereby the arising of lust and all its detrimental repercussions can be avoided.

SĀ 46 T II 11c2, SĀ 65 at T II 17a29, SĀ 166 at T II 45a23, SĀ 167 at T II 45b3, SĀ 195 at T II 50a14, SĀ 196 at T II 50a27, SĀ 197 at T II 50b29, SĀ 201 at T II 51c16, SĀ 202 at T II 52a4, SĀ 203 at T II 52a23, SĀ 204 at T II 52b1, SĀ 205 at T II 52b12, SĀ 206 at T II 52b25, SĀ 211 at T II 53b10, SĀ 213 at T II 54a9, SĀ 219 at T II 55a6, SĀ 220 at T II 55a13, SĀ 222 at T II 55b2, SĀ 223 at T II 55b11, SĀ 224 at T II 55b19, SĀ 225 at T II 55b27, SĀ 226 at T II 55c5, SĀ 227 at T II 55c19, SĀ 229 at T II 56a11, SĀ 230 at T II 56a28, SĀ 231 at T II 56b17, SĀ 232 at T II 56b26, SĀ 241 at T II 58b4, SĀ 253 at T II 62a27, SĀ 298 at T II 85b7, SĀ 304 at T II 87a22, SĀ 308 at T II 88b26, SĀ 320 at T II 91b11, SĀ 321 at T II 91b19, SĀ 466 at T II 119a15, SĀ 988 at T II 257b7, SĀ 994 at T II 260b4, SĀ 1025 at T II 267c29, and SĀ 1166 at T II 311c1. Yet, other discourses in the same *Saṃyukta-āgama* collection adopt the sequence found in the Pāli discourses (and also in the Abhidh-k-ṭ parallel to the present discourse, SĀ 305, cf. D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 203b4 or Q (5595) *tu* 232a8), which begins with pleasant feelings, cf. SĀ 471 at T II 120b19, SĀ 473 at T II 121a4, SĀ 474 at T II 121a21, SĀ 475 at T II 121c2, SĀ 476 at T II 121c22, SĀ 478 at T II 122a8, SĀ 485 at T II 123c25, SĀ 551 at T II 144b18, SĀ 759 at T II 199c19, and SĀ 1164 at T II 310c7. Some discourses in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* have both patterns, as SĀ 470 at T II 120a1, SĀ 467 at T II 119a27, SĀ 468 at T II 119b15, SĀ 472 at T II 120c12, and SĀ 969 at T II 249c10 begin with painful feelings, but then the same discourses SĀ 470 at T II 120b2, SĀ 467 at T II 119a29, SĀ 468 at T II 119b16, SĀ 472 at T II 120c12, and SĀ 969 at T II 249c20 continue by mentioning pleasant feelings first. It is noteworthy that within a single discourse collection variations should occur in the case of such an elementary aspect of the teachings as the three types of feeling, since from the perspective of the dynamics of transmission it would be natural for the reciters to adopt the same sequence throughout, and it is difficult to conceive of a cogent reason why they should have adopted different sequences. This is, however, not the only instance of such unexpected variations in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*. Another example of a similar type is when the name Koṇḍañña is rendered in two different ways (憍陳如 and 拘隣) within the same discourse, cf. SĀ 379 at T II 104a10: 世尊告尊者憍陳如, 知法未? 憍陳如白佛, 已知, 世尊. 復告尊者憍陳如, 知法未? 拘隣白佛, 已知, 善逝. 尊者拘隣已知法故. Another case is SĀ 551 at T II 144b4, which presents a stanza, follows this stanza with an explanation, and then concludes by repeating the stanza that has just been explained (T II 144c13). This repetition, however, differs considerably from the earlier stanza, as its first line reads 若斷一切流, instead of 斷一切諸流, the third line speaks of 諸欲, instead of 五欲, and the final line is quite different, cf. 不復與世間, 共言語諍訟, whereas earlier the final line reads 世間諍言訟, 畢竟不復為. These instances might be examples of a tendency described by Zürcher 1991: 288, where in early translations "there is a strong tendency to avoid the monotonous effect of ... verbatim repetition ... by introducing a certain amount of diversification and irregularity", as a result of which "in the same translated scripture we often find various alternative forms and longer or shorter versions of the same cliché". Relevant to the same topic would also be one of the maxims set up for correct translation attributed to Dàoān (道安) in T 2145 at T LV 52b26, cf. also Bingenheimer 2010: 25 and Meier 1972: 43, which emphasizes the, for the early Chinese translators apparently not self-evident, importance of respecting the repetitive nature of the Indian texts.

111 SĀ 305 at T II 87b13 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 204a1 or Q (5595) *tu* 232b6. A discourse quotation paralleling the development of the path, described in MN 149 at MN III 289,9, can also be found in Abhidh-k 6:70 in Pradhan 1967: 385,6; cf. also T 1558 at T XXIX 133a15, T 1559 at T XXIX 284b12, and D (4094) *mngon pa, nyu* 41b1 or Q (5595) *thu* 80a7.

MN III 289 The *Mahāsaḷāyatanika-sutta* and its parallels continue in similar ways by showing how one with such knowledge and vision is endowed with the following path factors:

- right view,
- right intention,
- right effort,
- right mindfulness,
- right concentration.

The other three path factors should be understood to have been developed earlier.[112] Practising the noble eightfold path in this way then leads to developing:

- the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s,
- the four right efforts,
- the four ways to [psychic] power,
- the five faculties,
- the five powers,
- the seven factors of awakening.

The Pāli and Tibetan versions add to this listing that, by practising in this way, tranquillity and insight come into being concurrently.[113]

The *Mahāsaḷāyatanika-sutta* and its parallels continue by examining four aspects of penetrative insight, though they differ in the sequence of their presentation (see table 15.3).[114] The sequence adopted in the Chinese and Tibetan versions conforms to the pattern set by the standard formulation of the four noble truths.

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[112] Abhidh-k-ṭ differs, as it includes right speech among the factors that are developed by knowledge and vision, D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 205a2 or Q (5595) *tu* 234a1, so that, in its presentation, only right action and right livelihood have been developed earlier. A minor difference between the other two versions is that SĀ 305 at T II 87c1 lists the factors developed earlier as "right speech, right action, right livelihood", 正語, 正業, 正命, whereas MN 149 at MN III 289,7 adopts a different sequence by listing "bodily action, verbal action, and livelihood", *kāyakammaṃ vacīkammaṃ ājīvo*. A quotation of the present passage in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Abhidh-k 4:4 in Pradhan 1967: 196,23, agrees in sequence with SĀ 305: *samyak vākkarmāntājīvāḥ*, T 1558 at T XXIX 69a22: 正語業命, and T 1559 at T XXIX 226c28: 正語正業正命, a sequence also adopted in the commentarial gloss at Ps V 103,23: *vācākammantājīvā*. From the perspective of oral recitation, a result of the departure from the usual sequence in MN 149 by listing *kāyakammaṃ vacīkammaṃ ājīvo* is that the final two words produce assonance through the long -*ī*- in second position (the first two words are anyway related through homoioteleuton by sharing the same °*kammaṃ* as their second part), whereas to recite *vacīkammaṃ kāyakammaṃ ājīvo*, a sequence that would accord with the standard listings of the corresponding factors of the noble eightfold path, would not produce such an assonance. It seems, however, less probable that this would have influenced the sequence of the terms, since usually the influence of assonance or of the principle of waxing syllables on listings is overruled by doctrinal requirements, which would be the case for the sequence of the factors of the noble eightfold path; cf. also Anālayo 2009v.

[113] MN 149 at MN III 289,16 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 205a4 or Q (5595) *tu* 234a4. On *samatha* and *vipassanā* undertaken in conjunction cf. also AN 4:170 at AN II 157,15, the *Śrāvakabhūmi* in Shukla 1973: 404,4 or ŚSG 2010: 26,3, with the Chinese counterpart in T 1579 at T XXX 458b4, and Anālayo 2009z.

[114] MN 149 at MN III 289,20, SĀ 305 at T II 87c5, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 205a5 or Q (5595) *tu* 234a6. The same four aspects of the development of penetrative insight recur – in the sequence adopted by SĀ 305 and Abhidh-k-ṭ – in the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*, SN 56:11 at SN V 422,6, which proceeds

Table 15.3: Four Aspects of Insight in MN 149 and its Parallels

MN 149	SĀ 305 & Abhidh-k-ṭ
full understanding (1) abandoning (2) development (3) realization (4)	full understanding (→ 1) abandoning (→ 2) realization (→ 4) development (→ 3)

The Pāli discourse explains that the five aggregates [affected by] clinging are to be fully understood, whereas according to the Chinese and Tibetan presentation name-and-form should be fully understood.[115] The three versions agree that ignorance and craving for becoming need to be abandoned, while knowledge and liberation need to be realized. According to the Pāli and Tibetan versions, tranquillity and insight should be developed, whereas the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse only takes insight into account.[116]

The Chinese and Tibetan discourses conclude that a monk, who has accomplished these four aspects of penetrative insight, can be reckoned as having eradicated craving and gone beyond *dukkha*.[117] MN III 290

MN 150 *Nagaravindeyya-sutta*

The *Nagaravindeyya-sutta*, the "discourse to those from Nagaravinda", sets forth what makes a recluse or a Brahmin worthy of veneration. This discourse has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.[118] Parts of the *Nagaravindeyya-sutta* have also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[119]

The *Nagaravindeyya-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel begin by relating that the Brahmin householders of Nagaravinda had come to visit the Buddha. While the *Saṃyukta-āgama* simply explains that they had come because they had heard about the Bud- MN III 291

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from what is to be "fully understood", *pariññeyyaṃ*, via what is to be "abandoned", *pahātabbaṃ*, and what is to be "realized", *sacchikātabbaṃ*, to what is to be "developed", *bhāvetabbaṃ* (for a survey of some parallel versions that show the same pattern cf. Chung 2006). The sequence in MN 149, together with the corresponding explanation, recurs as a discourse on its own in AN 4:251 at AN II 246-247.

[115] MN 149 at MN III 289,23: *pañcupādānakkhandhā*, SĀ 305 at T II 87c8: 名色, and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 205a6 or Q (5595) *tu* 234a7: *ming dang gzugs*.

[116] MN 149 at MN III 289,29: *samatho ca vipassanā ca* and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 205b2 or Q (5595) *tu* 234b3: *zhi gnas dang lhag mthong*, whereas SĀ 305 at T II 87c11 only mentions 正觀 (which might be an error for 止觀, in which case the three versions would be in agreement).

[117] SĀ 305 at T II 87c14 and D (4094) *mngon pa, ju* 205b5 or Q (5595) *tu* 234b6.

[118] The parallel is SĀ 280 at T II 76c-77a, which agrees with MN 150 on locating the discourse in the Kosala country. Akanuma 1929/1990: 44 gives 頻頭城, the location at which the discourse takes place, as a title for SĀ 280.

[119] SHT VI 1226 folios 15-18 (pp. 29-31), SHT X 3270+4060 (p. 20), SHT X 3273 (p. 22), and the so far unpublished SHT XI 4759b, identified by Klaus Wille (I am indebted to Klaus Wille for kindly providing me with a draft transliteration of this fragment). The fragments have preserved small parts of the whole discourse.

dha's arrival in the vicinity of their village, the *Majjhima-nikāya* version describes in detail the good report about the Buddha and his teaching that had motivated the householders to come for a visit. The Sanskrit fragments have preserved part of this good report, indicating that the Sanskrit version was in this respect similar to the Pāli discourse.[120]

Another correspondence between the Sanskrit fragments and the Pāli version can be found in relation to their description of the behaviour of the Brahmin householders on arriving at the Buddha's presence. While the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version simply notes that they bowed at his feet and sat down,[121] the Pāli version describes a set of different behaviour patterns, with some visitors paying homage to the Buddha, while others exchange greetings, or even just sit down silently. The Sanskrit fragments have preserved part of a description of these behaviour variations, shown by the Buddha's visitors.[122]

This is noteworthy in so far as these Sanskrit fragments belong to a set of fragments that have preserved a whole series of discourses whose sequence corresponds closely to this section of the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.[123] Variations in the order in which discourses are placed within a *Nikāya* or *Āgama* are usually characteristic of different reciter traditions. Thus, judging from this similarity in the sequence of a whole series of discourses, the Sanskrit parallel to the *Nagaravindeyya-sutta* should belong to a reciter tradition closely related to the reciter tradition whose *Saṃyukta-āgama* version was eventually translated into Chinese.[124]

According to the *Nagaravindeyya-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel, the Buddha told his visitors how they should reply on being asked what kinds of recluse or Brahmin are not worthy of veneration. A minor difference between the two versions is that, according to the *Majjhima-nikāya* version, those who might put such an inquiry to the householders of Nagaravinda are heterodox wanderers, while the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse attributes such a hypothetical inquiry simply to other people.[125]

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[120] SHT VI 1226 folio 15Ve: *(puruṣada)[m]yasārathi śāstā d[e]va(manuṣyāṇaṃ)*, corresponding to MN 150 at MN III 291,3; SHT VI 1226 folio 15Vf: *(svaya)m-abhijñāya sākṣīkṛtv-o[pa]saṃpa(dya)*, corresponding to MN 150 at MN III 291,3; and SHT VI 1226 folio 15Vg: *(ādau ka)[ly]āṇaṃ madhye kalyāṇaṃ [pa]r[ya](vasāne kalyāṇaṃ)*, corresponding to MN 150 at MN III 291,3.

[121] According to SĀ 280 at T II 76c7, the Brahmin householders "went to the Blessed One, bowed down with their head at his feet, and stepped back to sit on one side", 詣世尊所, 稽首禮足, 退坐一面.

[122] SHT VI 1226 folio 15Rc: *t(e)n-āñjali praṇāmya ekānte*, corresponding to MN 150 at MN III 291,8. On this pericope cf. also above p. 452.

[123] SHT VI 1226 folios 1-24 (pp. 19-34) have preserved counterparts to SĀ 273-SĀ 282. The last line of the fragment parallel to the present discourse, SHT VI 1226 folio 18Rg, has preserved parts of the location given for SĀ 281 at T II 77a29, thereby confirming the sequence.

[124] For a similar case cf. Waldschmidt 1957/1967: 291 note 2.

[125] MN 150 at MN III 291,13: "if, householders, heterodox wanderers should ask you", *sace vo, gahapatayo, aññatitthiyā paribbājakā evaṃ puccheyyuṃ*, SĀ 280 at T II 76c8: "if people, asking you, should say", 若人問汝言. The Pāli version's reference to heterodox wanderers is to some extent unexpected, as there seems to be no need to bring in the followers of other sects in a situation where a group of householders has approached the Buddha in order to hear a discourse, all the more in view of the behaviour variations exhibited by the visitors according to the Pāli account, which depicts an audience of which a considerable part did apparently not consider themselves disciples of the Buddha. In other dis-

The *Nagaravindeyya-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* counterpart agree that recluses and Brahmins who are still under the sway of lust in regard to experiences by way of the six senses should not be honoured. The two versions explain that such recluses and Brahmins are not worthy of respect and honour, since they are not superior to householders.[126] Both versions apply their treatment to the opposite case of recluses and Brahmins that are aloof in regard to experiences through the six senses and thus worthy of honour and worship.

The two versions reckon a secluded way of life to be a good reason for assuming that a recluse or Brahmin is either free from lust or else is engaging in the practice that leads to such freedom, since objects of the senses that have the potential to arouse lust are not found in secluded dwelling places. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version explains that the sense objects absent from secluded dwelling places are in particular those related to MN III 293

courses, instructions on how to properly answer heterodox wanderers are almost always given to Buddhist monks, in order to prepare them to stand their ground in a debate situation, cf., e.g., DN 29 at DN III 130,21, MN 11 at MN I 64,2, MN 59 at MN I 400,15 (= SN 36:19 at SN IV 228,13), SN 35:151 at SN IV 138,5, SN 36:20 at SN IV 229,11, SN 45:41-48 at SN V 27-29, SN 54:11 at SN V 326,3 (= SN 54:12 at SN V 328,14), AN 3:68 at AN I 199,16, AN 8:83 at AN IV 338,9, AN 9:1 at AN IV 351,9, and AN 10:58 at AN V 106,12. In DN 8 at DN I 175,1, such instructions are given to a heterodox wanderer shortly before he declares his wish to go forth as a Buddhist monk. Several discourses report that such encounters had already happened and the monks went back to the Buddha in order to learn how to answer such questions in the future, cf., e.g., MN 13 at MN I 85,12 and SN 22:86 at SN III 118,9 (= SN 44:2 at SN IV 382,8), SN 35:81 at SN IV 51,17, SN 45:5 at SN V 7,8, SN 46:52 at SN V 109,21, SN 46:54 at SN V 118,20, and AN 10:27 at AN V 50,6. In contrast to such occurrences, it is not clear why the Buddha should feel a need to teach the householders of Nagaravinda, who apparently had not yet become even his lay disciples, how to reply to questions posed by followers of other sects. From this perspective, the reference to people in general in SĀ 280 fits the context better, since to discuss who should be venerated and who should not be venerated could well have been a topic of conversation among laity in general.

[126] MN 150 at MN III 291,18 describes such recluses and Brahmins as not being free from lust, anger, or delusion, *avītarāgā avītadosā avītamohā*; SĀ 280 at T II 76c11 speaks of them not being free from lust, desires, craving, thirst, and thoughts, 未離貪, 未離欲, 未離愛, 未離渴, 未離念, without mentioning anger or delusion. SĀ 280 at T II 76c26 uses the same set of qualities in its positive mode when describing recluses and Brahmins that are worthy of respect and honour. Only when describing the solitary life style of these recluses and Brahmins does SĀ 280 at T II 77a12 also mention their freedom from anger and delusion, 離貪 ... 離恚 ... 離癡 (a description which in MN 150 and in SĀ 280 only mentions the five senses, whereas earlier both versions took up all six senses). This might be a remnant of a presentation similar to MN 150, since the reference to lust, anger and delusion comes up first as part of a question asked by others in reply to the earlier exposition, where it would be natural for the question to employ the terms earlier used, instead of switching, without any apparent reason, from an earlier reference to lust and craving, etc., to speaking of lust, anger and delusion. The corresponding parts in the Sanskrit fragments have preserved several expressions that point to a more detailed treatment, similar in this respect to the presentation in SĀ 280, such as, e.g., SHT VI 1226 folio 16Vd: *avigatar[ā](ga)* (cf. also SHT X 3270+4060V3), folio 16Re: *(a)vigatacchanda* (cf. also SHT X 3273R1+3), folio 15Rf: *avigatasnehā* and folio 16 Vb: *avigatapi(pāsa)* (cf. also SHT X 3270+4060R4), and SHT X 3270+4060R2: *[t](ṛ)ṣṇā aviga[t](a)[pre]mā*. Notably, SHT VI 1226 folio 18Vc has also preserved a reference to *vigatamoha*.

association with women,[127] a way of understanding the implications of the present passage also reflected in the Pāli commentary.[128]

According to the *Nagaravindeyya-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel, the householders expressed their appreciation for the Buddha's exposition by comparing his teachings to revealing something that was hidden, showing the path to someone who was lost, and holding up a lamp in the dark.[129] Before delivering this set of similes, found regularly in the discourses on such occasions, according to the *Saṃyukta-āgama* account the householders remarked that the Buddha had given a teaching without praising himself or disparaging others.[130]

The Pāli version concludes by reporting that the householders took refuge as lay followers. Although the Chinese version does not record that the householders took refuge, the Sanskrit fragments appear to agree with the Pāli account, as the concluding section of the Sanskrit version has preserved part of the formulaic expression used to take refuge.[131]

MN 151 *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi-sutta*

The *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi-sutta*, the "discourse on purity [when receiving] alms food", describes the development of mental purity while collecting alms. This discourse has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.[132]

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[127] SĀ 280 at T II 77a14 describes how "staying in empty places, at the foot of a tree in a forest, sitting on a low seat of grass, they practise seclusion, keeping away from association with women, they delight in being alone, with their thought collected in meditation", 在空閑處, 林中樹下, 卑床草蓐, 修行遠離, 離諸女人近, 樂獨人, 同禪思者, followed by explaining that in such places "there are no forms to be seen by the eye that could arouse delight and attachment", 無眼見色可生樂著, a statement then applied to the other sense-doors.

[128] Ps V 105,10, in its gloss on living in seclusion, explains that, although in seclusion there are pleasurable objects of the senses, what the discourse's description intends is the absence of sense objects related to women, *itthirūpādīni pana sandhāy' etaṃ kathitaṃ*.

[129] SĀ 280 at T II 77a24 differs in regard to the first simile, where it speaks of rescuing someone who is drowning, whereas MN 150 at MN III 293,23 describes setting up what had been overthrown.

[130] SĀ 280 at T II 77a21: 不自譽, 不毀他. According to SĀ 280 at T II 77a23, the householders also remarked that the Buddha had extensively taught them dependent arising, 廣說緣起, a remark that perhaps refers to his clarification of the reasons that make someone worthy of respect and worship (SHT VI 1226 folio 18Re has preserved *pratītya*, which might reflect a similar statement). A curiosity in this part of SĀ 280 at T II 77a20 is that the speakers are not only the "Brahmin householders", but also the "recluses", 沙門, which seems to confound the "recluses and Brahmins" that were the topic of the discourse and the "Brahmin householders" that were listening to the discourse.

[131] SHT VI 1226 folio 18Rf: (*dha*)*rmañ-ca bhikṣusaṅgha*(*ñ-ca*).

[132] The parallel is SĀ 236 at T II 57b, which has the title "dwelling in purity when begging food", 清淨乞食住 (a title given at T II 57b25). SĀ 236 takes place at Jeta's Grove by Sāvatthī, whereas MN 151 has Rājagaha as its venue. SĀ 236 has been translated in Choong 2004: 5-9, for remarks on SĀ 236 in the light of MN 151 cf. Choong 1999: 11-13. The first part of MN 151 also has a partial parallel in EĀ 45.6 at T II 773b. In close agreement with MN 151, EĀ 45.6 reports that Sāriputta arose from seclusion and visited the Buddha, who inquired about Sāriputta's pure faculties. EĀ 45.6 also agrees with MN 151

The *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel begin by narrating that Sāriputta had come to the presence of the Buddha after having practised emptiness meditation,[133] a form of meditation the Buddha commended.[134] MN III 293

According to both versions, the Buddha explained that, in order to relate dwelling in emptiness to going to beg alms food, a monk should examine if anything he had seen while going for alms or returning had caused the arising of desire in him.[135] The *Majjhima-nikāya* version continues by applying the same treatment to the other sense-doors, whereas the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version only takes up the case of visual forms.[136] MN III 294

According to both versions, if on examination the monk finds out that unwholesome states have arisen in his mind, he should make a firm effort to overcome them. The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version illustrates this effort with the image of a man whose head is on fire, a situation where this man would make an utmost effort to extinguish that fire.[137] If a monk finds that his mind remained unaffected by unwholesome states, then he may dwell happily and continue to train himself day and night with energy and mindfulness.

The *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse continues by indicating that to dwell happily in this way, free from defilements, and to train in wholesomeness while walking, standing, sitting, and lying down is the way to develop purity in regard to begging for food.[138]

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that Sāriputta informed the Buddha about his practice of emptiness meditation and that the Buddha praised such meditation. From this point onwards, EĀ 45.6 continues differently, as according to its report the Buddha followed up the topic of the superiority of emptiness meditation by describing his own pre-awakening experiences. Thus, the remainder of EĀ 45.6 is no longer a parallel to MN 151.

[133] A minor difference between the two versions is that SĀ 236 at T II 57b5 describes how Sāriputta went to beg alms before retiring into seclusion to meditate, a circumstance not mentioned in MN 151. Another difference is that, while according to MN 151 at MN II 294,1 the Buddha inquired after the purity of Sāriputta's faculties, according to SĀ 236 at T II 57b8 the Buddha asked Sāriputta where he had come from, 汝從何來, and on being told that Sāriputta had come from his daily abiding in meditation in the forest, the Buddha asked Sāriputta what meditation he had been practising, 入何等禪住? In both cases, EĀ 45.6 at T II 773b21+23 agrees with MN 151. On the positive implications of the reference to dwelling in emptiness in the present context cf. also Pāsādika 2008b: 144-145.

[134] While according to MN 151 at MN III 294,6 the Buddha qualified such meditation as the "dwelling of great men", *mahāpurisavihāra*, according to SĀ 236 at T II 57b13 he spoke of it as the "dwelling of elders", 上座 (the earlier 上坐 at T II 57b12 should be emended accordingly; cf. also Choong 2004: 7 note 5).

[135] While MN 151 at MN III 294,15 takes up the possible arising of "desire", *chanda*, "lust", *rāga*, "anger", *dosa*, "delusion", *moha*, and "irritation", *paṭigha*, SĀ 236 at T II 57b15 speaks of "desire", 欲, "affection", 恩愛, "thoughts of craving", 愛念, and "attachment", 著; on this passage cf. also Baums 2009: 353. For a similar variation between a *Majjhima-nikāya* listing of unwholesome mental factors and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* counterpart cf. above p. 845 note 126.

[136] Here the treatment in MN 151 seems more complete, since while walking for alms a monk may well come across sounds, odours, or even tangibles that could provoke unwholesome reactions in him.

[137] SĀ 236 at T II 57b18. The same simile recurs in AN 4:93 at AN II 93,18 and AN 10:54 at AN V 99,27 to illustrate the need to develop *samatha* and *vipassanā*, as well as in AN 6:20 at AN III 307,11, AN 8:74 at AN IV 321,27, AN 10:51 at AN V 93,25, AN 10:52 at AN V 95,20, AN 10:53 at AN V 98,3, and AN 10:55 at AN V 104,22 to illustrate the making of an effort to overcome unwholesome states.

[138] SĀ 236 at T II 57b24 continues after its description of the monk who dwells happily and trains himself

After having in this way clarified in what way a monk can become a pure recipient of alms food, in the sense of becoming a worthy recipient,[139] the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse concludes with the delighted reaction of Sāriputta after having heard this exposition from the Buddha.

MN III 295 The *Majjhima-nikāya* version, however, continues by bringing up a whole range of other topics, as it mentions:

- overcoming the five types of sensual pleasure,
- overcoming the five hindrances,
- understanding the five aggregates [affected by] clinging,
- developing the four *satipaṭṭhāna*s,
- developing the four right efforts,
- developing the four ways to [psychic] power,
- developing the five faculties,
- developing the five powers,
- developing the seven factors of awakening,
- developing the eightfold noble path,
- developing tranquillity and insight,
- realizing knowledge and liberation.[140]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version concludes by explaining that recluses and Brahmins of past, present, and future times have, do, and will develop purity in regard to receiving alms food by undertaking all these practices.

Since this entire presentation is absent from the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version, and since it also does not seem to be indispensable from the viewpoint of the basic theme of the discourse,[141] one might wonder how far the presentation in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version could be the outcome of a later expansion of an originally shorter exposition, similar to the cases of the *Mahārāhulovāda-sutta* and the *Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta*.[142]

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in wholesomeness by proclaiming that "this is reckoned a monk [who] while walking, standing, sitting, and lying down has purity [in regard to] begging food", 是名比丘於行, 住, 坐, 臥, 淨除乞食.

[139] According to the examination of the purification of offerings given in MN 142 at MN III 256,14 and in its parallels MĀ 180 at T I 722b27 and T 84 at T I 904a23, an offering can be purified by the giver or by the recipient. Applying this principle to the present case, by overcoming unwholesome states of mind and training in wholesomeness a monk becomes a worthy recipient of offerings and does what is required in order to ensure that the alms given to him will be fruitful for the giver.

[140] This exposition ranges from MN 151 at MN III 295,13 to MN III 297,20.

[141] Although the development of all these aspects of the Buddhist path to liberation would certainly be most desirable in order to maximise the merits accrued by the donor of any alms food to such a monk, to fulfil the entire set of requirements mentioned in MN 151 would necessitate becoming an arahant. Judging from the titles of the *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel, the issue of being pure when receiving alms food is the basic topic of both versions, a purification that could already take place at levels of development that fall short of full awakening and that have not yet done full justice to the whole range of practices mentioned in MN 151. For a monk who wishes to be a pure recipient of alms food, the stipulations given in SĀ 236 seem quite adequate and sufficient.

[142] Cf. above pp. 348 and 423, an extract from the present discussion already appeared in Anālayo 2005c: 96-97.

MN 152 *Indriyabhāvanā-sutta*

The *Indriyabhāvanā-sutta*, the “discourse on the development of the faculties”, describes the development of self-control in regard to sensory experience. This discourse has a parallel in the *Saṃyukta-āgama*.[143] Parts of this discourse have also been preserved in Sanskrit fragments.[144]

The *Indriyabhāvanā-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel report in similar ways MN III 298
that the Brahmin youth Uttara, on being asked how he had been instructed in regard to the development of the faculties, explained that his teacher recommended to avoid seeing forms with the eye and hearing sounds with the ear. In both versions, this proposal meets with the rebuttal that in this case the blind and deaf would be accomplished practitioners.[145] Following a request by Ānanda, the Buddha then expounded his approach to the development of the faculties. In both discourses, this approach covers three aspects, although the two versions present these three aspects in a different sequence and under different headings.

The first of these three aspects in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version is the “supreme devel- MN III 299
opment of the faculties”,[146] which depicts how to establish equanimity in regard to sense

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[143] The parallel is SĀ 282 at T II 78a-79a, for which Akanuma 1929/1990: 44 gives “developing the faculties”, 諸根修, as a title. SĀ 282 has 迦微伽羅, 牟真隣陀林 as its location, counterpart to the location given in MN 152 at MN III 298,1 as the Mukhelu Grove at Kajaṅgala, with B^{e}-MN III 347,25 speaking of the Suveḷu Grove at Gajaṅgala, C^{e}-MN III 616,2 of the Mūkhelu Grove at Kajaṅgala, and S^{e}-MN III 541,3 of a *veḷuvane* (bamboo grove) at Kajjaṅgala (a bamboo grove at Kajaṅgala is the location for AN 10:28 at AN V 54,20). SHT VI 1226 folio 22Vc has preserved parts of a reference to the location of the present discourse as *i[ṅga]lāyā[m]*. An *Avadānaśataka* tale in Speyer 1909/1970: 41,5 or in Vaidya 1958a: 192,10, which otherwise is not related to the present discourse, has a *vanaṣaṇḍa* by Kacaṅgalā as its location. According to Vin I 197,21, Kajaṅgala formed the eastern boundary of the Middle Country.

[144] The Sanskrit fragment is SHT VI 1226 folio 22Vc to 24Vc (pp. 33-34), which has preserved several short parts of the whole discourse.

[145] Whereas in MN 152 at MN III 298,17 the Buddha mentioned the blind and the deaf, *andho* and *badhiro*, according to SĀ 282 at T II 78b1 he only referred to someone who is blind, 盲者, while the case of someone who is deaf, 聾者, was according to SĀ 282 at T II 78b4 brought up by Ānanda. Another difference is that MN 152 at MN III 298,21 describes Uttara’s silent dismay on hearing the Buddha’s reply, a reaction not recorded in SĀ 282. The introductory narration in MN 152 and SĀ 282 recurs as a discourse quotation in the *Vibhāṣā* translations, which agree with SĀ 282 that the remark about the deaf was made by Ānanda cf. T 1545 at T XXVII 729b6, T 1546 at T XXVIII 271a18, and T 1547 at T XXVIII 439c19. Bronkhorst 1993/2000: x and id. 1999: 86 sees a contradiction between this criticism of the “development of the faculties” through avoiding sights and sounds, proposed by Uttara’s teacher, and the approving attitude shown in other discourses towards deeper states of concentration during which sights or sounds are no longer experienced, e.g., in DN 16 at DN II 131,20. Yet, the point made in the present discourse is how to relate to everyday experience, in fact the expression “development of the faculties”, *indriyabhāvanā*, is an obvious counterpart to “restraint of the faculties”, *indriyasaṃvara*. Thus, the present passage is not a criticism of deeper stages of concentration during which sensory experience is absent, but rather a criticism of attempting to deal with sensory impact during daily life by simply trying to avoid it, instead of developing equanimity towards whatever is experienced. For a critical review of Bronkhorst’s argument regarding MN 152 cf. also Pāsādika 2009: 92-93.

[146] MN 152 at MN III 299,6: *anuttarā indriyabhāvanā*.

experience that is agreeable, disagreeable, and both agreeable and disagreeable.[147] In each case, one should know that such experiences are conditioned and gross, whereas equanimity is refined and peaceful. The *Majjhima-nikāya* version applies the same to each of the six senses and depicts this way of handling experience at each sense-door with a set of similes. These similes illustrate the swift establishment of equanimity at each sense-door in the following manner:

- eye sense-door: opening and closing one's eyes at will,
- ear sense-door: snapping one's fingers,
- nose sense-door: water drops roll off a lotus leaf,
- tongue sense-door: spitting out spittle,
- body sense-door: flexing or stretching one's arm,
- mind sense-door: water drops fall onto a heated plate and evaporate quickly.

The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version has a similar treatment as its second topic (see table 15.4), although it introduces this under the heading of being a "noble one with developed faculties".[148] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version's presentation also differs in its use of the image of water drops that fall into a heated pan, as it employs this simile to illustrate the establishment of equanimity at the body sense-door, while the *Majjhima-nikāya* version applies the same simile to the mind sense-door.[149] In the case of establish-

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[147] A counterpart to this instruction on equanimity in regard to pleasant or unpleasant experiences can be found in the Jain *Āyāraṅga* 2.15.5.1, which instructs to avoid being attached to or developing any desire towards agreeable or disagreeable sense experiences, Watanabe 2002/2003: 144: *soteṇaṃ jīve maṇuṇṇāmaṇuṇṇāiṃ saddāiṃ suṇei, maṇuṇṇāmaṇuṇṇehiṃ saddehiṃ no sejjā, no rajjejjā, no gijjhejjā, no mujjhejjā, no ajjhovajjejjā, no viṇigghayaṃ āvajjejjā* (Jacobi 1882: 136,6 reads *sotaeṇaṃ*, *maṇunnāmaṇunnāiṃ*, *maṇunnāmaṇunnehiṃ* and *sejjejjā*), translated by Jacobi 1884/1996: 208 as: "if a creature with ears hears agreeable and disagreeable sounds, it should not be attached to, nor delighted with, nor desiring of, nor infatuated by, nor covetous of, nor disturbed by the agreeable or disagreeable sounds". The text continues by pointing out that, given that it is not possible to avoid hearing sounds, a monk should avoid desire or aversion towards them, *na sakkā na souṃ saddā soyavisayaṃ āgatā, rāgadosā u je tattha taṃ bhikkhu parivajjae.* Watanabe 2002/2003: 144 notes that the title of this treatment is *bhāvaṇa*. Compared to MN 152, a difference is that the Jain text begins its treatment with what is heard through the ear, before turning to what is seen through the eye, what is smelled through the nose, what is tasted through the tongue, and what is felt through the body, a difference which is a recurrent feature in Jain texts. McHugh 2007: 403 explains that this type of sequence probably reflects Jain cosmology, whereas the Buddhist sequence appears to be based on an analysis of the nature of perception (based on the relation between the perceiver and the perceived, the eye being given pride of place due to it being the most far-reaching organ).

[148] SĀ 282 at T II 78b21: 賢聖修根. Another difference is that SĀ 282 in each case explicitly mentions the type of consciousness that arises in regard to each of the six senses (e.g., the "eye-consciousness", 眼識, in SĀ 282 at T II 78b22).

[149] The version of this simile in SĀ 282 at T II 78c26 does not refer to the person that drops the water. While E^{e}-MN III 300,20 speaks of a "man" in general, *puriso*, B^{e}-MN III 350,21, C^{e}-MN III 620,31, and S^{e}-MN III 545,16 speak of a "strong man", *balavā puriso*. Other occurrences of this simile in MN 66 at MN I 453,26 and SN 35:203 at SN IV 190,13 agree on speaking merely of a "man", *puriso*. Since to let a few water drops fall into a heated pan does not require a "strong" man, the expression *balavā puriso* might stem from the preceding simile and could have been accidentally applied to the present instance in

ing equanimity at the mind sense-door, the *Saṃyukta-āgama* instead uses the example of beheading a Palmyra tree.[150]

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version's use of the simile of water drops that fall onto a heated pan to illustrate the establishment of equanimity at the mind sense-door recurs in the *Laṭukikopama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, both of which employ the same image to illustrate the overcoming of thoughts of desire.[151]

Table 15.4: Development of the Faculties in MN 152 and its Parallel

MN 152	SĀ 282
equanimity with sense experience (1)	see agreeable as disagreeable, etc. (→ 3)
disgust with sense experience (2)	equanimity with sense experience (→ 1)
see agreeable as disagreeable, etc. (3)	disgust with sense experience (→ 2)

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version next turns to the "the disciple in higher training, the one on the path", who becomes disgusted with experiencing sense experience as agreeable, as disagreeable, or as both agreeable and disagreeable.[152] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version has a similar treatment as the last of its three topics.[153] MN III 300

The third and last topic in the *Majjhima-nikāya* version is to be a "noble one with developed faculties", which requires to be able to view the agreeable as disagreeable, the disagreeable as agreeable, etc., and to go beyond what is agreeable or disagreeable and dwell in equanimity.[154] The corresponding treatment in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse is the first of the three topics taken up in this version, introduced under the heading "supreme development of the faculties".[155] The *Saṃyukta-āgama* version differs from the corresponding treatment in the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourse by having a MN III 301

some Pāli editions. The image of pouring water on hot metal is also found in a simile in the Jain *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* 6.1.4 in Lalwani 1974: 235,27.

150 SĀ 282 at T II 79a5. Another difference can be found in regard to the first simile in MN 152 at MN III 299,15, which illustrates the swift establishing of equanimity in regard to visual experiences with the example of opening and closing one's eyes. This simile does not seem to have been fully preserved in SĀ 282 at T II 78b26, which only speaks of a strong man doing something in a short time, without indicating what this strong man does (according to a 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading, the strong man would snap his fingers, an image used in both versions to illustrate equanimity at the ear sense-door). Another minor difference is that while MN 152 at MN III 300,1 compares the swift establishing of equanimity at the nose sense-door to water drops that roll off a lotus leaf, SĀ 282 at T II 78c11 speaks only of a lotus leaf not being sullied by water.

151 MN 66 at MN I 453,26 and MĀ 192 at T I 743a3.

152 MN 152 at MN III 300,28: *sekho hoti pāṭipado*.

153 SĀ 282 at T II 79a9 introduces this as "[having] realized the path of vision", 覺見跡, where 覺 might be a scribal error for 學, "to train", corresponding to the *sekha* mentioned in MN 152.

154 MN 152 at MN III 301,8: *ariyo hoti bhāvitindriyo*. For a more detailed exposition of this type of practice cf. AN 5:144 at AN III 169,13. Paṭis II 212,9 introduces such practice under the heading *ariyā iddhi*, "noble supernormal power".

155 SĀ 282 at T II 78b19: 無上修根.

Tathāgata as its subject and by working through a somewhat different pattern.[156] This pattern is as follows:

- repulsion towards pleasing objects,
- no repulsion towards displeasing objects,
- repulsion-and-no-repulsion towards pleasing-and-displeasing objects,
- no-repulsion-and-repulsion towards displeasing-and-pleasing objects,
- equanimity towards pleasing, displeasing, and pleasing-and-displeasing objects.

The *Majjhima-nikāya* version instead adopts the following pattern:[157]

- no repulsion towards what is repulsive,
- repulsion towards what is not repulsive,
- no repulsion towards what is repulsive-and-not-repulsive,
- repulsion towards what is repulsive-and-not-repulsive,
- equanimity.

In sum, underlying the overall pattern of the *Indriyabhāvanā-sutta* a gradual build up can be discerned, which proceeds through the following topics:

- initial insight into the conditioned nature of sensory input experienced as agreeable and disagreeable,
- disgust with this evaluative mode of experiencing sensory data of the disciple in higher training,
- full mastery of reactions in regard to sense-experience by an accomplished one who has fully developed the faculties.[158]

The pattern in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version instead does not seem to have such an underlying progression, as its main steps are, in brief:

- the stage of the Tathāgata,
- the development of the faculties,
- the disgust with sense-experience of the disciple in higher training.[159]

From the viewpoint of textual transmission it is noteworthy that both versions begin with the "supreme development of the faculties" as their first topic, although they differ on what type of treatment should be associated with this heading. While the *Majjhima-nikāya* version presents the set of similes illustrative of the establishment of equanimity at each sense-door under the "supreme development of the faculties", the *Saṃyukta-āgama* version makes use of a similar set of similes when examining the "noble one with developed faculties". The "supreme development of the faculties" in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* discourse then resembles the *Majjhima-nikāya* version's exposition of how to be a "noble one with developed faculties".

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[156] SĀ 282 at T II 78b10.

[157] MN 152 at MN III 301,11.

[158] This pattern would be in accordance with the analysis given in MN 1 at MN I 1,10 and EĀ44.6 at T II 766a10 of the perceptual processes of different types of person, which similarly proceeds from the stage of the worldling, via the disciple in higher training, to the aloofness in regard to all perceptual experience by an arahant or the Tathāgata.

[159] Of the two modes of presentation, MN 152 seems to present a more consistent pattern.

Hence, although the two versions agree on beginning their overall treatment with the same heading as the first of three topics, during the course of transmission a whole section has apparently been displaced within the discourse and been separated from its original heading. In spite of this displacement, the presentation in both versions is similar, a treatment that both conclude with an emphatic exhortation by the Buddha to meditate and thereby put his exposition into practice.

Due to their similarities and differences, the *Indriyabhāvanā-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel in a way form a fitting conclusion to this series of comparative studies of *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses and their parallels. Comparison of these two versions shows that at least one of them has suffered from a substantial sequential alteration during transmission. This alteration not only has caused a change in the overall sequence of presentation, but also resulted in associating the three main parts of the exposition with different headings. At the same time, in spite of their variations, the *Indriyabhāvanā-sutta* and its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel present closely similar teachings.

Conclusion

In the present conclusion, I attempt to develop a perspective on the similarities and differences found during my examination of the discourses of the *Majjhima-nikāya* in the light of their parallels. This inevitably brings me back to the topic of oral transmission, already taken up in the introduction. While in the introduction I surveyed oral characteristics of the discourses, now I begin by studying the purposes and functions of oral recitation in relation to those who undertook the transmission of the early discourses. Next I take a closer look at the precision of textual memory in relation to the early Buddhist oral transmission. Then I examine the influence of commentarial notions and tales on the transmission of the discourses.

In this way, I attempt to understand the dynamics responsible for the overall picture that has resulted from my comparative study of the *Majjhima-nikāya*: the existence of numerous variations between versions of a discourse preserved by different reciter lineages alongside a remarkable degree of similarity and correspondence.

The Purposes and Functions of Oral Recitation

According to the different *Vinaya*s, soon after his awakening the Buddha sent his first monk disciples out to teach others.[1] For these disciples to engage in teaching activities, they would have needed to take some teachings along that they could use to explain the Dharma, teachings they would then have passed on to their disciples.[2]

Such teachings can only have been in an oral form.[3] Some of the first monk disciples, like Yasa and his friends, were not Brahmins trained in the art of oral transmission, so the material they took along must have been relatively easy to memorize. Although the discourses already delivered by that time would have been few, it may not be too far-

[1] This account can be found in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 793a7, in the *Mahāvastu*, Basak 1968/2004: 248,28 or Senart 1897: 415,8, in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 108a7, in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1450 at T XXIV 130a20, in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1440 at T XXIII 511a12, and in the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin I 21,1; cf. also SN 4:5 at SN I 105,24 (or SN^2 141 at SN^2 I 236,10) and its parallel SĀ 1096 at T II 288b3. An extract from the present discussion already appeared in Anālayo 2007e.

[2] Cf. also Gombrich 1990b: 25.

[3] Writing does not appear to have been in general use during the period in question. Allon 1997b: 39 notes that neither the Pāli discourses nor the *Vinaya* refer to writing materials and there is no archaeological evidence for the use of writing in India at the time of the Buddha. Von Hinüber 1989: 39, based on examining occurrences of √*likh* in the Pāli discourses and *Vinaya*, suggests that most of these could refer only to "drawing" and concludes (p. 54) that there is no evidence for the use of writing before the third century BC. Scharfe 2002: 12 explains that "the best evidence today is that no script was used or even known in India before 300 B.C., except in the extreme Northwest that was under Persian dominion"; cf. also Anālayo 2009w and Gombrich 1990b: 27-28.

fetched to suppose that, already at that time, some degree of formalization of these discourses had taken place, to facilitate their oral transmission.[4]

In fact, it could be that some oral features were already employed when the discourses were first spoken, as would only be natural in an oral culture.[5] Even today repetition is used as a tool to drive home a point when giving a speech, whereas such repetition is avoided in a written presentation. Thus, some formalistic features to ensure that the listeners would keep the main points well in mind would have been integral to the discourses when they were first delivered.[6] The formalization of the texts would then have continued in proportion to the growing amount of material to be memorized. Hence, in order to satisfy the requirements of the expanding early Buddhist community, it seems probable that a body of oral material that was at least to some degree formalized had come into existence during the Buddha's lifetime.

Besides facilitating teaching and preaching, such a formalized body of oral material would also have had the function of creating a sense of unity and communal concord through group recitation. This function suggests itself from the *Saṅgīti-sutta* and its parallels, which take their occasion from the need to ensure harmony in the face of strife, something that according to this discourse had occurred among the Jains after the death of their leader.[7]

The fortnightly recitation of the code of rules would have functioned (and still does function) as just such a ritual manifestation of communal harmony.[8] The relevance of group recitation in this respect can also be seen in the accounts of the so-called Bud-

[4] Davidson 1990/1992: 293 comments that the "processes of elaboration and consolidation must have begun during the life of the Buddha".

[5] According to Ong 1982/1996: 34-36, "in an oral culture, experience is intellectualized mnemonically". "In a primary oral culture ... you have to do your thinking in mnemonic patterns, shaped for ready oral recurrence. Your thought must come into being in heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulaic expressions". Hence "in an oral culture, to think through something in non-formulaic, non-patterned, non-mnemonic terms, even if it were possible, would be a waste of time, for such thought, once worked through, could never be recovered with any effectiveness". Hence Williams 1970: 166 may be quite right when he suggests that probably "the Buddha's teaching methods included repetition and stylized formulae to aid memorization".

[6] The need to be conscious of the ability of the audience to preserve a teaching in mind is reflected in AN 3:30 at AN I 130,17, according to which problems that may arise when teaching the Dharma are not only that some listeners do not pay attention, but also that, even though some do pay attention, on leaving they quickly forget what they have heard. AN 3:30 at AN I 130,29 illustrates the case of a person who listens, but then forgets it all again after leaving, with the example of someone who has different types of seed on his lap and stands up quickly, as a result of which the seeds are all scattered around. In terms of this simile, teachers in an oral setting would need to make sure that the 'seeds' they wish to sow in the minds of their audience do not just get scattered and lost, as soon as they have concluded their teaching.

[7] DN 33 at DN III 210,18, DĀ 9 at T I 49c6, and Sanskrit fragment K 484 folio 11Rc in Stache-Rosen 1968: 17; cf. also above p. 604.

[8] The importance attached to participation in such recitation is reflected in MN 77 at MN II 8,30 and its parallel MĀ 207 at T I 783a16, which report that even those disciples who excelled in living in seclusion would come for the fortnightly recitation of the code of rules; cf. also Vin I 105,26, according to which a monk should come for the fortnightly recitation even if he is living apart.

dhist councils, which report that success in establishing communal harmony finds its expression in the performance of group recital.[9]

In addition to functioning as a tool for the preservation of the teachings and for facilitating and expressing communal harmony, several passages indicate that oral recitation in early Buddhism had still other functions. A discourse in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and its parallels in the two versions of the *Saṃyukta-āgama* report that once, just before dawn, Anuruddha was reciting by himself.[10] A woman overheard him and told her child to be quiet, in order to avoid disturbing Anuruddha's recitation. Another discourse in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* records that the Buddha similarly recited a discourse to himself while being alone.[11] A monk chanced by and overheard the recitation.

The way the discourses depict the circumstances makes it clear that, in each of these cases, the recitation should be understood to have been undertaken merely for its own sake, without any teaching purpose in mind.

Whereas one might suppose that the point of the first instance could be that Anuruddha is shown to be rehearsing in private, it seems safe to assume that the discourses would not present the Buddha as needing to rehearse his own teachings. In fact, what he is reported to have recited on this occasion was an examination of the six senses from the perspective of dependent arising, a topic that must have been familiar enough to him not to require any private rehearsing. This suggests that when he is depicted as undertaking such recitation, this is meant to be simply an act of recollecting the truth he had discovered, perhaps similar to the inspired utterances that according to the *Udāna* collection he made soon after his awakening, a time when he was also alone and in seclusion.[12]

The point made in the above passages would thus be that, from the perspective of the reciters, the early Buddhist oral tradition also served as a way of meditating or reflecting on the Dharma.

A list of five possible occasions for reaching liberation, given in several discourses, conveys the same impression. According to this presentation, recitation can even issue in awakening.[13] The discourses explain that during recitation a deeper understanding

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[9] Tilakaratne 2000a: 175-176 points out that "the fundamental purpose of the act of *saṅgāyana* and therefore of the events described as *saṅgīti* is the assurance of the unity of the Buddhist monastic organisation", "in the act of *saṅgāyana* ... the key activity was to recite together", "memorization or preservation of the Canon ... was not its main purpose ... the act of *saṅgāyana*, first and foremost, was meant to be a public expression of one's allegiance to the organisation which was represented by the Dhamma and the Vinaya", "the recital of the Pātimokkha by the members of the Saṅgha every fortnight serves virtually the same purpose"; cf. also Bareau 1955: 134. Witanachchi 2006b: 721 sums up that "what is relevant in a *saṅgīti* is ... the absence of any discordance".

[10] SN 10:6 at SN I 209,19 (or SN² 240 at SN² I 451,11), SĀ 1321 at T II 362c10, and SĀ² 320 at T II 480c21.

[11] SN 12:45 at SN II 74,15.

[12] Ud 1:1-3 at Ud 1-3; cf. also Vin I 1-2.

[13] DN 33 at DN III 241,26, DN 34 at DN III 279,12, AN 5:26 at AN III 22,14, DĀ 9 at T I 51c10, DĀ 10 at T I 53c22, and SĀ 565 at T II 149a6; cf. also Collins 1992: 126-127. Coward 1986: 300-301 comments that "the mere memorization of the text is not judged to be the most important aspect of the oral tradi-

can arise, which in turn leads to joy, tranquillity, and concentration, thereby establishing the necessary conditions for attaining liberation.[14] Thus, recitation undertaken for its own sake was seen as a means of meditative development in a wider sense, and as such could become a tool for progress on the path to liberation.

The discourses also suggest that listening to the oral delivery of a teaching can help the listener to overcome a physical disease. One such instance is the *Girimānanda-sutta*. According to the Pāli and Tibetan versions of this discourse, the Buddha had told Ānanda that he should recite a teaching on ten types of perception to a sick monk. The monk is reported to have been so inspired on hearing these ten perceptions that he recovered from his illness.[15]

In this case, the point of the discourse could be that the sick monk found solace in hearing teachings that were new to him. However, three discourses in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* depict situations where the 'salutary' effect of listening to a recitation involves teachings that are clearly familiar to the respective hearers.

In two of these discourses, the Buddha recites the awakening factors to his disciples Mahākassapa and Mahāmoggallāna, respectively, who on hearing this recitation recover their health.[16] In the third discourse, the Buddha is sick himself and another monk recites the awakening factors for him. On hearing the recitation, the Buddha recovers his health.[17]

Since Mahākassapa and Mahāmoggallāna are portrayed in the discourses as highly accomplished eminent disciples, it can safely be assumed that the point of this presentation would not have been that they needed to be informed about the seven awakening factors. Needless to say, the same applies for the Buddha himself. Thus, the significance

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tion ... by chanting or listening to the rhythmic words of a sacred text, the teaching and inspiration in the words becomes renewed and reinforced. In this sense the oral recitation of a text is a sacramental act". Von Hinüber 2009b: 156 highlights the different type of textual culture underlying early Buddhist oral transmission, where the texts became part of life, "eine ganz andere Art der Textkultur, die ... den Text zu einem unmittelbaren Teil des Lebens selbst werden lässt. Das gilt ganz besonders, solange die Texte ausschließlich mündlich weitergegeben ... werden". Cf. also Zacchetti 1998: 492-493 on the influence of sacramental aspects of recitation on the Chinese translation procedures.

[14] Pāsādika 1990: 26 (cf. also Pāsādika 2003: 68-69) notes that a discourse quotation in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* offers additional details on the dynamics that set in, once concentration has been established based on any of the five occasions for liberation, indicating that such concentration results in a vision in accordance with reality, which then leads via disenchantment and dispassion to liberation, cf. Wogihara 1971b: 54,8: *yathābhūtaṃ paśyan nirvidyate nirviṇṇo virajyate virakto vimucyate*.

[15] AN 10:60 at AN V 112,16 and the *ri'i kun dga' bo'i mdo*, D (38) *shes, ka* 279a1 or Q (754) *sher, tsi* 295b6, translated in Feer 1883: 150. This Tibetan text was apparently translated from a Pāli original, cf. Skilling 1993: 84-98 and 123-124. Akanuma 1929/1990: 335 and Mukhopadhyay 1998: 483 indicate that this Tibetan version is the only known parallel to AN 10:60.

[16] SN 46:14-15 at SN V 79-80. SN 46:14 has a counterpart in the *'od srung chen po'i mdo*, D (40) *shes, ka* 281b-282a or Q (756) *sher, tsi* 298a-299a, translated in Feer 1883: 150-152. This is another Tibetan discourse that appears to have been translated from a Pāli original, cf. Skilling 1993: 127.

[17] SN 46:16 at SN V 81,23, with an Uighur fragment parallel in T II S 52 folio 354v18ff in von Gabain 1954: 12-13.

of their hearing a recitation of the awakening factors cannot have been merely the receiving of information.

The discourse that reports how the Buddha recovered on hearing a recitation of the awakening factors has a Chinese and a Sanskrit parallel. Unlike the Pāli version, in these two parallel versions the account of this event is followed by stanzas spoken by another monk. One of these stanzas indicates that, during the recitation, the Buddha experienced the taste of liberation (according to the Chinese version) or the taste of the awakening factors (according to the Sanskrit version).[18] In this way, the Chinese and Sanskrit accounts specify in what way the recitation acted as a support for meditative practice, which then in turn would have had an effect at the physical level.

These instances strengthen the impression that recitation, whether performed by oneself or by another, is seen in the early discourses as having a meditative dimension.[19] A discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* and its Chinese parallels make this point more explicitly, as they recommend practising recitation to overcome sloth-and-torpor.[20] According to the Pāli commentaries, recitation can not only act as an antidote to sloth-and-torpor, but can also help to overcome any unwholesome thought.[21]

Thus, oral transmission was perceived not only as a means of preserving texts, but also as an integral part of the path to liberation.[22] In fact, oral recitation continued for a considerable time even after the writing down of the discourses and is to some degree still practised today, which shows that it must be serving a greater purpose than preservation of the texts.[23]

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[18] SĀ 727 at T II 195c23: 聞說七覺分, 深達正覺味, with its counterpart in *bodhyaṅgakathāṃ śrutvā, bodhyaṅgānāṃ rasaṃ sa vijñāya* in Waldschmidt 1967: 244. The stanzas continue by describing how such listening to the teachings leads to the arising of joy and to calmness of the body. De Silva 1993: 33 (without knowing the Chinese and Sanskrit versions) states that "when one is reminded of the spiritual qualities one has already cultivated ... great joy must be arising in the mind. Such joy is perhaps capable of altering the body's chemistry in a positive manner".

[19] Kwella 1978: 173 notes that "the texts repeat very often the same words ... the *citta* ... comes to the same subtle pictures ever and ever again ... a comparatively high concentration of the mind ... will be the ... result"; cf. also Tuxen 1926: 98-99, who points out that repetition in the Pāli texts has a function comparable to a recurring motif in music.

[20] AN 7:58 at AN IV 86,9: *yathāsutaṃ yathāpariyattaṃ dhammaṃ vitthārena sajjhāyaṃ kareyyāsi*, with its counterparts in MĀ 83 at T I 559c13: 當隨本所聞法, 隨而受持廣布誦習 and in T 47 at T I 837a21: 聞法如所誦法, 廣當誦習.

[21] Ps II 91,4 recommends reciting with a loud voice to overcome unwholesome thoughts, *mahāsaddena sajjhāyitabbo*.

[22] Regarding the religious significance of oral recitation, Kitagawa 1979: 235, based on his study of Ainu oral tradition, remarks that "there was a time when I considered oral tradition primarily as an archaic legacy of people living in the pre-civilized stage of civilization. My study ... has convinced me that oral tradition represents a different mode of religious perception and meaning".

[23] As noted by, e.g., Bechert 1992b: 53, oral tradition continued to exist side by side with written scriptures for many centuries. According to de Jong 1979b: 141, manuscripts were rare and oral transmission was held in high esteem ("pendant des siècles, les manuscrits ont dû être très rares ... la récitation de textes religieux jouissait d'un prestige sacré qui faisait défaut aux textes écrits"). This finds confirmation in the travel records by Fǎxiǎn (法顯), who towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century

This in turn makes it very probable that oral recitation of at least some key texts would have been part of the general training of monks and nuns. The importance attached to participation in oral transmission is also reflected in ancient Indian inscriptions, which indicate that to be reckoned a reciter was a considerable honour,[24] all the more so if a reciter was acquainted with several collections, or even with all three *piṭaka*s.[25]

The commentaries explain that a monk who wishes to live a life of seclusion in the forest should memorize at least the code of rules and two or three recitation sections from a discourse collection.[26] The same principle is reflected in the *Gulissāni-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, according to which even a monk who lives a secluded life in the forest should still be sufficiently acquainted with the teachings so as to be able to reply to questions put to him by others.

While the *Gulissāni-sutta* and its parallel do not explicitly speak of recitation of the discourses,[27] this becomes explicit in another passage, which records the first meeting between the Buddha and the recently ordained Soṇa Koṭikaṇṇa. According to the report of this meeting contained in the *Udāna* and the *Vinaya*, the Buddha asked Soṇa to recite some Dharma.[28] The *Udāna* and the *Vinaya* report that Soṇa complied by reciting the sixteen discourses of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*, a group of discourses now found in the *Sutta-nipāta*.[29]

The narration that introduces this event indicates that the Buddha, who had already been pleased by Soṇa's conduct, wanted to see if Soṇa was also able to recite some

went to India in search of *Vinaya* manuscripts, where he found that the material was still transmitted mainly through oral means, T 2085 at T LI 864b18: 皆師師口傳, translated in Legge 1886/1998: 98 (though, as pointed out by Demiéville 1951: 247 note 1, the lack of *Vinaya* manuscripts could also have been at least in part due to the intentionally restricted circulation of such material). Sander 1991: 142 suggests that the continuity of oral transmission may be responsible for the dearth "of Hīnayāna Vinaya and Sūtra texts before the fifth century A.D" among the fragments found in Central Asia; cf. also the discussion in Salomon 1999: 163-165 on the absence of *Vinaya* texts among the British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments and von Gabain 1963: 221 on the absence of *Vinaya* texts among material translated into Turk languages.

[24] Inscriptional references to a *bhāṇaka* can be found, e.g., in Lüders 1973: 59 (no. 602), 72 (no. 738), 75 (no. 762), 76 (no. 773), 79 (no. 789), 80 (no. 804), 84 (no. 833), and 117 (no. 1094 and 1095).

[25] Inscriptional references to knowledge of the *tripiṭaka* can be found, e.g., in Fussman 1974: 55, Lüders 1973: 8 (no. 38), 92 (no. 918), 94 (no. 925, 926, and 927), 103 (no. 989), notably no. 38 and no. 925 refer to a nun, and in Lüders 1961: 55. A reference to what appears to be knowledge of the four *Āgama*s can be found in Lüders 1961: 69, a reference to a *saṃyuktabhanaka* in Sivaramamurti 1942/1956: 279, and a reference to *dīgha-majhima-nikāya-dharena* in Vogel 1929: 17, cf. also Barua 1934b: 107, Dutt 1931: 641, and below note 50.

[26] Pj II 194,32: *pātimokkhaṃ dve tīṇi bhāṇavārasuttantañ ca paguṇaṃ katvā*; cf. also Collins 1992: 123.

[27] MN 69 at MN I 472,5 speaks of *abhidhamme abhivinaye*, with its counterpart in MĀ 26 at T I 455c14 referring to 論律, 阿毘曇.

[28] Ud 5:6 at Ud 59,20: *paṭibhātu taṃ, bhikkhu, dhammaṃ bhāsituṃ* (following S^e^-Ud 165,13, while B^e^-Ud 148,11 and C^e^-Ud 244,31 read *dhammo*, and E^e^ reads *paṭibhātu bhikkhūnaṃ*); cf. also Vin I 196,34.

[29] Ud 5:6 at Ud 59,22; for a detailed study of the texts that according to the different *Vinaya*s Soṇa recited on this occasion cf. Lévi 1915.

section of the early Buddhist oral tradition. This suggests that such ability was considered a quality to be expected of a well-trained monk.

As time went by, the corpus of oral material would have continued to grow in size, so that its preservation must have become an increasingly specialized and demanding task. This appears to be reflected in the report in the Pāli *Vinaya* that reciter monks would sometimes pass the whole night reciting the discourses.[30] Some discourses then voice criticism of monks who neglect seclusion for the sake of recitation.[31]

Such recitation of the early Buddhist texts was apparently undertaken not only by monks, but also by nuns. The Theravāda *Vinaya* records that the nuns Thullanandā and Bhaddā Kāpilānī were learned Dharma preachers and reciters.[32] In a similar vein, the *Divyāvadāna* refers to nuns who were knowledgeable in the Tripiṭaka,[33] and the *Dīpavaṃsa* records that nuns in Ceylon were able to recite the *Vinaya*, the five *Nikāya*s, and the seven works of the Abhidharma.[34]

The laity also seems at times to have been involved in memorizing the discourses, as can be seen in the case of the laywoman Khujjuttarā. According to the traditional account, she had memorized the discourses that now make up the *Itivuttaka* collection and thereby played a crucial role in preserving this collection for posterity. The Pāli commentary to this work explains that she had memorized the discourses she had heard and then passed them on to the nuns, who in turn passed them on to the monks.[35]

Close inspection of the *Itivuttaka* shows that its discourses differ from other discourses in their use of peculiar phrases. Instead of beginning with *evaṃ me sutaṃ*, discourses in the *Itivuttaka* begin with *vuttaṃ hetaṃ bhagavatā vuttam arahatā ti me sutaṃ*, "This was said by the Blessed One, said by the arahant, so I have heard", a peculiarity also preserved in its Chinese parallel.[36] The conclusions of *Itivuttaka* discourses are similarly

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[30] Vin I 169,6: *suttantikehi suttantaṃ saṅgāyantehi*, mentioned in addition to investigation of *Vinaya* matters by the *Vinaya* specialists and discussion of the Dharma by those who teach the Dharma, which indicates that the first of these three refers to mere recitation of the texts.

[31] AN 5:73 at AN III 86,25; cf. also AN 6:46 at AN III 355,6 on the conflict between monks who emphasize theoretical learning and those who emphasize meditation.

[32] Vin IV 254,4, Vin IV 255,4, Vin IV 256,23, Vin IV 285,18, Vin IV 290,4, Vin IV 292,14, and Vin IV 302,21 present the nun Thullanandā as *bahussutā bhāṇikā*, epithets accorded at Vin IV 290,6 and Vin IV 292,14 also to Bhaddā Kāpilānī. Skilling 2000a: 61 note 43, however, suggests taking *bhāṇikā* in these occurrences not in the sense of "reciter", as the term with this meaning is found only in later texts, but in the sense of "eloquent". For a study of the nun Thullanandā cf. Talim 1972: 53-64, who suggests that there may have been two nuns with this name.

[33] Cowell 1886: 493,8 or Vaidya 1999: 432,29: *bhikṣuṇyas tripiṭā dhārmakathikā*; cf. also Skilling 2000a: 62.

[34] Dīp 18:13 in Oldenberg 1879: 97,6; cf. also Skilling 2000a: 64.

[35] Iti-a 32,15. According to AN 1:14 at AN I 26,19, Khujjuttarā was an outstanding disciple for "having heard much", *bahussutā* (the listing of eminent disciples in EĀ 7.1 at T II 560b1 instead reckons her to be foremost in wisdom, 智慧); cf. also AN 2:12 at AN I 89,2, which presents Khujjuttarā as an exemplary lay disciple, worthy to be emulated by others.

[36] It 1:1 at It 1,4, with its counterpart in T 765 at T XVII 662b15: "I heard these words from the Blessed One", 吾從世尊, 聞如是語.

unique and do not recur in this form in other Pāli discourses, as are its formulaic transitions from prose to verse.[37]

These peculiar features of the *Ittivuttaka* are noteworthy in that they seem to have resisted the natural tendency of oral transmission to stereotype the introduction and conclusion of a discourse. This reinforces the impression that some degree of formalization of the material for oral transmission would have taken place at a very early stage, since in the case of the *Itivuttaka* it seems as if its formal aspects are related to the nature of its first recipient(s) and thus came into being soon after their original delivery.

These formal aspects were then apparently passed on unchanged to subsequent generations of reciters, without being changed to fit the form of other discourses. If the formalization of the discourses had been undertaken at a comparatively late point in time, the procedure used in the case of other discourses would have been applied similarly to the discourses in the *Itivuttaka*.

Although the case of Khujjuttarā shows that, from the perspective of the early discourses, the laity could take part in memorizing the discourses, in general the oral transmission of the texts was probably the domain of the monastic disciples.[38] In fact, a regulation found in the different *Vinaya*s prohibits teaching recitation "word for word" to someone who has not received full ordination.[39] This would make it practically impossible to train lay people in recitation to such an extent that they could play a significant role in the preservation of the texts.

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[37] The conclusion to a discourse, e.g., in It 1:1 at It 1,16, states that: "this meaning was also said by the Blessed One, so I have heard it", *ayam pi attho vutto bhagavatā, iti me sutan ti* (T 765 has not preserved a conclusion to its discourses). The pericope employed to lead over from the prose section to verse(s), e.g., in It 1:1 at It 1,8, indicates that "this is the meaning of what the Blessed One said. In regard to this, it was said like this", *etam atthaṃ bhagavā avoca, tatth' etaṃ iti vuccati*. According to the counterpart to this transition in T 765 at T XVII 662b20, "at that time the Blessed One, taking up this matter again, spoke in verse", 爾時世尊, 重攝此義, 而說頌曰.

[38] Gombrich 1990b: 25 comments that, although some lay people knew texts by heart, "only monks and nuns ... were so organized that they could hand them on to future generations".

[39] These are the *pācittiya* or *pātayantika* rule no. 6 in the Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 639a5, which makes it an offence "to recite together", 共誦者; rule no. 6 in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 336c20, which prohibits "to teach ... speaking the Dharma by sentence", 教 ... 說句法, which in the Sanskrit version in Tatia 1975: 19,16 reads *padaśo dharmaṃ vācaya*; rule no. 6 in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 39c22, which prohibits "to teach ... to recite the discourse(s)", 教 ... 誦 經; rule no. 6 in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1442 at T XXIII 771c22, which prohibits "to teach the Dharma in sentences and phrases by joint recitation", 同句讀誦教授法者, which in the Sanskrit version in Banerjee 1977: 32,11 reads *padaśo dharmaṃ vācayet* and in the Tibetan version in Vidyabhusana 1915: 77,3: *tshig gis chos 'don na lhung byed do*; rule no. 6 in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 71a21, which prohibits "to teach the Dharma by way of sentence", 以句法教, which in the Sanskrit version in von Simson 2000: 205,3 reads *padaśo dharmaṃ vācayet*; and rule no. 4 in the Theravāda *Vinaya* at Vin IV 14,30, which enjoins that one should not "make recite the Dharma sentence by sentence", *padaso dhammaṃ vāceyya*. For a comparative study of the different *Vinaya* accounts of this rule cf. Lévi 1915: 422-423 and 436-441. Wynne 2004: 109 points out that the wording of this rule clearly implies that "Sutta portions of the early Buddhist literature were learnt verbatim among the ordained".

Another *Vinaya* ruling seems to point in a different direction, since according to the Theravāda version of this rule monks are allowed to disregard the travelling restrictions during the rains retreat period for a variety of compelling reasons, one among them being when a lay disciple has asked them to come in order to learn a discourse from him, lest it be lost.[40] The Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya* has preserved this rule differently. According to its report, the reason was not that the monks should come to learn the discourse from the lay disciple, but rather that the lay disciple had forgotten a discourse and wanted the monks to come and teach it to him again.[41]

Whatever may be the final word on the rationale and wording of this *Vinaya* regulation, it seems beyond doubt that the oral transmission of the Buddha's sayings would have been a central concern of his monastic disciples. In view of this it would be natural if, after the Buddha's demise, these monastic disciples were to assemble to recite his teachings. Such a joint recitation would at the same time have functioned as an expression of communal harmony. This would have been in keeping with the dictum that, after the Buddha's passing away, the teachings themselves should be taken as the teacher.[42]

The presence of a multitude of monks, among them monks like Ānanda, whom the texts present as one who had quite literally "heard much", would have made a meeting of the monastic disciples after the Buddha's passing away an obvious occasion for a recitation of the discourses.[43] How far this should be reckoned as a "council" is another

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[40] Vin I 140,36.

[41] T 1435 at T XXIII 174b28: 若未學欲學, 若先學忘欲誦, 大德來教我受學讀誦問義; cf. also Clarke 2000: 165.

[42] Cf., e.g., fragment S 360 folio 180V6-R1 in Waldschmidt 1950: 23, according to which the monks should take refuge in the discourses instead of taking refuge in a person, *[bhi](kṣubhiḥ) sūtrāntaprati-[saraṇ]air-bhav[i]tavyaṃ na pudgala(p)[r](atisaraṇaiḥ).* MN 108 at MN III 9,23 and MĀ 145 at T I 654b23 report that, after the Buddha's passing away, the instruction to take refuge in the teachings was put into practice.

[43] Davidson 1990/1992: 299 suggests that, during the rains retreat after the Buddha had passed away, "the younger monks, many of whom may have never heard the Buddha preach, wanted further information about the teaching of the master. The elders, too, doubtless wished to increase their understanding ... thus the first rains retreat became a forum ... some of the teachings of the master were recited, and some verses standardized, but it is highly unlikely that there was any formal collection ... of the master's teachings". Regarding the historical reliability of the account of this first council, Oldenberg 1879/1997: xxvii points out that the record of the events after the Buddha's passing away in DN 16 at DN II 162,6, although in other respects similar to the introductory narration to the first council at Vin II 284,2, does not mention the first council. Oldenberg 1879/1997: xxviii then concludes that "the author of the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* did not know anything of the first Council"; cf. also Dutt 1957: 102 and Franke 1908: 66-74. The difficulty of drawing conclusions based on such arguments ex silentio can be seen in the case of MN 26 at MN I 167,8, where an account of the events that precede the Buddha's awakening does not record how his awakening came about, although such an account can be found in MN 36 at MN I 240,29 (repeated again in MN 85 and MN 100). As MN 26 and MN 36 belong to the same discourse collection, the present case could not be due to the reciters of one discourse not knowing the contents of the other discourse, but appears to be simply due to the requirements of the topic treated in MN 26, which is the "noble quest" that motivated the bodhisattva's search for a path to liberation. Similarly,

matter, since the need to establish a certain corpus of texts as "canonical" would presumably have arisen only after divergences on this corpus had come into being.[44]

In fact, although the different *Vinaya* accounts of the compilation of the early Buddhist canon agree in mentioning four basic collections, the four *Āgama*s or *Nikāya*s,[45] they disagree on the sequence of these four.[46] This, together with the quite different

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the requirements of the topic of the teacher's "great passing away", treated in DN 16, could well be responsible for the absence of any reference to the first council; cf. also Ch'en 1958, de La Vallée Poussin 1976: 13 note 39, Finot 1932: 243, Frauwallner 1956: 45, Jinananda 1993: 93, Obermiller 1932, Thomas 1927/2003: 165, id. 1933/2004: 29, Upadhyaya 1971: 43-45, and Witanachchi 2006b: 723; for a translation of the Chinese parallels to the Subhadda episode cf. Kumar 2010: 119-125; cf. also the survey in Prebish 1974b: 239-240; for a position taken recently in favour of Oldenberg's theory cf. An 2001: 52.

[44] Bareau 1955: 28; cf. also Frauwallner 1952: 241. Rhys Davids 1910: 77 comments that the account of the first council "is authentic enough; but only *in the way in which any such record can be considered authentic,* that is, as evidence of beliefs held at the date at which it was composed".

[45] The term *āgama* occurs regularly in the Pāli discourses in reference to the orally transmitted texts that a monk was expected to know, although in such instances the term appears to be still used in a general and unspecified way; cf. AN 10:44 at AN V 80,23, where a monk, who has not yet become one who remembers the discourses, is told to "learn an/the *āgama*", *āgamaṃ pariyāpuṇassū ti*, a recommendation also given in Vin II 249,16. The same term recurs in the expression *āgat' āgama* to qualify a learned monk, cf., e.g., Vin I 119,22, Vin I 127,30, Vin I 337,12, Vin I 338,20, Vin II 8,28, Vin II 55,19, Vin II 98,5, Vin II 299,16, Vin IV 158,18 (this case involves a learned layman), DN 16 at DN II 125,6 (= AN 4:180 at AN II 169,18), MN 33 at MN I 221,21, AN 3:20 at AN I 117,28, AN 4:160 at AN II 147,29, AN 5:156 at AN III 179,2, AN 6:51 at AN III 361,23, AN 10:11 at AN V 15,30, and AN 11:18 at AN V 349,16. *Uddāna*s in B^{e}-MN II 439,10 and C^{e}-MN II 760,14 even use the term *majjhima-āgama*. Barua 1923: 359 comments that "in the Pāli discourses ... the expression *Āgama* is often met with, no doubt in the sense of a floating body of Buddhist literary traditions". The expression *nikāya*, however, in the sense of a collection of discourses, appears to occur only in the account of the first council in Vin II 287,27, which speaks of the recitation of the *pañca nikāye* (not taking into account occurrences in later works like the *Parivāra*). Lamotte 1958/1988: 152 notes that, while the account of the first council in the *Samantapāsādikā* similarly employs the expression *nikāya*, the 善見律毘婆沙 instead uses the expression *āgama*, cf. T 1462 at T XXIV 675b22: 四阿鋡, translated in Bapat 1970: 9 as "the four Āgamas", counterpart to *cattāro nikāye* in Sp I 16,14. Abeynayake 1984: 10 points out that "there are no references to the term *Nikāya* used in the sense of a collection of the *Sutta Piṭaka* in older texts". Hartmann 2004a: 11 notes that "Āgama or Nikāya. Neither term is school-specific". Analogous terminology is found also in Jain texts, e.g., the *Vavahāra* 1.35 in Schubring 1918: 15,4+6 refers to a monk who is *bahu-ssuyaṃ babbh-āgamaṃ*; cf. also Caillat 1965: 50. Schubring 1966: 69 relates this to a similar usage in Aśoka's 12th Rock Edict (Girnār), which combines *bahusrutā* with *kallāṇ' āgamā*, cf. Bloch 1950: 123,29 or Woolner 1924/1993: 24,6. On the term *āgama* in non-Buddhist texts cf. also Kumoi 1963: 245.

[46] The accounts of the compilation of the discourse collections at the first council in the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at XXII 491c16, and in the Mahīśāsaka *Vinaya*, T 1421 at T XXII 191a24 (translated in Anuruddha 2008: 27 and 75), agree with the Theravāda tradition's order *Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta, Ekottarika* (Vin II 287,27 does not list the order explicitly, although this sequence appears to be implicit to some extent in its reference to the five *Nikāya*s and to the *Brahmajāla* and the *Sāmaññaphala* as the first discourses recited at the council). Elsewhere, however, the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*, T 1425 at T XXII 492c18 uses the order *Saṃyukta, Ekottarika, Madhyama, Dīrgha*. The (presumably) Haimavata *Vinaya*, T 1463 at T XXIV 820a23 lists *Ekottarika, Madhyama, Dīrgha, Saṃyukta*. The Dharmaguptaka *Vinaya*, T 1428 at T XXII 968b19 (translated in Anuruddha 2008: 68), lists the four collections in the or-

allocation of discourses to these four *Āgama*s or *Nikāya*s, makes it clear that these discourse collections cannot have been recited at that time in the form we have them now.[47]

The agreement between the different traditions in referring to four main collections suggests, however, that this basic four-fold grouping could be a shared heritage, whose actual content and order then evolved in different ways in various reciter traditions.[48]

Given that presumably no particular arrangement had received canonical status at the outset, the basic subdivision into *Nikāya*s or *Āgama*s would have been handled flexibly, allowing for changes in the sequence within each collection and also for easy transference from one collection to another. In this way, the allocation of discourses to a collection probably reflects the interests of particular groups of reciters and their specific requirements. The division into four *Nikāya*s or *Āgama*s would, however, have already been known and in use in some form at a relatively early stage of the Buddhist

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der *Dīrgha, Madhyama, Ekottarika, Saṃyukta*. The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 407b27, adopts the order *Saṃyukta*, *Dīrgha, Madhyama, Ekottarika*. This order appears to underlie also the presentation in the Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1435 at T XXIII 448b13 (translated in Anuruddha 2008: 47), which begins its account of the collection of the canon with the first sermon spoken by the Buddha, although this *Vinaya* does not list the four collections and therefore does not explicitly specify their order. For a more detailed study that takes into account additional records of the first council cf. Przyluski 1926 (for a listing of relevant sources cf. Lamotte 1958/1988: 155 and Tsukamoto 1963: 824); on the order of the four collections in other works cf. also Mayeda 1985: 96. The influence of personal preferences on the order in which these four collections are listed can even be seen in the Pāli commentaries where, as Endo 2003a: 67 points out, the *Vinaya* commentaries show a predilection for referring to the commentary on the *Majjhima-nikāya*, before mentioning the commentaries on the other three *Nikāya*s.

47 In fact, this is not even the position taken by tradition itself. This much can be seen in the case of the *Bakkula-sutta*, which has as its speaker a monk who is introduced as having been ordained for eighty years. Thus this discourse necessarily stems from a period considerably later than the Buddha's demise, cf. MN 124 at MN III 125,6 and MĀ 34 at T I 475a21; cf. also above p. 716. Hence the commentary, Ps IV 197,2, assigns the inclusion of the *Bakkula-sutta* in the canon to the second *saṅgīti*, thereby clearly acknowledging that the *Majjhima-nikāya* now found in the Theravāda canon could not have been recited in this form at the first *saṅgīti*. Other discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* that explicitly locate themselves after the Buddha's passing away (though here the idea could be that they took place in the period between his passing away and the first *saṅgīti*) are MN 84 at MN II 90,16, MN 94 at MN II 162,24, and MN 108 at MN III 7,13, each of which states that the Buddha had already passed away.

48 According to Bechert 1991: 9 (cf. also Bechert 1980: 27), the four collections "originated as the result of local applications of the same principles of organisation to bodies of traditional material that were still largely in agreement". Hartmann 2004a: 11 speaks of a "common origin, followed by a long period of separate transmissions with independent redactional changes". Prasad 1985: 137, commenting on the arrangement of discourses in the canons of various schools, notes that "the criteria for such distribution were clear but the discourses are by nature such that they satisfy more than a single criteria". Norman 1989a: 33 suggests that "probably ... from the earliest period of Buddhism the collection of sermons was made on the basis of length, the *Dīgha-* and *Majjhima-nikāyas* containing long and middle-length sermons respectively, while the shorter sermons were either arranged by subject matter (*Saṃyutta-nikāya*) or on a numerical basis (*Aṅguttara-nikāya*). These collections were then allotted to groups of *bhikkhu*s for transmission". Thomas 1933/2004: 157 concludes that "the arrangement of the four Nikāyas and Āgamas must ... have originated before sectarian differences became acute ... [as] the same principle of division is found in all schools".

oral tradition.[49] In fact, archaeological evidence appears to indicate that, from the second century BC onwards, several of the *Nikāya* or *Āgama* collections were known by name even in Sri Lanka.[50]

The fact that a rock edict by Aśoka refers only to some single texts need not imply that the four collections were not yet in existence at that time. The edict explicitly indicates that the texts it mentions should be learned by the laity, not only by monastics.[51] It would be unreasonable for Aśoka to expect that the laity in general should learn a whole collection of discourses, let alone all four *Nikāya*s or *Āgama*s. Thus, the instruction in this edict can only be meant to present a selection of texts, whose size does not

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[49] Unlike the partition into *Āgama*s or *Nikāya*s, it seems to me that the *aṅga* system would not have been able to fulfil the function of dividing the material to be transmitted orally among the reciters; cf. also Anālayo 2009l. The problem I see is that dividing the texts according to individual *aṅga*s would not yield groupings of material suitable for division of labour among reciters, as this would require portions of roughly equal size that provide the respective reciters with a representative selection of teachings. As already noted by Jayawickrama 1959: 11, some *aṅga*s show a considerable degree of overlap in meaning with one another, which would not make it easy to use them as distinct markers for such division of labour. Other *aṅga*s are of comparatively rare occurrence, e.g., *udāna* or *itivuttaka*, where a collection of all instances would result in a rather small number of actual texts in comparison with other *aṅga*s. Moreover, *aṅga*s like *abbhutadhamma* would not result in a collection of texts that comprehensively covers the chief aspects of the teaching. Already with the division into four *Āgama*s or *Nikāya*s, differences in opinion and understanding appear to have made themselves acutely felt among the reciters, cf., e.g., Adikaram 1946/1994: 27-32, Dutt 1978: 42, Endo 2003a, id. 2003b, Goonesekera 1968: 689, and Mori 1990: 127. Reciters of only *abbhutadhamma* (to stay with my example) would, in consequence of the only type of text with which they had thoroughly familiarized themselves, have tended to develop a lop-sided understanding and a consequently unbalanced way of teaching. This makes it rather improbable that such a division of labour was ever actually in use during any significant time period of the early Buddhist oral tradition. In fact, the account of the formation of the Buddhist canon in the *Dīpavaṃsa* does not imply a replacement of the *aṅga* system with the four *Nikāya*s, but rather appears to refer to the nine *aṅga*s as representative of the Dharma as a whole, which then were divided into *āgama*s for the purpose of their oral transmission, cf. Dīp 4.15 in Oldenberg 1879: 31,22. The assumption that the *aṅga*s were never really meant to be divisions of texts for memorization and thus had no specific practical purpose for the reciters would naturally explain why the significance of some individual *aṅga*s were soon forgotten, with tradition as well as modern scholarship often finding it quite difficult to make sense out of some of them (cf. also above p. 149 and p. 697).

[50] This has been suggested by Norman 1978: 31, who notes that "an inscription of the second century B.C. includes a reference to a *majhimabaṇaka*, which implies that some, at least, of the nikāyas were known by that date". Norman 1989a: 33 then remarks (in regard to inscriptions collected by Paranavitana) that "it is clear from inscriptional evidence that the *nikāya*s had certainly received their names by the second century BC". These inscriptions in Paranavitana 1970 refer to different *majhima-baṇaka*s (no. 330 p. 26, no. 708 p. 53 and no. 852 p. 66), to a *śayutaka-baṇaka* (no. 666 p. 50), and to an *eka-utirika-baṇaka* (no. 407 p. 32). In addition to these references to reciters of single *Nikāya*s or *Āgama*s, the same collection of inscriptions has also preserved a reference to a *sutata-pāḷi-bāṇaka* (no. 1202 p. 97). If the above-mentioned dating should be correct, then this would provide remarkably early evidence of the form in which the canon was transmitted to Sri Lanka.

[51] Cf. Hultzsch 1925: 173, Bloch 1950: 154, or Woolner 1924/1993: 34. Gokhale 1994/2001b: 55 comments that "Asoka in his Bairat (Bhabru) inscriptions recommends seven texts as deserving special attention. The emphasis seems to be on texts that are of direct relevance to the laity".

exceed the amount an average busy householder, not trained in the art of memorizing, could safely be expected to remember.[52]

Since the edict could not have recommended learning the four *Nikāya*s or *Āgama*s, the absence of any reference to these collections is only natural and has no bearing on whether they were already in existence.

Summing up the main points of my exploration so far:

- the requirements of memorization make it probable that some formulaic features were already present in the texts when these were originally delivered;
- the texts indicate that oral transmission was not only seen as a means to preserve texts, but also as an integral part of the path to liberation, and as such was apparently practiced by monastics and at times also by the laity;
- with the growth of the corpus of material to be memorized, it seems probable that some basic division into four *Nikāya*s or *Āgama*s came into being at a relatively early stage.

On the basis of these general observations, I now turn to a more detailed examination of those aspects that probably lie behind the variations that manifest between parallel versions of a discourse, such variations being a recurrent finding throughout my comparative study of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses in the light of their parallels.

The Precision of Textual Memory

The concerns of oral transmission and proper memorization are reflected in several discourses. For example, according to a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* five conditions keep the Dharma from decline:

- learning the texts,
- teaching them to others,
- making others recite them,
- memorizing them,
- reflecting on them.[53]

All of these five qualities revolve around oral transmission, with three of them directly addressing central requirements of its proper execution. Another *Aṅguttara-nikāya* discourse additionally emphasizes that, for the Dharma to prosper, the monks

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[52] Skilling 1996c: 224 in fact notes that, of the seven texts mentioned in Aśoka's recommendation that have so far been identified with some degree of confidence, all except the *Ambalaṭṭhikārāhulovāda-sutta*, MN 61, are in verse (in the case of MN 61, the absence of verses is a peculiarity of the Pāli version, cf. above p. 346). Ibid. points out that "verses are associated with Rāhula in the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin *Rāhula-sūtras*, in the *nidānas* of the *Udāna-(varga)* in Chinese and Tibetan, and in the *nidāna* of a *Dharmapada* in Chinese. Is it possible that Aśoka was referring to some of these verses?". If this suggestion is correct, it would further strengthen the impression that the selection was made with a view to gathering material that is easily memorized, for which verse would be particularly appropriate. On another set of texts in verse, probably also chosen for easy memorizing, cf. Salomon 1999: 158-160.

[53] AN 5:155 at AN III 177,31.

should memorize the texts carefully and take care to make others recite them correctly.[54]

A passage in the Theravāda *Vinaya* attributes the short duration of the teachings of the former Buddhas Vipassī, Sikhī, and Vessabhū to the absence of a well-established corpus of material for oral transmission, comparable to flowers that are not strung together on a string and thus are easily scattered by the wind.[55] In contrast, the teachings of those former Buddhas who passed on a well-established textual corpus to their disciples lasted long, like flowers that are strung together on a string and therefore are not so easily scattered.

The concern with correct memorization of the texts finds its expression also in a recurrent injunction given at the outset of a discourse, which records the Buddha telling his disciples that they should pay proper attention to what he is going to say.[56] This injunction alerts the audience – be these those present during the original delivery or later generations who are listening to a recitation of the discourse – to the fact that, what is about to be said, should be memorized and kept in mind. This phrase has a counterpart in another pericope, according to which the monks promise that they will memorize what the Buddha is about to teach them.[57]

Thus, the requirements of accurate oral transmission are a recurrent theme in the early discourses and in the *Vinaya*, suggesting that this would have been one of the central concerns of the early generations of the Buddha's disciples.

In their attempt to transmit textual material orally, the early Buddhist reciters would have had the Vedic oral tradition as their model.[58] Long before the time of the Buddha, the oral transmission of the Vedas had apparently acquired a high degree of precision. This was achieved by systematically training reciters from their early youth onwards. Young Brahmins would already begin learning the texts by rote when they were about eight years old. Only after having completed this task, following years of memorization, would they study the meaning of what they had learned.[59]

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[54] AN 5:156 at AN III 179,29.

[55] Vin III 8,4.

[56] E.g., in MN 1 at MN I 1,6: *suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasi karotha*, with a counterpart in the parallel EĀ 44.6 at T II 766a7: 汝等善思念之.

[57] E.g., in MN 64 at MN I 433,18: *bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantī ti*, with a counterpart in the parallel MĀ 205 at T I 779a13: 諸比丘從世尊聞已, 善受善持 (with a 宋, 元, and 明 variant reading for the last part as 當善受持, which is the more often found version of this pericope in the *Madhyama-āgama*).

[58] Cf., e.g., Gombrich 1990b: 23, Lévi 1915: 441, and von Hinüber 1991: 123.

[59] Kane 1974: 274 reports that Brahmin youths would usually begin training in oral recitation "in the eighth year from birth or from conception", but could already begin in the fifth year (p. 275); once they were sixteen years old, the time had passed for them to undertake this type of training (p. 376). Kane 1974: 358 also remarks that "from very ancient times the Veda was only committed to memory and most men learned in the Veda never cared to know its meaning"; cf. also von Hinüber 1989: 67 and Smith 1986: 78. Alberuni's history of India in Sachau 1910/2005: 125 shows the continuity of this attitude in later times, reporting that "the Brahmins recite the Veda without understanding its meaning, and in the same way they learn it by heart ... only few of them learn its explanation". Staal 1979: 122 sums up that "sound is all that counts ... the preservation of meaning [is] a concern regarded as a mere individualistic pas-

The *Assalāyana-sutta* and the *Caṅkī-sutta* seem to reflect an awareness of such a system, as they describe Brahmin youths who are already accomplished in knowledge of the Vedas at the age of sixteen. [60] The two discourses report that these Brahmin youths were consequently treated with such respect and honour by other Brahmins that they were asked to act as speakers for the Brahmin community in a debate with the Buddha.

Although the early Buddhist oral tradition undoubtedly inherited some of the features of the Vedic oral tradition, it differed in several respects. One such difference was the adoption of a vernacular for the transmission.[61] Not only in regard to language, but also in terms of content some of the early Buddhist texts show the influence of contemporary secular elements.[62] These points reflect a basic difference in attitude, where for the Vedic tradition correct wording was of crucial importance, whereas for the early Buddhist tradition the content of what was transmitted was more important than its form.[63]

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time". For a modern case that confirms the continuity of this pattern cf. Rocher 1994: 2 and the study by Fuller 2001.

[60] The two discourses agree in specifying that the learned young Brahmins were only sixteen or even only fifteen years old, cf. MN 93 at MN II 147,10 and its parallel T 71 at T I 876c10 (another parallel, MĀ 151 at T I 663c8, does not specify the young Brahmin's age), as well as MN 95 at MN II 168,18 (the Sanskrit fragment parallels to this discourse do not specify the young Brahmin's age).

[61] Cf. Vin II 139,1; on the implications of this passage cf., e.g., Brough 1980, Edgerton 1953/1998a: 1-2, Geiger 1916: 5, Lévi 1915: 441-447, Levman 2008/2009, Lin Li-Kouang 1949: 217-227, Norman 1971/1990: 122-124, id. 1980/1991: 128-130, id. 1997: 60, and Thomas 1927/2003: 253-254. Vin II 139,1 is, however, not directed against formalization of the texts for the sake of exact memorization, as assumed by Klaus 2010: 523, in fact, as suggested above, pp. 855-856, some degree of formalization would have been integral to the texts from the very outset.

[62] Lienhard 1984: 77 notes that *Theragāthā* poems "took over the conventions and imagery of contemporary kāvya ... [and] quite clearly imitated the existent literary forms of secular poetry". Lienhard 1975: 388-393 describes that often a *Theragāthā* stanza will at first take up the image of rain, frequently employed in ancient Indian love poetry (as in a predominantly agricultural society the time of the rains would be the time of being confined to the home and thus the time of love making), but then, instead of following up this image with some reference to the wish for love and company, the stanza will turn to the Dharma, as if to provide a conscious contrast to the pattern usually observed in love poetry; cf. also Chaudhary 1994d: 143-144. On the different use of natural imagery in the *Therīgāthā* cf. also Horner 1930/1990: 209, Rajapakse 1995: 140, and Trainor 1993: 64 note 17.

[63] Lopez 1995: 37 comments that "the śrotriyas were concerned with the precise preservation of the sounds of the Vedas while the śrāvakas were concerned with the preservation of the meaning of the Buddha's word in the vernacular"; cf. also Gamage 2003: 209 and Monier-Williams 1889/1995: 53-54; on the sacredness of word and sound in the Vedic tradition cf., e.g., Beck 1993: 23-48, Padoux 1990: 1-29, Renou 1955, Ruegg 1959: 15-21, and Strauß 1927: 127-135. Another difference in attitude has been highlighted by Mookerji 1947/1999: 462, who notes that in the early Buddhist case there was a "looseness of the organization ... increased by the constant changes in the composition of the local Saṃghas themselves. The result of all this was that there was no common authority to reconcile the differences that inevitably arose" once the Buddha had passed away, which in turn inevitably would have had repercussions on the way the texts were transmitted. Houben 2009: 85 also notes that, in the case of the *Ṛgveda* in particular, the precision of oral transmission would have been closely related to the ritual function of its hymns, something that would not have been relevant in the early Buddhist case.

This is neatly exemplified in the "discourse on recitation" (*Sajjhāya-sutta*) in the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* and its two *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallels. The three parallel versions describe a monk who used to recite regularly, but at some point suddenly stopped. Asked why he had stopped, the monk explained that in the meantime he had reached liberation.[64] Hence, he felt no need to keep on reciting what by then he had fully realized himself.

A difference between the Vedic and the early Buddhist oral traditions that has important ramifications for the Buddhist oral transmission is that, whereas Brahmin reciters were trained in their task from early childhood, most of the early Buddhist reciters would have started training in oral transmission only at a mature age.[65] Moreover, whereas Brahmin youths memorized texts without understanding their meaning, the Buddhist reciters memorized texts whose meaning they would for the most part have understood.[66] The centrality accorded to such understanding can be seen from the

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[64] SN 9:10 at SN I 203,1, SĀ 1337 at T II 369a5, and SĀ² 357 at T II 490c4. Palihawadana 1997: 497 comments that "this shows ... the original significance that the *svādhyāya* method had for Buddhist monks".

[65] Von Hinüber 1989: 67-68 points out that, while Brahmins were trained from their childhood onwards in memorizing, training as a reciter in the early Buddhist tradition would have begun only after ordination, which usually took place at a considerably later age; cf. also Frauwallner 1956: 173-175 and Gombrich 1990a: 6-7. Schopen 2010: 127 then goes so far as to propose that "there is very little evidence in the various *Vinayas* that would support the notion that the Buddhist tradition had developed, or had in place, a sufficiently sophisticated system that would allow them to transmit anything like the enormous bulk of canonical material that we know. There is a stunning contrast between what is seen in brahmanical sources where elaborate procedures and mechanisms were put in place to insure the transmission of what in comparison is a very small textual corpus". This statement seems to overlook the significance of the *pācittiya* or *pātayantika* rule on not teaching recitation word for word to a layperson, already discussed by Wynne 2004: 109, cf. in more detail above p. 862 note 39. This rule clearly reflects the existence of a formal procedure adopted for oral transmission among monastics. Given that the *pātimokkha* or *prātimokṣa* is generally held to represent the earliest textual layer of *Vinaya* material at our disposal, the agreement of the different *Vinaya*s in the case of this rule provides strong evidence for the existence of such a formal procedure for oral transmission at a very early stage. Moreover, for a proper assessment of the situation the discourses also need to be taken into account, not only the *Vinaya*s, and there one finds recurrent references (some of which I have discussed above) to an ongoing oral transmission. The continuity of oral transmission can then be seen from inscriptions, mentioned, e.g., in Schopen 1985/1997: 44-45 (cf. also above pp. 860 and 866 notes 24, 25, and 50), which records that monastics had memorized one or more collections, or even the entire canon. Thus, to assume that the early Buddhist reciters had been unable to transmit the canonical texts (which at that time would anyway have been considerably less than what eventually came to be considered canonical, not yet comprising, e.g., the Abhidharma, or the mass of tales included in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*) does not properly reflect the evidence at our disposition. This evidence clearly points to the existence of a system of oral transmission among the early Buddhist reciters that was sufficiently developed to enable them to transmit the canonical texts, albeit without the degree of precision that their Vedic counterparts apparently achieved.

[66] Later Buddhist traditions seem to have oriented themselves more closely to the Vedic model, as according to Xuánzàng's (玄奘) travel records reciters of the Sarvāstivāda tradition were able to recite the whole Tripiṭaka from memory, without, however, understanding the meaning of what they were reciting; cf. T 2087 at T LI 942c20, translated in Beal 1884/2001b: 307. The *Milindapañha* reports that Nāgasena first

Alagaddūpama-sutta and its parallel, for example, according to which those, who learn the Buddha's teachings without endeavouring to understand what they have learned, are reckoned to be just fools.[67]

This difference acquires considerable significance when considered in the light of the modern day academic research on textual memory.[68] This research has shown that textual memory does not work in a way comparable to a tape recorder or a copy machine, faithfully producing an exact replica of the words originally read or heard.[69] Memory, far from being merely reproductive, is rather of a constructive nature.[70] At the time of trying to recall, the mind constructs the information anew. It is this act of constructing or reconstructing which will determine the way the information is being remembered.[71]

Not only on the occasion of trying to recall something that took place in the past, but already at the time when something is heard or read that is to be memorized, information is not simply taken in. Rather, the information is stored in the mind together with inferences made by the reader or listener. The drawing of inferences is in fact a neces-

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memorized the Tripiṭaka within three months, followed by spending the same amount of time reflecting on its meaning, Mil 18,10. According to T 2145 at T LV 100b7, Kumārajīva began training in recitation at the age of seven, but was taught the meaning of what he had learned only after he had successfully memorized a staggering amount of material, 從師受經口誦 ... 誦 ... 既過, 師授其義, 即自通解. An outstanding feat of memory is also reported for Buddhayaśas, who presumably managed to memorize a Chinese medical text comprising 50,000 characters (obviously a text he did not understand) within a few days, cf. T 2034 at T XLIX 80b9, T 2059 at T L 334b17 (translated in Shih 1968: 89), T 2064 at T L 959b21, T 2095 at T LI 1041b15, T 2145 at T LV 102c11, T 2149 at T LV 254b6, Bagchi 1927: 203, and Demiéville 1951: 245 note 1.

67 MN 22 at MN I 133,23 and MĀ 200 at T I 764a12 qualify such a person as *moghapurisa*/癡人. Lamotte 1949: 346 comments that, from a Buddhist perspective, "le religieux qui se borne à mémoriser les textes sans essayer de les comprendre manque à son devoir".

68 Extracts from the present discussion have already been published in Anālayo 2009n.

69 Becker-Carus 2004: 412. For a survey of the different failings of memory cf. Schacter 1999.

70 Already Bartlett 1932: 205 remarked that "remembering appears to be far more decisively an affair of construction, rather than one of mere reproduction", explaining (p. 207) that "when a subject is being asked to remember, very often the first thing that emerges is something of the nature of an attitude. The recall is then a construction, made largely on the basis of this attitude". Bartlett (p. 213) concludes that for this reason "remembering ... is an imaginative reconstruction ... [and] is thus hardly ever really exact, even in the most rudimentary cases of rote recapitulation".

71 Anderson 1978 reports an experiment where subjects were given the task of remembering the description of a house from the perspective of a prospective burglar or a prospective buyer of the house. After a first recall, some subjects were asked to shift perspective (e.g., "buyer" instead of "burglar") and consequently were able to recall details they had earlier been unable to remember, whereas a control group that did not change perspective did not show a similar increase in ability to recall additional details on the second occasion. Anderson 1978: 10 concludes that these experiments show that the attitude during information retrieval influences the way things are remembered. A complementary perspective on how memory can be influenced has been investigated by Goff 1998: 28, who devised experiments that were able to show how "imagining actions led subjects to remember that they had actually performed the actions when in fact they had not", an effect that "increased with the number of imaginings, as did subjects' confidence about their erroneous responses", a rather disconcerting finding about the reliability of human memory.

sary aspect of comprehension, since without the drawing of inferences a text will not be understood.[72]

Thus, the normal ability to recall is based on the successful drawing of inferences,[73] in fact the degree to which a text is remembered stands in close relationship to the degree to which inferences are drawn. As a general rule, a text that is so easy to understand that it requires only a minimum of inferences, as well as a text that is so difficult to understand that attempts to draw inferences fail to produce a coherent result, are less well remembered than a text that requires the drawing of an average amount of inferences in order to be understood.[74]

There is, however, an exception to this general pattern. A particularly significant research finding is that someone, who is given a text that he or she does not understand at all, may nevertheless be able to remember this text with more precision than someone who has understood the text well.[75] That is, if someone is given the task of remembering a text that he or she does not understand, a memory representation will be generated without inferences, as attempts to draw inferences will be unsuccessful. Such a memory representation without inferences can result in a more accurate reflection of the original text than memory representations that involve the drawing of inferences.

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[72] Carrol 1986/1999: 168 states that "inferences are not mere recall errors, nor are they random, spurious contributions by imaginative readers. Inferences are intrinsic to discourse structure. Authors leave out information that they think readers will be able to figure out". According to Eysenck 1992/2005: 377, "comprehension of discourse would be impossible without the process of drawing inferences".

[73] Van den Broek 1994: 580 explains that "inferential processes during reading form the basis for a stable memory representation of the text". Harley 1995/1996: 224 points out that "comprehension is to some extent a constructive process: we build a model of what we are processing ... we make inferences to maintain coherence".

[74] Mason 2004: 1-2 notes that "memory for the text is best for events that are related by a moderate degree of causal relatedness and is poorer for events with low and high relatedness". He explains the results of his experiments to be that "the reading of the moderately related sentence pairs was accompanied by both the generation and the integration of causal inferences. In the highly related sentences, this inferencing process was unnecessary, resulting in faster reading times and more sparse text representations. In contrast, the distantly related sentences had slower reading times, presumably as a result of a liberal generation of possible inferences to connect them, but lower recall, as a result of lack of success in integrating any inference". Myers 1990: 166-167 explains that "the low recall at the high-related level ... is not due to lack of attention paid", suggesting that the better performance at the moderately related level is probably due to the fact that "recall is facilitated when the reader has stored an elaborative inference with the sentence ... in memory".

[75] The experiment in question presented texts with instructions about the use of Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel to three groups of readers, asking them to remember the text and subsequently testing memory through a recognition task in which the participants had to decide if a particular statement had been made in the original text. Of these participants, the first group had no experience with computer software, while the second group had some experience and the third group had advanced knowledge of computer software. Caillies 2002: 284 reports a surprising result of this experiment to have been that "contrary to our expectations, the beginner participants recognized true targets faster than the other two groups ... Our interpretation is that the answers of the beginners were based mainly upon the surface features of the text".

This finding helps to clarify the effects and consequences of one of the basic differences between the oral transmission of the Vedas and the early Buddhist oral transmission. In terms of the findings of modern research into textual memory, the Vedic reciters were unable to draw inferences while storing text in their memory. Since they had been trained from early childhood to use this level of memory, they developed the ability to recall texts precisely, even after longer intervening periods.[76]

The reason this worked so well was not in spite of their lack of comprehension, but, as the above-mentioned psychological research suggests, very much because they did not understand what they were memorizing. Had they understood, the inference-drawing level of textual comprehension would have been activated and would have influenced the way the text was stored in memory.

The early Buddhist reciters, in contrast, would have understood most if not all of what they were memorizing. In fact, while the Vedic oral transmission was intended only for a restricted circle of initiates, the Buddhist discourses were meant for public teaching, occasions where an understanding of the material to be presented would be a central requirement.

Thus, besides the fact that in the case of the Buddhist reciters the storing of information was not always done by those who had been trained in memorization from their early youth onward, the information to be remembered was also not of such a type that it would automatically have prevented the drawing of inferences. In view of this, it would only be natural if with the early Buddhist reciters the process of drawing inferences were to leave its mark on the material transmitted. The need to counterbalance the effects of this reconstructing activity of textual memory would in fact explain why early Buddhist oral material uses repetition and other mnemonic aids to a greater extent than do Vedic texts.[77]

In terms of modern research on textual memory, it therefore seems that the early Buddhist reciters involved in the transmission of the discourses tended to "draw inferences". Because of this tendency to draw inferences, the material would have been stored together with those inferences and on retrieval was "re-constructed".

The effects of such "reconstruction" become particularly evident when different versions of a discourse agree about the contents of a teaching but disagree about the sequence in which they present this teaching. In what follows, I briefly present, by way of illustration, three examples of sequential variation between parallel discourses.

[76] Bransford 1973: 399 suggests that although "those activities related to comprehending may also be those most conducive to learning prose materials", "it should be possible to train subjects in better memorizing strategies", which appears to have been indeed the case with the Vedic reciters.

[77] Allon 1997a: 363 notes that the "early Vedic prose texts, despite incorporating many forms of repetition, do not exhibit such gross repetitiveness" as the early Buddhist texts, a difference he attributes to the circumstance that "Brahmanical literature was transmitted by individuals who had undertaken long periods of specialised training", which was not necessarily the case for the Buddhist monastic reciters. He concludes that "repetition was, then, the vehicle chosen by the early Buddhists to ensure the successful transmission of the Buddha's teaching by individuals of mixed social and educational backgrounds"; cf. also von Simson 1977: 479-480 and von Hinüber 1994b: 6.

The *Devadaha-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel record the same ironic criticism of the ascetic practices undertaken by the Jains. Both versions explain that the experience of pleasure and pain might be attributed to different reasons, which the Pāli version lists in the following sequence:

- one's former deeds,
- a creator god,
- the company one kept,
- the type of one's life-form,
- one's present practice.[78]

In all these cases the Jains are to be blamed, as their present painful experiences will consequently have to be attributed to their former evil deeds, etc. While the Pāli version lists the creator god as its second item, the Chinese parallel has the same in fifth place, thereby adopting the following sequence:

- one's former deeds,
- the company one kept,
- the type of one's life-form,
- one's present practice,
- a creator god.[79]

Another example can be found in an examination of the relation of karma to rebirth, presented in the *Mahākammavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel.[80] The Pāli version examines the following cases:

- evil conduct followed by rebirth in hell,
- evil conduct followed by rebirth in heaven,
- good conduct followed by rebirth in heaven,
- good conduct followed by rebirth in hell.

Its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel instead presents its otherwise similar exposition in the following sequence:

- evil conduct followed by rebirth in heaven,
- good conduct followed by rebirth in hell,
- evil conduct followed by rebirth in hell,
- good conduct followed by rebirth in heaven.

Yet another example can be found in the *Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel, which examine three possible situations that could occur when the Buddha teaches.[81] According to the Pāli version, these three are:

- all disciples do not listen,
- some disciples do not listen and some disciples do listen,
- all disciples listen.

The sequence found in the *Madhyama-āgama* version instead proceeds like this:

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[78] MN 101 at MN II 222,4, cf. above p. 587.
[79] MĀ 19 at T I 443c19.
[80] MN 136 at MN III 209,20 and MĀ 171 at T I 707a26; cf. above p. 779.
[81] MN 137 at MN III 221,7 and MĀ 163 at T I 693c29; cf. above p. 786.

- all disciples do not listen,
- all disciples listen,
- some disciples do not listen and some disciples do listen.

Readers who have had the patience to accompany me through the preceding pages of my comparative study of the discourses of the *Majjhima-nikāya* will not have failed to notice the frequent occurrence of such type of variation. The same is also evident in the differing sequences in which minor rules are listed in the *pātimokkha*s or *prātimokṣa*s of different schools and in the varying sequences in which doctrinal items are listed in the parallel versions to the *Saṅgīti-sutta* and the *Dasuttara-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*.[82]

The main point that emerges from a consideration of such variations is that these sequential differences do not seem to be invariably an outcome of conscious editing or redacting. There often seems to be no purpose or advantage in presenting the items in different sequences, as the variations in sequence do not appear to have any significant effect on the teaching given in the respective discourses.[83] In other words, it would be difficult to suggest a motive or purpose underlying each of the sequential variations noted in my comparative study of the *Majjhima-nikāya*. Such differences and variations appear to be simply accidents of transmission, whose origin is most naturally attributed to the very nature of oral transmission and to the limitations of human memory.

By this I am certainly not intending to rule out that some differences have been consciously introduced. My point is only that there appears to be a common tendency among scholars to assume that editors and redactors who consciously introduce change are the normative model for explaining how the texts came to be as we have them now.[84] This appears to me to be an unwarranted application of one's own experience with publishing in the modern world to a situation that is quite different, namely to an oral society in the distant past with ways of producing 'texts' that were governed entirely by orality and thus are far removed from the processes that nowadays contribute to the creation of a literary product.[85]

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[82] For the code of rules cf. the concordance in Pachow 1955: appendix iv; for sequential variations in the case of the *Saṅgīti-sutta* and its parallels cf. the concordance in Stache-Rosen 1968: 213-217.

[83] Cousins 1984: 288 comments, regarding parallel versions of discourses preserved by different traditions, that "such variation as exists is probably due to chance rather than sectarian differences. Indeed this is wholly to be expected in an oral literature"; cf. also Harvey 1990: 3, who concludes that the differences found between parallel versions "can be seen to be due to the way in which oral traditions always produce several different permutations of essentially the same story or teachings".

[84] To give just one example of the tendency to assume deliberate change to be the norm, Wynne 2004 offers an insightful study of early Buddhist oral transmission, yet a few years later Wynne 2010: 205 writes, regarding the "early Buddhist composers", that the "evidence indicates that they worked in groups, which implies discussion, deliberation and so a certain degree of planning". Thus, even a good acquaintance with the oral features of the texts does not necessarily seem to result in fully taking into account the way oral material comes into being.

[85] Nattier 2003a: 52 clarifies that "to assume a 'creative individual author' as the driving force behind interpolations in Buddhist scripture is to import a model that is foreign to most of the literary processes that have shaped the production of Indian religious texts".

Sequential variations at times manifest even within a single textual corpus transmitted by the same reciters. Thus, for example, the *Cūḷadhammasamādāna-sutta* lists four ways of undertaking things in the following manner:[86]

- pleasant now and painful in future,
- painful now and painful in future,
- painful now and pleasant in future,
- pleasant now and pleasant in future.

The *Mahādhammasamādāna-sutta*, which comes in the *Majjhima-nikāya* collection immediately after the *Cūḷadhammasamādāna-sutta*, lists the four ways of undertaking things in a different sequence:

- painful now and painful in future,
- pleasant now and painful in future,
- painful now and pleasant in future,
- pleasant now and pleasant in future.

In fact, sequential variations can even occur within a single discourse. The *Sāmagāma-sutta* begins by listing seven ways of settling a litigation in a sequence that is also observed in other instances in the Pāli canon that take up these seven ways, which are:

- confrontation with the teachings,
- declaration of innocence,
- past insanity,
- confession,
- decision by majority,
- prevarication by a monk of bad character,
- covering over a communal litigation.[87]

The actual exposition of these seven in the *Sāmagāma-sutta*, however, adopts a different sequence, as it has "decision by majority" already as its second item, whereas in the initial listing this takes the fifth position.[88]

This shows the degree to which within the same textual collection and even within a single discourse variations in sequence can occur. As in the examples surveyed earlier, in the present instances the sequential changes also do not seem to have any noticeable effect on the actual teaching and thus appear to be just the type of variation that at times can result from the vicissitudes of oral transmission.

Given the frequency of such variations evident from my comparative studies in the preceding pages, it also becomes clear that the way the discourses have come down to us cannot be attributed entirely to later levelling. Although no doubt homogenization and levelling did take place, the above cases show that, even when such levelling would definitely have been opportune, it was not carried out. This in turn implies that similarities between the early discourses cannot be attributed to later levelling only.

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[86] MN 45 at MN I 305,11 and MN 46 at MN I 310,35; cf. also above p. 287.

[87] MN 104 at MN II 247,8, a sequence observed similarly in Vin IV 207,3, DN 33 at DN III 254,11, and AN 7:80 at AN IV 144,4; cf. also above p. 607.

[88] A difference already noted by Horner 1959: 33 note 7.

Summing up the main points of my exploration in the present section:

- recurrent references in the discourses and the *Vinaya* reflect the concerns of an ongoing oral transmission, in particular an awareness of the need to remember texts correctly;
- the early Buddhist oral transmission differed in several respects from its Vedic counterpart, which was based on memorizing texts whose meaning was often not understood;
- modern research into textual memory has shown that memorizing what one has not understood can result in a remarkably precise recall, whereas in the case of material that is understood, the reconstructing activity of the mind tends to influence the way one remembers;
- the effect of such reconstruction can be seen in comparative studies of parallel versions of a discourse, which often evidence variations in the sequence of the same set of topics or themes.

The Influence of Commentarial Notions and Tales

In my study of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses I found, besides variations in sequence, a number of cases where material appears to have been added at a later stage to a discourse. In order to appreciate the dynamics behind such occurrences, in what follows I take a closer look at the relationship between a discourse and the explanations and commentaries that would have grown up in relation to a discourse during oral transmission.

The interrelationship between commentary and original text can be best seen in the case of the code of rules (*pātimokkha/prātimokṣa*), which probably belongs to the earliest stratum of oral material in the Buddhist tradition, as its recitation was required for the performance of the observance day in any monastic settlement. In the way they have come down in the Pāli *Vinaya*'s *Suttavibhaṅga*, the *pātimokkha* rules are embedded in their commentary, which itself attained canonical status.[89] The regular recitation of the *pātimokkha* at fortnightly meetings could well have set a model for oral recitation,[90] so that the development that can be seen in the *Suttavibhaṅga* could point to tendencies at work in the early Buddhist oral transmission in general.

While the main rules for monks of the different schools show close resemblances, except for the minor training rules (*sekhiya/śaikṣa*) rules and some sequential variations,[91]

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[89] On the *pātimokkha* and its development cf. the detailed study by von Hinüber 1999a.

[90] McDermott 1984: 23 suggests that "it is not unreasonable to see in the development of the *Pātimokkha* and its liturgical recitation a primary step in the development of Buddhist scripture as form and concept". Smith 1993: 166 even goes so far as to suggest that "the entire business of having a canonized scripture was a development out of the monks' ceremonial repetition fortnightly of a formal confession"; cf. also Wynne 2004: 108.

[91] A convenient chart surveying the different versions can be found in Nattier 1977: 268, from which it becomes readily apparent that variations mainly affect the minor training rules; cf. also Olivelle 1974: 44-45, Prebish 1974a: 173-174, and id. 1996.

the stories that explain the rationale for these rules in the different *Vinaya*s exhibit major divergences.[92] This pattern may well reflect the distinction between the rules themselves and the narrative and commentarial elaborations that came to be added to these in the course of transmission.

Another example of a very early 'commentary' is the *Madhupiṇḍika-sutta*, which reports a monk explaining in detail a short saying by the Buddha. This 'commentary' was later endorsed by the Buddha and thereby received canonical status.[93] Even without explicit approval by the Buddha some of the explanations and comments given by disciples have come down to us as discourses that are considered canonical.[94]

In fact, the dividing line between the original saying and its commentary may not always have been clear. Nowadays, when speaking of a 'commentary', one inevitably has in mind the *Aṭṭhakathā*s and *Ṭīkā*s, which are quite different from the Pāli 'discourse' material. But such clear separation would not have been in existence in ancient times.[95]

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[92] For an examination of some of the inconsistencies found in the background stories given in the Pāli *Vinaya*, cf. Schlingloff 1963a. He concludes (p. 551) that, whereas the code of rules belongs to the earliest parts of Buddhist literature, the stories belong to the latest strata of canonical material.

[93] MN 18 at MN I 114,3 and its parallels MĀ 115 at T I 604c17 and EĀ 40.10 at T II 743c20 report that the Buddha approved of Mahākaccāna's exposition as a way of explaining the matter just as the Buddha himself would have done. Goonesekera 1967: 336 comments that, with instances like this discourse, "the earliest beginnings of exegetical literature can be traced to the canon itself". Malalasekera 1928/1994: 88-90 notes that explanations given by the early disciples "formed the nucleus of the commentaries", as "even during the Master's lifetime ... discussions ... used to take place ... accounts of these discussions were duly reported to the Teacher, and some of them were approved by him ... When later the text of the canon came to be compiled ... some of the expositions found their way into the Piṭakas". In continuation of the same tendency, as "the commentaries ... were handed down ... along with the texts themselves ... parts of the commentaries came later to be attached to the texts which they interpreted". Mayer 2004: 166 even traces the beginnings of the commentaries to the Buddha himself, indicating that "the teachings of the dharma, from the very beginning, called for commentary ... the Buddha was frequently called upon to elaborate on teachings he had given"; cf. also Skilling 2009b: 53, who points out that "the transmission of the Buddha's teaching ... evidently started during the Buddha's lifetime ... [and] continued throughout his teaching career, during which the practice of commentary began ... monks and nuns explained and amplified the statements of the Master".

[94] Bond 1975: 409 comments that "the concept of 'the word of the Buddha' was a formal category or a theory which did not necessarily mean the Buddha actually spoke these words, but [only that] they conformed in some way to what was taken to be the basic lines of his teachings". Mizuno 1982: 21 points out that discourses delivered "by authors both human and non-human were still regarded as the teaching of the Buddha because" these "were reported to the Buddha, who verified their accuracy"; cf. also MacQueen 1981 and Skilling 2010. The recurrence of such instances is noteworthy not only in that it shows the relatively broad scope of what was considered "canonical" in ancient times, but also in showing that the early reciters did not simply attribute such sayings to the Buddha. Weller 1928a: 144 remarks that this is significant, since in view of the fact that the discourses were considered to be 'Buddha word' by the reciters, it would have been natural for them to attribute all discourses to the Buddha.

[95] Cutler 1992: 549 explains that "in traditional Indian culture a literary composition is rarely if ever appreciated as a self-contained 'text in itself'. To the contrary, texts are almost always embedded in contexts ... that either explicitly or implicitly contain elements of commentary". Similarly, Deutsch 1988: 170-171 reports that in the Indian setting commentaries are seen as "not so much appendages to an

A case in point can be found in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, where a monk is asked if what he has just taught was spoken by the Buddha.[96] In reply, the monk answers with the dictum that "whatever is well said is the Buddha's word".[97] The context and the simile he uses make it clear that with this dictum he is not intending to pass off his own explanation as the Buddha's word, but only that he considers the Buddha to be the real source of whatever he has been expounding.[98]

Just as with the *Madhupiṇḍika-sutta*, this discourse has come down as a canonical discourse, in this case even without an explicit endorsement by the Buddha. This shows how explanations delivered by disciples could nevertheless become part of what tradition regards as canonical.[99]

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otherwise fixed and complete work", but rather as a contribution "to a larger, developing work", in the sense that "from the ... commentator's point of view he is not so much remarking on an already finished text", but instead "he is himself contributing to that text"; cf. also Jyväsjärvi 2010: 138 on the importance given in the Jain tradition to commentarial exegesis as that which enables the root text to perform its soteriological function. Warder 1961b: 52 suggests that, in the Buddhist case, during the first period of transmission there was "no clear line of demarcation between the Canonical traditions and the Commentarial extensions of them".

[96] According to AN 8:8 at AN IV 163,6, it was Sakka who had come in person to ask this question, so that, as Arunasiri 2006: 634 notes, "Sakka is presented as supervising what the monks were preaching". That is, according to this discourse even the gods would intervene in order to ensure that the teachings were passed on correctly, yet another reflection of the recurrent concern in the discourse with ensuring their own correct transmission.

[97] AN 8:8 at AN IV 164,7: *yaṃ kiñci subhāsitaṃ, sabbaṃ taṃ tassa bhagavato vacanaṃ* (S[e]-AN IV 166,6: *yaṅ*).

[98] Another interesting aspect of this discourse is that, according to AN 8:8 at AN IV 164,15, Sakka informed the monk that what the monk had been teaching had indeed been delivered by the Buddha on a former occasion, but this teaching had not been preserved by any member of the four assemblies, AN 8:8 at AN IV 166,7. Sakka then tells the monk that he should make an effort to preserve this teaching. Thus according to this discourse, a teaching originally given by the Buddha had been lost, but was then restored to the oral transmission thanks to an intervention by Sakka. This could point to the beginnings of tendencies found more explicitly in the account in Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in Schiefner 1868: 50,14 (translated in Chattopadhyaya 1970/2004: 98 or Schiefner 1869: 63), according to which certain *sūtra*s originated from the *nāga* realm, as well as from *deva*s, *gandharva*s, and *rākṣasa*s.

[99] In the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* in Bendall 1902/1970: 15,19, the phrase "whatever is well said is the Buddha's word" reappears in the context of a defence of the authenticity of later scriptures; cf. also Collins 1990: 94, Lamotte 1944/1981: 80 note 2, Lopez 1995: 27, MacQueen 1981: 314, McDermott 1984: 29, Ruegg 1995: 180, Snellgrove 1958: 620, and Williams 1991: 31. For another occurrence of this dictum in a rock edict by Aśoka cf. Bloch 1950: 154 or Woolner 1924/1993: 32. Silk 2008: 276 remarks that "the early Buddhist tag line 'all that is spoken by the Buddha is well spoken' is later transformed into 'all that is well spoken is spoken by the Buddha'. With hermeneutic strategies likes this, strict consistency need not be expected from the scriptural corpora". The *Atthasālinī* even extends the category of "the word of the Buddha" to the *Kathāvatthu*, explaining that the Buddha had already laid down the contents of this work with the foresight that 218 years after his demise Moggaliputta Tissa would give a full exposition of it, cf. As 4,24. Notably, the *Kathāvatthu* is mentioned in the account of the third council in the *Samantapāsādikā* at Sp I 61,13, but not in the account of the same council in the 善見律毘婆沙 in T 1462 at T XXIV 684b10; cf. also Guruge 2005: 106, Lamotte 1958/1988: 273, and Sujāto 2006: 133.

Now, a distinctive feature of oral traditions in general is that the recited material is part of what could be called a ‘performance’.[100] A ‘performance’ in the sense that a reciter will be surrounded by a circle of listeners, who participate in what the reciter communicates. While delivering a particular teaching in such a performance situation, reciters will also provide explanations of passages that require elucidation and narrate tales that fill out the background to the particular event they are presenting.[101]

From the viewpoint of transmission, a key factor is the intention of the reciter during such performance. In the case of a popular storytelling, for example, a reciter has considerable freedom in adapting the material to suit the audience and the situation. However, when the main task of the reciters is to faithfully repeat what they have learned, a fair degree of consistency in the oral material becomes their chief target.[102]

This would have been the case in the transmission of the early discourses, in the sense that the reciting monks and nuns would have attempted to present the word of the Buddha correctly, as they had learned it. The various tools employed to ensure precision, surveyed in the introduction to my study, make it clear that in the early Buddhist oral tradition the emphasis was on precise repetition.

However, although the reciters would have attempted to achieve precision with the texts they considered to be the word of the Buddha, more freedom for expressing their own understanding would have been possible when providing explanations and commentaries on what they considered the ‘word of the Buddha’ during an actual performance situation. In other words, personal ideas and changing viewpoints in an oral transmission would naturally have first taken the form of a ‘commentary’, which might either draw out the doctrinal implication of a particular word or statement, or provide additional narrative details related to an event or a protagonist of the discourse that is the object of the oral performance.[103]

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[100] Vansina 1985: 34 points out that “the crucial link is the performance. Only the performance makes the [oral] tradition perceptible and at the same time only a performance is the source of the ensuing text. The peculiarities of the text derive from the relationship it has to ... performance”.

[101] The degree to which illustration may have been part of such ‘performance’ can be seen in the suggestion by Ray 1994/1995: 350, that “in view of the tradition of picture recitation in ancient India, it is ... possible that scrolls were also utilized by the *bhanaka*s to provide visual stimulus ... a tradition that persists to the present times ... it has been argued that the *torana*s at Sanchi depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha represented scrolls. It is possible that these long horizontal panels ... are a transference to stone of popular picture scrolls partly unrolled for exhibition”; cf. also Hoffman 1992: 196. In fact, a reference to the employment of pictures in an oral performance situation can be found in SN 22:100 at SN III 151,24, which speaks of the *caraṇaṃ nāma cittaṃ*, which the commentary at Spk II 327,18 explains as referring to a canvas with various paintings taken around by wandering Brahmins to illustrate the teachings they delivered on karma and its fruits; cf. also Brown 1997: 81, Dehejia 1990: 377, and Mair 1988: 17-37. Another example can be found in the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 300,8 or in Vaidya 1999: 185,26, which reports the Buddha instructing the monks to fashion a pictorial representation of the five *gati*s; cf. also above p. 114 note 79.

[102] Vansina 1985: 41: “where ... the performers intend to stick as closely as possible to the message related and to avoid lapses of memory or distortions, the pace of change can almost be stopped”.

[103] Extracts from the present discussion have already been published in Anālayo 2010g.

A large part of the commentaries, as we have them now, consists of glosses on particular expressions or circumstances. These would have needed to be brought in very soon after the appearance of the expressions or circumstances in question.[104] That is, when reciting a discourse to an audience, the reciter would have needed to alternate between portions of the discourse and comments upon it. Especially in the case of a longer discourse, reciting the whole discourse first, without interruption, would run the risk that the audience no longer has clearly in mind the passages to which the commentary refers. Thus, the oral performance situation would have required the discourse to be interspersed with explanations of a commentarial nature.[105]

[104] Griffiths 1999: 55 points out that a "religious commentary will take as its initial object ... gobbets" and "a comment on any one of these gobbets will typically presuppose knowledge of them all, and may be incomprehensible without such knowledge".

[105] Norman 1997: 158-160, however, holds that the discourses and the commentaries were passed on separately. He bases this suggestion on his observation that the commentaries at times preserve explanations no longer meaningful, owing to changes in the language of the discourses, such as, for example, the explanation of the name of King Pasenadi at Ud-a 104,27: "he defeats the army of others", *parasenaṃ jinātī ti*. This explanation only makes sense with a form of the king's name that has a *j*, as in the Sanskrit form Prasenajit, but not with the Pāli form Pasenadi (Lüders 1954: 100 notes that a Bhārhut inscription reads *rājā pasenaji kosalo*, which would fit the above etymology well). Norman 1997: 158 reasons that "the fact that the commentary explains the syllable *-di* by *jināti*, shows that the text and the cty were transmitted separately, with neither having an effect upon the other", "they were in the keeping of different groups, i.e. the *bhāṇaka*s responsible for the canonical text were not also responsible for the safe keeping of the commentary upon that text". Yet, it seems not particularly surprising that the old commentarial explanation *parasenaṃ jināti*, stemming from a time when the name of Pasenadi was still pronounced with a *j*, continued to be passed on even though in the meantime the spelling of his name had gradually come to be Pasenadi. In fact, the *Nikāya*s themselves preserve explanations that, owing to language developments, are no longer meaningful, such as Dhp 388: *bāhita pāpo ti brāhmaṇo* (on which cf. above p. 542 note 71). As Norman 1997: 160 notes, this explanation "shows that in the dialect in which the etymology was invented the word *brāhmaṇa* had the form *bāhaṇa*". If the discourses continued to pass on an explanation that no longer fits the development of the language, the fact that the commentaries did the same appears to be simply a sign of the fidelity of the tradition. There seems to be no need to assume that such commentarial explanations could only continue to exist if they were passed on separately from the discourses. In the case of the commentarial gloss on the name Pasenadi, the assumption of an independent transmission would in fact not solve the problem, since the name Pasenadi occurs also in the commentarial gloss itself, which reads *parasenaṃ jinātī ti pasenadi*. That is, even if the commentators did not know the discourse at all, the wording of the commentary would have ensured that they knew the term Pasenadi and thus should have realized the inapplicability of an explanation that involved instead a *j*. Nevertheless, they continued to transmit an explanation that no longer suited the term it purports to explain. Hence, it seems safe to conclude that the old commentarial explanation *parasenaṃ jinātī ti* continued to be passed on in deference to tradition, even though its etymology no longer made as much sense as it would have made originally (cf. also Balbir 1991: 123, who in a discussion of such popular 'etymologies' explains that "les commentateurs sont aussi des fidèles ... il n'y a donc pas chez eux d'attitude 'critique' eu égard à la justesse ou à la fantaisie d'une explication"). Another point to be considered in the present context is that, e.g., Pj I 151,12 lists the *aṭṭhakathika*s alongside those who specialize in the *sutta*s, the *Vinaya*, the Abhidharma, or the *Jātaka*s (cf. also Mori 1983: 980). Such listings appear to reflect some degree of specialization and need not be taken to imply that the *aṭṭhakathika*s knew only the commentaries and had no knowledge of the source material which

This basic pattern, where an oral performance combines a fixed part (often in verse, but at times also in prose) with a commentary that is of a more fluctuating nature and allows for some degree of improvisation on the part of the reciter, seems to stretch all the way from Vedic *ākhyāna* to the modern day *kavi baṇa* in Sri Lanka.[106]

A reciter would know which parts were comments made by himself, but once the discourse with commentary had been passed on to his disciples, and then to their disciples, the formerly clear distinction between what was originally discourse and what commentary may not always have remained clear. To further explore this possibility, let me turn again to the findings of modern psychology on textual memory.

As I mentioned above in relation to the working mechanics of textual memory, information to be remembered is stored in the mind together with inferences made by the reader or listener. The problem with this process of drawing inferences is that it often takes place without being consciously noticed.[107] Inferences are stored in memory together with the original material and on recall one is at times unable to distinguish between what was originally read or heard and what was only inferred.[108] That is, what is remembered is a mixture of the original data and the elaborations added by the recipient.[109] This leaves considerable room for the influence of the recipient's knowledge and attitude on the remembered information.[110]

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the commentaries were meant to explain. In fact, much of the commentaries becomes meaningful only when the text on which they comment is also known. Moreover, as noted by Endo 2003b: 36, the commentaries also refer to *akkharabhāṇaka*s, *vyañjanabhāṇaka*s, *vaṇṇabhāṇaka*s, and *padabhāṇaka*s (on which cf. also Palihawadana 1997: 502), which he explains as referring to reciters that specialize in phonetics, letters (as against meaning), praises, and in syllables or sentences respectively. Similar to the case of the *aṭṭhakathika*s, it would not seem meaningful to assume that these specialists knew only phonetics, or only letters, etc. Clearly, they would have been acquainted with the texts in addition to being well versed in the particular area of their specialization, cf. also ibid. pp. 3-4.

106 On the Vedic *ākhyāna* cf., e.g., Alsdorf 1974; on the *kavi baṇa* cf., e.g., Mahinda 2003; cf. also id. 1998 on the 'two-pulpit' preaching tradition and Schalk 1983: 87 on the '*yugāsana baṇa*' in Sri Lanka. According to Kanno 2003: 302, the early Chinese commentaries were also given in an interlinear form and only later a style of commentary developed that was more independent of the original discourse; cf. also Mayer 2004: 167-168.

107 Bransford 1973: 391 explains that "processes of making inferences ... occur quite frequently in the normal course of comprehending. Generally, we may not be aware of them". Eysenck 1992/2005: 377 points out that "it is so natural for us to draw inferences that we are often unaware that we are doing so".

108 Harley 1995/1996: 234 explains that "inferences are confused with original material because the propositions created as a result of inferences are stored along with explicitly presented propositions, and the two sorts of propositions are indistinguishable". According to Rosenberg 1987: 83, "inferences are stored, and when recalled, often mistaken for ... the original sentence. A major source of confusion is people's inclination to integrate new information ... before storing, at recall it is often difficult to remember which pieces of information were acquired when. All known facts regarding a single entity are clustered around a 'single point' and that organization controls recall".

109 Kintsch 1994: 732 explains that "the mental representation of a text contains not only information derived from the text, but also knowledge elaborations from the reader's long term memory".

110 Sanford 1994: 717 has been able to show that "if a text statement fits well with a piece of pre-estab-

Not only is it often no longer possible, on recall, to draw a clear line between the original data and what has only been imagined,[111] but memory of something that was only imagined may end up being so vivid that it is taken to be real beyond any doubt.[112] Consequently, when one 'remembers', it is often difficult, at times even impossible, to distinguish the original from the inference.

Now, the drawing of inferences and the providing of additional explanations to aid comprehension is precisely the task of the commentaries. To judge from modern research findings on the way textual memory works, it could easily have happened that, during oral transmission, material of a commentarial nature was confused with the material on which it was commenting. In what follows, I survey several examples that seem to testify to this pattern.

According to the *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* of the *Majjima-nikāya,* the advice given by the Buddha is supreme among "teachings of today".[113] The Pāli commentary explains that "teachings of today" refers to the six heterodox teachers (i.e., Pūraṇa Kassapa, etc.).[114] The corresponding passage in the two Chinese parallels to the *Gaṇakamoggallāna-sutta* proclaims that the Buddha's teaching is able to subdue all heterodox wanderers,[115] thereby expressing an understanding that corresponds to the Pāli commentarial gloss and thus could have resulted from the influence of a similarly worded ancient Indian commentary.

The *Aggivacchagotta-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* reports an inquiry by the wanderer Vacchagotta about the destiny of a Tathāgata after death.[116] A *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel to this discourse speaks instead of the destiny of the "self of beings", which does not fit the context.[117] The reference to the self of beings parallels an explanation found in the Pāli commentarial tradition, which glosses occurrences of the word Tathāgata in the context of this type of inquiry as referring to a "living being".[118] Thus, the puzzling reference in the Chinese version could be due to the influence of an ancient

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lished knowledge" it is remembered in this perspective "even if there are details of a local nature which are inconsistent with that interpretation". Thus, "processing in the service of cohesion establishment is both selective and incomplete".

[111] The inability to distinguish between originally perceived information and mental imaginations has been researched by Johnson 1979, who (p. 239) indicates that a confusion between original data and mental imagination appears to occur more easily with words to be remembered than with recalling more complex phenomena such as pictures.

[112] Roediger 1996: 85 notes that "subjects apparently experience the recollection of ... events that never happened as quite real, as real as the recall of the word events that actually had occurred. 'False memories' may be a misnomer, at least from the subject's viewpoint, because the experience of recollecting the critical non-presented words appears as real to the subjects as their recollections of the presented words".

[113] MN 107 at MN III 7,2: *bhoto gotamassa ovādo paramajjadhammesu*; cf. also above p. 623.

[114] Ps IV 70,18: *ajjadhammā nāma cha satthāradhammā.*

[115] MĀ 144 at T I 653c7: 能伏一切外道異學 and T 70 at T I 876b15: 能攝一切異學.

[116] MN 72 at MN I 484,27; cf. also above p. 391.

[117] SĀ^2 196 at T II 445a18.

[118] Sv I 118,1, Ps III 141,21, Spk II 201,4, and Mp IV 37,22.

Indian commentarial explanation similar to what is now preserved in the Pāli commentaries.

Examples of what could be the influence of commentarial exegesis occur not only in parallels to the *Majjhima-nikāya*. One such case can be found in the *Dīrgha-āgama* counterpart to the *Brahmajāla-sutta* of the *Dīgha-nikāya*. Both versions report that the Buddha had become aware of the fact that a group of monks had been having a discussion. While the *Dīgha-nikāya* simply mentions that, when the Buddha joined the monks, he sat down and asked them what they had been talking about,[119] the commentary clarifies that he asked this question even though he knew what their discussion had been about.[120] This is made explicit in the *Dīrgha-āgama* discourse itself, which indicates that the Buddha inquired from the monks "knowingly".[121]

Another example can be found in relation to the *Kassapagotta-sutta* of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*. The introductory narration of the Pāli version of this discourse reports that the monk Kassapagotta admonished a hunter.[122] The commentary then furnishes the additional information that the person in question was a deer hunter.[123] The parallel passages in versions of this discourse found in the two *Saṃyukta-āgama* translations go a step further, since they describe that the hunter was actually setting up a trap to catch deer on that occasion.[124]

The above examples suggest that during the process of oral transmission a commentarial gloss, being itself probably part of a body of widely accepted popular interpretation, could become part of the discourse itself.

This hypothesis would also fit the finding of a mixture of two different textual styles in works such as the *Divyāvadāna,* the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Mahāvastu*. These two textual styles comprise an "old style", similar to the Pāli discourses, and a "new style", more akin in form and content to later works and the Pāli commentaries.[125] Instances of a mixture of these two styles could well be the result of combining earlier texts with elaborations of an originally commentarial nature.[126]

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[119] DN 1 at DN I 2,23: *nisajja kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi*.

[120] Sv I 49,18: *evaṃ nisinno pana jānanto yeva kathāsamuṭṭhāpanatthaṃ bhikkhū pucchi.*

[121] DĀ 21 at T I 88b29: 大眾前坐, 知而故問.

[122] SN 9.3 at SN I 198,22: *tena kho pana samayena āyasmā kassapagotto divāvihāragato aññataraṃ chetaṃ ovadati* (C^{e}-SN I 354,17: *cetaṃ*), this case has already been noted by Wen 2006: 17.

[123] Spk I 289,29: *chetan ti ekaṃ migaluddakaṃ.*

[124] SĀ 1339 at T II 369b19: 時有獵師名曰尺只，去十力迦葉不遠，張網捕鹿，爾時十力迦葉為彼獵師哀愍說法, SĀ^{2} 359 at T II 491a27: 有一獵師名連迦，去尊者不遠施鹿羂弶，爾時尊者憐愍獵師為其說法.

[125] Oldenberg 1898: 672 (northern Buddhist texts in general), Oldenberg 1912b: 156 (*Divyāvadāna*), Oldenberg 1882: 114 (*Lalitavistara*, cf. also de Jong 1997/1998: 249), Oldenberg 1912a: 141 (*Mahāvastu*). Von Simson 1985: 81 comments that this pattern is probably of general relevance and not limited to the texts examined by Oldenberg.

[126] Von Simson 1965: 130, on the basis of a detailed comparative study of Pāli and Sanskrit discourse material, notes that material that is found additionally in the Sanskrit version often appears to stem from a commentary that has become part of the transmitted text ("zahlreiche Zusätze der Sanskritversion ... scheinen geradezu aus der fortlaufenden Kommentierung des überlieferten Textes in diesen selbst ein-

The same explanatory model would also be applicable to an instance where the school affiliation of the reciters appears to have influenced the wording of a discourse, namely the case of the *Madhyama-āgama* parallel to the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*.

Unlike its Pāli counterpart, the *Madhyama-āgama* discourse qualifies sense-organs of the past as "truly" existent,[127] which appears to reflect the influence of the Sarvāstivāda tenet that past and future phenomena truly exist. Yet, when it comes to sense-organs of the future, the same *Madhyama-āgama* discourse does not employ this qualification. If the application of the qualification to be "truly" existent had been the outcome of conscious editing, the same qualification would also have been applied to the future case. The same would hold true if this qualification was part of a gloss added at the time of translation, since once the translators had decided to incorporate this gloss, they would have naturally applied it to the future as well.

Hence, the most natural explanation of the present condition of the *Madhyama-āgama* presentation is that the qualification "truly" is the outcome of a somewhat accidental type of change. Perhaps a Sarvāstivāda commentary on the true existence of sense-organs in past and future times arose alongside the discourse, a portion of which then became part of the discourse during the process of transmission.

Now, of the various commentaries on the early discourses that would have been extant in India, with minor exceptions only those of the Theravāda tradition have been preserved fully. For this reason, parallelism between a particular discourse version and a commentary from a different tradition can be easily documented only in cases where a Chinese *Āgama* discourse parallels a Pāli commentarial passage.

However, the hypothesis that during the process of oral transmission commentarial material could become part of a discourse would also explain some passages in *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses, even without having direct access to the commentaries on the respective parallel versions.[128]

One example is the long exposition of various aspects of the Buddhist path given in the *Mahāsakuludāyi-sutta*, an exposition that is missing from its Chinese parallel.[129] Both discourses refer to the path to liberation, which may have led to the arising of a more detailed explanation of all the other aspects of the path in the form of a commentary that then made its way into the Pāli discourse.

Another example is the exposition of the supramundane path factors found in the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*.[130] Although the parallel versions do not have such an exposition, an otherwise unrelated discourse in the *Saṃyukta-āgama* also presents the path factors in supramundane perspective.[131] Hence, the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta* and the

gedrungen zu sein"). In a similar vein, Adikaram 1946/1994: 34-35 and 38-39 suggests several stanzas now found in the *Buddhavaṃsa* may stem from a commentary on this work.

[127] MĀ 165 at T I 697c20, cf. above p. 762.

[128] For an example involving two Pāli discourses cf. above p. 90 note 328.

[129] MN 77 at MN II 11,3; cf. also above p. 423.

[130] E.g., MN 117 at MN III 72,18 (supramundane right view); cf. also above p. 660.

[131] SĀ 785 at T II 203a21; cf. also SĀ 789 at T II 204c18, for a translation of both cf. Anālayo 2010i.

Saṃyukta-āgama discourse appear to have both been influenced by similar elaborations on the path factors in the style of the emerging Abhidharma, which may well have arisen in the course of commenting on the discourse.

A similar pattern could also be responsible for the additional description of various ways of purifying a monk's alms food given in the *Piṇḍapātapārisuddhi-sutta*, which is absent from its *Saṃyukta-āgama* parallel.[132] Here, too, it seems that, what may originally have been a commentarial gloss, giving additional information on how a monk may purify his alms food, eventually became part of the discourse.

Not only certain words or parts of a discourse, but at times entire prose sections appear to be later additions of a commentarial nature. This can be seen, for example, in the *Udāna* collection, whose verses are embedded in prose narrations that often appear to have been added at a later time.[133] In contrast, most of the *Udāna* collections preserved in other traditions are entirely in verse, giving the impression that, in these traditions, whatever narrations would have accompanied the verses in an actual performance situation were still considered commentarial.[134]

Another instance of the same pattern is the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga* of the *Sutta-nipāta*. In this case, it is the Pāli version that has only verses, whereas background stories, such as the tale of the murder of Sundarī, are found in the Pāli commentary. The Chinese translation of the *Aṭṭhaka-vagga*, however, combines verse with prose narrations similar to those found in the Pāli commentary.[135] Thus, its version of the tale of Sundarī has become part of the discourse itself,[136] a status this tale has also acquired in the Pāli *Udāna* collection.[137]

In sum, the actual performance situation of the early Buddhist oral reciters, when teaching a diverse audience, would often have demanded the employment of commentarial explanations alongside the recited material, explanations that in the course of transmission at times appear to have become part of the source material itself.

Notably, differences between parallel versions tend to affect more often the narrative portions of the text, which are the parts that were more prominently "commentarial"

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[132] MN 151 at MN III 295,13; cf. also above p. 848.

[133] This has already been pointed out by, e.g., Abeynayake 1984: 66, Ireland 1990b: 7, Lamotte 1968: 465, Nakamura 1980/1999: 43, Norman 1983a: 61, Pande 1957: 72, Seidenstücker 1920: xvi, von Hinüber 1996/1997: 46, Winternitz 1920/1968: 67, and Woodward 1935: v. For a more detailed study of the relationship between prose and verse in the *Udāna* cf. Anālayo 2009e.

[134] For a survey of the different *Udāna* collections cf. Anālayo 2008i.

[135] These instances corroborate a pattern described by Norman 1980: 179, who suggests that "when the Buddhist sects began to separate they already had a commentarial tradition together with their canonical texts, but ... what some regarded as canonical others kept as commentarial, and vice versa". The same pattern can also be found in *Vinaya* texts, where Shih 2008: 93, based on a case study of one particular regulation, reports that "discussions contained in the Chinese canonical texts appear not in the Pāli canon, but in its post-canonical commentaries".

[136] Pj II 518,16, commenting on Sn 780-787, with its Chinese counterpart in T 198 at T IV 176c3 (translated in Bapat 1945: 156-158); Baums 2009: 39 notes that the Sanskrit *Arthavargīyāṇī Sūtrāṇi* also incorporate the background stories, similar to the Chinese version.

[137] Ud 4.8 at Ud 43,22.

and thus more directly open to the influence of the reciters.[138] In contrast, what would have been considered by the reciters to be the word of the Buddha appears to have been more resistant to change.[139]

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[138] The lack of concern for accuracy in narrative passages finds its perhaps most explicit expression in a passage in the Mahāsāṅghika and (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*s, which instruct that if a monk has forgotten the location of a discourse, he should allocate the discourse to Sāvatthī or another of the main places where the Buddha frequently stayed, cf. T 1425 at T XXII 497a6 and T 1451 at T XXIV 328c15 and T XXIV 575b29; for the corresponding passage in the Tibetan (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, together with a discussion, cf. Schopen 1997/2004: 395-407; cf. also id. 1998/2004: 283 note 59. This instruction is also found in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, T II 550b13; cf. also the 分別功德論, T 1507 at T XXV 33b19. Regarding such instructions, Scharfe 2002: 25 note 93 comments that "it is worth noting that no such 'creativeness' was allowed where the contents of the lesson is concerned". The lack of concern for 'historical' details evident in these instructions does indeed contrast with the much greater care with which the doctrinal teachings in the discourses are transmitted. As Cousins 1983: 5 notes, between the various versions of a discourse "divergences are typically greatest in matters of little importance – such ... as the locations of suttas" (cf. also Lenz 2003: 17, who notes that "in comparative studies of sūtra and vinaya texts ... material is found to vary marginally in terms of content, but widely in ordering and arrangement"). Carrithers 1983a: 9 notes that "the ancient Indians ... were very little interested in chronology but much exercised over philosophy. Hence we are in the paradoxical situation of having a better idea of what the Buddha thought than of what century he lived in". Coward 1986: 305 comments that "the early Buddhists shared ... the Indian indifference to historical details. Historical events surrounding a text are judged to be unimportant in relation to the unchanging truth the text contains". De Jong 1979b: 142 notes that the information on the location of a discourse is considerably less well established in the tradition than the text itself ("par rapport au *nidāna*, l'exposition du lieu de l'action, la tradition est souvent beaucoup moins bien établie que par rapport au texte même"). Gokhale 1994/2001f: 1 notes that "the Buddha does not indulge in 'low' talk (*tiracchānakathā* – literally animal talk) ... [such as] tales of kings and their high ministers, armies and wars ... now precisely these are the stuff out of which the chronicles of history are made", which makes it only natural that the early Buddhist tradition was not too concerned about 'historical facts'. Gombrich 1990b: 22 comments that "from the religious point of view this is perfectly understandable: the narrative framework of the sayings is not relevant to salvation". According to Pollock 1989: 610, behind the ancient Indian attitude towards historical details stands "a model of 'truth' that accorded history no epistemological value or social significance". Rhys Davids 1899: 207 notes that "the doctrine taught loomed so much larger than anything else", as the monks responsible for the texts were "necessarily more concerned with that, than with any historical accuracy in the details of the story". Williams 1970: 166-167 points out that "the oral transmission of teaching is generally more conservative than that of narrative material" so that "it is likely that the teaching is a more accurate reflection of the oldest tradition than the narrative". In fact, the introductory section of a discourse, which specifies the location, etc., is clearly of a more commentarial nature than the main body of the discourse itself, since this is material that was added by the reciters.

[139] As I mentioned earlier, cf. above p. 502 note 303, von Simson 1977: 484 found that in the Sarvāstivāda tradition there is a strong tendency to replace phrases of the type *yena ... tenopasaṃkrāntaḥ* with *yena ... tenopajagāma*. Yet, in places where this expression is used in direct speech by the Buddha (i.e., the Buddha reports how someone came to see him) the old form remains. Von Simson concludes that this shows the respect the reciters had for what they perceived as the word of the Buddha, which was kept in the old form, while parts of the discourses not held to have been spoken by the Buddha could more easily be changed.

Summing up the main points of this part of the present chapter:

- oral recitation of a discourse for teaching purposes would have required explanatory comments;
- modern research on textual memory shows that such explanations could in the course of time be mistaken as having been part of the original;
- the result of such confusion of sources can be seen in instances where canonical versions of a discourse appear to have incorporated material that could have originally been a commentarial type of explanation.

Bringing together the different strands of my exploration in this final chapter of my study of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, the overall picture that suggests itself is that the early Buddhist oral transmission went through a gradual development, which led to the differences found between parallel versions.[140] This much is fully in line with what is only natural for orally transmitted material. Radical changes would in fact have been difficult to implement practically, since this would have required influencing an oral tradition passed on communally by groups of reciters spread out over various parts of India.[141]

Such gradual change, reflecting changing circumstances and times, would have been nearly inevitable, given the nature of human memory and the specific characteristics of the early Buddhist oral transmission. Instances of change would at first probably have manifested in explanations given alongside the recital of a discourse.[142] Over time, such a commentary could then have become so much a part of the oral tradition of the discourse to which it belonged that sections of it ended up becoming part of the discourse itself.

The general tendency of the early Buddhist monastics towards an increasingly sedentary life style would have contributed to the formation of local reciter groups, who would have learned and then recited the discourses in the way their particular teacher remembered them.[143] Other reciters, who lived a more migratory life style and thus be-

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[140] Gombrich 1990b: 26 suggests that "changes must have been mostly unintentional, due to lapses of memory and to the contamination of texts as someone's memory slipped from one text to another", whereas "any text which ... introduces something which is palpably new has no chance of survival". In a similar vein, Norman 1997: 92 clarifies that "there was no way of inserting an entirely new *sutta* into a *nikāya* unless the *bhāṇaka*s of the *nikāya* could be persuaded to accept it ... nor would it be possible ... even after the introduction of the use of writing, as long as the *bhāṇaka* tradition continued alongside writing". Scharfe 2002: 36 notes that "traditional Buddhist texts were handed down orally and their validity and correctness were constantly reaffirmed by group recitation of the monks; making additions to the canon ... difficult if not impossible".

[141] Gombrich 2003: 9 comments on the Buddhist canon that "it is inconceivable that this large body of material could have been composed and agreed on as authentic once Buddhism had spread over a large geographical area, as we know it did under the emperor Asoka. The common textual heritage must therefore date back to within about 150 years of the Buddha's death".

[142] By the time of the *Visuddhimagga,* the commentaries were perceived as such an integral part of the transmission that even a monk who knew the Tripiṭaka was apparently not allowed to deliver teachings until he had also studied the commentaries, cf. Vism 96,8.

[143] The (Mūla-)sarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, T 1451 at T XXIV 409c26, reports an occasion when Ānanda corrected

came exposed to various reciter lineages from different localities, would then have come across recitations of the same discourses with several variations.

An overall survey of the situation in ancient India at any given point in time would probably have shown a considerable degree of heterogeneity, as is typical of oral traditions in general.[144]

Discourses would have been recited with variations, with one detail becoming lost here and another detail being corrected there during a communal recitation, etc.[145] With increasing geographical separation, the variations to be found would have increased correspondingly.

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a monk who was reciting a verse wrongly. When this monk reported the matter to his teacher, he was told to continue reciting as he had learned it and not to worry about what Ānanda said (cf. also the version of this tale in Xuánzàng's (玄奘) travel records, T 2087 at T LI 909c14, translated in Beal 1884/2001b: 76, in T 2006 at T XLVIII 305a18, T 2035 at T XLIX 171a18, T 2058 at T L 302c2, T 2078 at T LI 720a16, and in Bu ston's "History of Buddhism" in Obermiller 1932/1986: 87; cf. also the comments on this incident by Brough 1962/2001: 45-48). This tale, whatever its historical accuracy, shows that variations were seen as being easily perpetuated because of the typical Indian respect for one's teacher.

[144] Cf. Vansina 1985: 161. In the case of the early Buddhist oral tradition, Davidson 1990/1992: 293 suggests that such heterogeneity was probably characteristic of the situation from its very outset, as "during the more than forty years of the Buddha's teaching career, there were many monks acting as authoritative teachers of the doctrine throughout the kingdom of Magadha and its border areas. They would cross paths with the master from time to time and receive new information as his doctrine and teaching style developed. They would also receive new information from one another during the fortnightly congregations, the summer rains retreats, and whenever they met as their mendicant paths crossed. After forty years of their obtaining new information through such contact, we may be certain that, by the death of the Buddha, the process of receiving new 'teachings of the teacher' (*śāstuḥ śāsanaṃ*) had become a well-accepted practice. The network of instruction was thus established, and doubtless most of the monks realized that much of what the Buddha had said during his lengthy career remained unknown to them personally. They therefore kept the network alive to obtain instruction committed to other bhikṣus. In my opinion, this was the beginning of the continuing cross-fertilization of scripture and doctrine which was the hallmark of Indian Buddhism". Cox 2004b: 502 points out that an explicit reference to such heterogeneity can be found in the account of the first *saṅgīti*, according to which "Purāṇa rejected the consensual understanding of the Buddha's teaching and preferred instead to transmit it as Purāṇa himself had heard it"; cf. also Seidenstücker 1913: 77-78. As Bechert 1973: 7 notes, this episode points to the existence of "an historical kernel in the traditions concerning the First Buddhist Council". Ray 1985: 154-155 sums up that, "given the Buddha's ... approach to the question of religious authority, the extensiveness of his own teaching [and] the considerable geographical extent of Buddhism at the time of his death ... uniformity in determination of *buddha-vacana* and of the canon was virtually ruled out".

[145] Allon 1997a: 366 points out that, although "communal or group recitation ... requires fixed wording", "there is, however, scope for considerable change to occur within a tradition of the transmission of fixed, memorized text. Monks were ... living in remote regions ... a dominant, centralised authority seems to have been absent. Accuracy in the transmission of a fixed text would have depended to a large extent on the number of monks available to reinforce the 'correct' version and on the authority of the teacher. And surely what the teacher taught, his pupils would have taken as authoritative. Differences in the order in which certain episodes or events occur within different versions of the same text and whether or not they are included could occur under such circumstances, as could differences in wording generally".

Eventually whole discourses would probably have been lost in some parts of India and only been preserved in other parts of the country. Out of the range of lineages of the early Buddhist oral transmission that would have been in existence at any given time, those versions that were eventually preserved for posterity reflect those peculiar errors and omissions or additions that had occurred in their particular line of transmission.

Once the dynamics of oral transmission and the limitations of human memory are taken into account, it becomes clear why the discourses of the *Majjhima-nikāya* and their parallels exhibit numerous differences in details alongside considerable agreement in regard to essential teachings. In this way, my research confirms that these discourses are indeed the final products of a genuine oral transmission, with all its vicissitudes, but also with all its strengths.[146]

My comparative study of the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses also shows that it would be a gross oversimplification if one were to side with one particular tradition as the more authentic one.[147] Nothing short of a detailed examination of each individual text in the light of all of its extant parallels can lead to a proper assessment of the reliability of a particular passage or statement and of its significance within the overall picture of early Buddhist thought, in as much as this has been preserved in textual records.

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[146] Bareau 1974b: 277-280 explains that the idea of a conspiracy of the early monks to introduce a change in the teaching arose at a time when scholarship was aware only of the Pāli canon, whereas comparative studies of the parallel material preserved in Chinese, Pāli, and Sanskrit show that this hypothesis is not convincing. He also notes that it is not only inconceivable that the first generation of disciples consciously altered the teachings, but also that during the later stages of Buddhist history, which saw endless time spent in discussion on minor points of Buddhist doctrine among the different schools, such a move would most certainly have been criticized, if it had ever taken place. He concludes that the Buddhism lived and preached by the Buddha and his disciples is, in its main lines, what we find in the early canonical texts preserved in Chinese, Pāli or Sanskrit ("le Bouddhisme vécu et prêché par le Buddha et ses premiers disciples est donc bien, dans se grandes lignes tout au moins, celui que nous trouvons décrit et enseigné dans les textes canoniques antiques qui nous sont parvenue en sanskrit, en pāli ou en traduction chinoise"). Oldenberg 1898: 674-675 asks where to find the redactors and shrewd forgers that would have been able to undertake such a task without betraying themselves a hundred or a thousand times ("aber wo gab es denn die raffinierten Fälscher, wo gab es die Redaktoren ... dass sie einer solchen Arbeit gewachsen gewesen wären, ohne sich hundert- und tausendmal zu verraten!"). He maintains that what we find in the Buddhist texts has grown out of itself, out of its own roots, rather than being a secondary redesign of a literature that originally could have been of a completely different appearance ("was wir hier vor uns haben, ist so, wie wir es sehen, aus sich selbst, aus seinen eigenen Wurzeln erwachsen; es ist nicht eine sekundäre ... Umgestaltung einer Literatur, welche ursprünglich ein ganz anderes Aussehen gezeigt haben könnte").

[147] Norman 1984/1992: 41 comments that "there is no consistent pattern of superiority in the Pāli version. Sometimes the details of one version may be preferable, but never consistently so, and if we are trying to establish the 'original' form of the text, it is necessary to take account of all versions known to us". He concludes (p. 44) that "all schools inherited an authoritative series of texts" and as "the other traditions have been shown, for the most part, to agree with the Pāli tradition ... by giving us an insight into the form which the Buddhist texts had before the schisms, they have reinforced the authority of the Pāli tradition and supported its claim to be authentic".

At the same time, rather than giving us a completely new picture of early Buddhism, what my comparative study of the parallels to the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses yields is a reconfirmation of the essentials,[148] with occasional divergence in details.

[148] According to Lamotte 1958/1988: 639, "in order to appreciate early Buddhism, the only valid evidence – or indication – which we possess is the basic agreement between the Nikāyas on the one hand and the Āgamas on the other. This evidence or indication carries more weight than academic hypotheses put forward after an interval of twenty-five centuries" (Lamotte 1958: 708: "pour apprécier le bouddhisme primitif, le seul témoignage – ou indice – valable dont nous disposions est l'accord foncier entre Nikāya d'une part et Āgama de l'autre. Ce témoignage ou cet indice a plus de poids que des hypothèses savantes échafaudées à vingt-cinq siècles de distance").

Abbreviations[1]

Abhidh-k	*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*
Abhidh-k-ṭ	*Abhidharmakośa-upāyikā-nāma-ṭīkā*
Abhidhān	*Abhidhānappadīpikā-ṭīkā*
AN	*Aṅguttara-nikāya*
Ap	*Apadāna*
Ap-a	*Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā*
As	*Atthasālinī*
Avś	*Avadānaśātaka*
B^e	Burmese edition
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary, cf. Edgerton 1953/1998b
Bv	*Buddhavaṃsa*
C^e	Ceylonese edition
Cp	*Cariyāpiṭaka*
CPD	Critical Pāli Dictionary, cf. Trenckner 1924, 1960, and 1992
D	Derge edition
DĀ	*Dirgha-āgama* (T 1)
DĀ (Skt)	*Dirgha-āgama* Sanskrit fragments
Dhp	*Dhammapada*
Dhp-a	*Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*
Dhs	*Dhammasaṅgaṇī*
Dīp	*Dīpavaṃsa*
DN	*Dīgha-nikāya*
DP	Dictionary of Pāli, cf. Cone 2001
EĀ	*Ekottarika-āgama* (T 125)
EĀ^2	*Ekottarika-āgama* (partial, T 150A)
ed.	edited/edition
E^e	PTS edition
It	*Itivuttaka*
It-a	*Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*
Jā	*Jātaka*
Kkh-pṭ	*Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī-purāṇa-ṭīkā*
Khp	*Khuddakapāṭha*
Kv	*Kathāvatthu*
Kv-a	*Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā*
MĀ	*Madhyama-āgama* (T 26)
Mhb	*Mahābhārata*

[1] I mostly follow the abbreviations for Buddhist literature suggested by Bechert 1990.

Mhv	*Mahāvaṃsa*
Mil	*Milindapañha*
MN	*Majjhima-nikāya*
Mp	*Manorathapūraṇī*
Mp-ṭ	*Sāratthamañjūsā*
MW	Sanskrit English Dictionary, cf. Monier-Williams 1899/1999
Nett	*Nettipakaraṇa*
Nidd I	*Mahāniddesa*
Nidd-a	*Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā*
p.	page
Paṭis	*Paṭisambhidāmagga*
PED	Pāli English Dictionary, cf. Rhys Davids 1921/1993
Peṭ	*Peṭakopadesa*
Pj	*Paramatthajotikā*
Pp	*Puggalapaññatti*
Ppk-a	*Pañcappakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*
Ps	*Papañcasūdanī*
Ps-pṭ	*Papañcasūdanī-purāṇaṭīkā*
Q	Qian-long ('Peking') edition
rev.	revised
S^e	Siamese edition
SĀ	*Saṃyukta-āgama* (T 99)
$SĀ^2$	*Saṃyukta-āgama* (partial, T 100)
$SĀ^3$	*Saṃyukta-āgama* (partial, T 101)
Sadd	*Saddanīti*
Saṅghabh	*Saṅghabhedavastu*
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden
Sīlkkh-abh-ṭ	*Sīlakkhandhavagga-abhinavaṭīkā*
Skt	Sanskrit
Sn	*Sutta-nipāta* (quoted by verse number)
Sn p.	*Sutta-nipāta* (quoted by page number)
SN	*Saṃyutta-nikāya*
SN^2 I	*Sagātha-vagga* of SN, new E^e ed. by Somaratne (1998)
Sp	*Samantapāsādikā*
Sp-ṭ	*Sāratthadīpanī*
Spk	*Sāratthappakāsinī*
Spk-pṭ	*Sāratthappakāsinī-purāṇaṭīkā*
ŚSG	Śrāvakabhūmi Study Group
Sv	*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*
T	Taishō edition
Th	*Theragāthā*
Th-a	*Theragāthā-aṭṭhakathā*

Thī	*Therīgāthā*
Thī-a	*Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*
trsl.	translation/translated
Ud	*Udāna*
Ud-a	*Paramatthadīpanī*
UvViv	*Udānavargavivaraṇa*
Vibh	*Vibhaṅga*
Vibh-a	*Sammohavinodanī*
Vibh-mṭ	*Vibhaṅga-mūlaṭīkā*
Vin	*Vinayapiṭaka*
Vism	*Visuddhimagga*
Vism-mhṭ	*Paramatthamañjūsā*
vol.	volume
Vv	*Vimānavatthu*
Vv-a	*Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*

Primary sources referred to by way of abbreviation are based on the following editions:[2]

AN: PTS edition of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, vol. I ed. R. Morris, rev. A.K. Warder 1885/1989, vol. II ed. R. Morris 1888/1995, vol. III ed. E. Hardy 1897/1994, vol. IV ed. E. Hardy 1899/1979, vol. V ed. E. Hardy 1900/1979.
Ap: PTS edition of the *Apadāna*, vol. I ed. M.E. Lilley 1925/2000, vol. II ed. id. 1927/2000.
As: PTS edition of the *Atthasālinī*, ed. E. Müller 1897/1979.
B^e: Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Tipiṭaka edition, Myanmar 2004 (reprint).
C^e: Buddha Jayanti Tipiṭaka edition, Sri Lanka 1962/2001.
Cp: PTS edition of the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, ed. N.A. Jayawickrama 1974.
D: Derge Edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka, published by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center 2002 (based on a scanning of the photomechanical reprint of the *par phud* printing published in Delhi by Karmapae chodhey gyalwae sungrab partun khang).
Dhp: PTS edition of the *Dhammapada*, ed. O. von Hinüber and K.R. Norman 1994.
Dhp-a: PTS edition of the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, vol. I ed. H.C. Norman 1906/1970, vol. II ed. id. 1906/1970, vol. III ed. id. 1906/1970, vol. IV ed. id. 1906/1970.
Dhs: PTS edition of the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, ed. E. Müller 1885/2001.
DN: PTS edition of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, vol. I ed. J.E. Carpenter and T.W. Rhys Davids 1890/1995, vol. II ed. id. 1903/1982, vol. III ed. J.E. Carpenter 1911/1992.
It: PTS edition of the *Itivuttaka*, ed. E. Windisch 1889/1975.
It-a: PTS edition of the *Itivuttaka-aṭṭhakathā*, ed. M.M. Bose 1934/1977.
Jā: PTS edition of the *Jātaka*, vol. I ed. V. Fausbøll 1877/1962, vol. II ed. id. 1879/1963, vol. III ed. id. 1883/1963, vol. IV ed. id. 1887/1963, vol. V ed. id. 1891/1963, vol. VI ed. id. 1896/1964.
Khp: PTS edition of the *Khuddakapāṭha*, ed. H. Smith 1915/1978.
Kv: PTS edition of the *Kathāvatthu*, vol. I ed. A.C. Taylor 1894/1979, vol. II ed. id. 1897/1979.
Kv-a: PTS edition of the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, ed. N.A. Jayawickrama 1979.
Mil: PTS edition of the *Milindapañha*, ed. V. Trenckner 1880/1986
MN: PTS edition of the *Majjhima-nikāya*, vol. I ed. V. Trenckner 1888/1993, vol. II ed. R. Chalmers 1896/1993, vol. III ed. id. 1899/1977.
Mp: PTS edition of the *Manorathapūraṇī*, vol. I ed. M. Walleser 1924/1973, vol. II ed. M. Walleser and H. Kopp 1930/1967, vol. III ed. H. Kopp 1936/1966, vol. IV ed. id. 1940/1979, vol. V ed. id. 1956/1977.
Nett: PTS edition of the *Nettipakaraṇa*, ed. E. Hardy 1902.

[2] Quotations from Pāli works not mentioned in this list are taken from the digital *Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana* edition published by the Vipassana Research Institute, Igatpuri, India, 1999.

Nidd: PTS edition of the *Mahāniddesa*, ed. L. de La Vallée Poussin 1916/2001.
Nidd-a: PTS edition of the *Saddhammapajjotika*, ed. A.P. Buddhadatta 1931/1980.
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Appendix: List of Parallels

The present appendix provides a survey of the main parallels to the discourses of the *Majjhima-nikāya* on which I have based my comparative study in the preceding pages.[1] With the term "parallel" I intend to indicate that two versions of a discourse are sufficiently similar to make it probable that they stem from the same occasion. When such similarity only extends to parts of a discourse, I reckon the counterpart version to be a "partial parallel", marked in the table by the use of * in the third column and listed after the full parallels in the same language. Needless to say, to employ such distinctions involves some degree of subjectivity, so that the indications given below are not meant as a final statement on the issue, but merely as provisory hints. In fact, the relationship between the different versions of a discourse can involve a whole kaleidoscope of varying shades of similarity or difference. To adequately reflect this through a set of fixed categories seems impossible, so that the use of the above set of classifications can only be an approximation.

The table below gives the *Majjhima-nikāya* discourses and their locations in the first and second columns. Parallels are listed in the alphabetical order of their languages, indicated in the third column, with the fourth column giving the respective discourse number, etc., and the fifth column listing the locations of the parallels in alphabetical-numerical order.

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[1] My survey of parallels to the *Majjhima-nikāya*, of which an earlier version appeared in Anālayo 2006d, is based on Akanuma 1929/1990, the Fó-guāng (佛光) indexes, Honjō 1984, Lamotte 1944/1981, id. 1949/1981, id. 1970a, id. 1970/1976, id. 1980, Yìnshùn 1971/1983, references provided in the SHT series, and indications made by Mark Allon, Rod Bucknell, Lance Cousins, Fumio Enomoto, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Noriyuki Kudo, Peter Skilling (who kindly allowed me to consult his notes on parallels to the MN), and Ken Su, as well as my own readings of the primary sources (where especially the *Ekottarika-āgama* has yielded several so far not recognized parallels). New parallels will continue to be found and a number of relevant Sanskrit fragments are at present not yet edited, hence my listing of parallels is certainly not intended as the final word on extant parallels to the *Majjhima-nikāya*, but only as a survey of those parallels of which I have been aware at the time of compiling my study. A more detailed explanation of my reasons for not including some of the parallels that had been listed by Akanuma can be found in the respective comparative studies. The present survey does not comprehensively list all discourse quotations or secondary material mentioned in the footnotes to the respective studies, but only the main parallel passages or texts and, at times, closely related texts (as, e.g., other discourses on the ten powers and four intrepidities of a Tathāgata in the case of MN 12). An exception has been Śamathadeva's commentary on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (Abhidh-k-ṭ), which due to its importance for my research I have included in the present table, even in cases where the actual passage is only brief. As a result, the overall impression that the present table gives does not adequately reflect the quantitative importance of Chinese parallels, as some of the Sanskrit fragments and quotations from Abhidh-k-ṭ listed under partial parallels (*) are rather short.

Overview of Parallels to the Discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya*

Majjhima-nikāya		Parallels in Chinese, Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, etc.		
Discourse-number	Volume and page	Language and ranking	Discourse-number, etc.	Volume and page
MN 1	MN I 1	Chinese Chinese* Chinese*	EĀ 44.6 MĀ 106 T 56	T II 766a T I 596b T I 851a
MN 2	MN I 6	Chinese Chinese Chinese Pāli* Tibetan Tibetan*	MĀ 10 T 31 EĀ 40.6 AN 6:58 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 431c T I 813a T II 740a AN III 387 mngon: ju 91b / tu 104b[2] mngon: nyu 94a / thu 142b[3]
MN 3	MN I 12	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 88 EĀ 18.3	T I 569c T II 587c
MN 4	MN I 16	Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	EĀ 31.1 fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	T II 665b SHT I 164c+g[4] SHT IV 32.33-41 SHT IV 165.15-16 SHT IV 500.4 SHT IX 2401
MN 5	MN I 24	Chinese Chinese Chinese	MĀ 87 T 49 EĀ 25.6	T I 566a T I 839a T II 632a
MN 6	MN I 33	Chinese Chinese Pāli Tibetan*	MĀ 105 EĀ 37.5 AN 10:71 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 595c T II 712a AN V 131 mngon: ju 57a / tu 62b[5]
MN 7	MN I 36	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese* Chinese*	MĀ 93 T 51 EĀ 13.5 T 582 SĀ 1185 SĀ² 98	T I 575a T I 843c T II 573c T XIV 966b T II 321a T II 408b
MN 8	MN I 40	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 91 EĀ 47.9	T I 573b T II 784a

[2] Here and below, in the footnotes to the quotations from Abhidh-k-ṭ the corresponding reference to Abhidh-k can be found, which in the present case is Pradhan 1967: 82,25, paralleling MN I 7,7.

[3] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 471,18, paralleling MN I 8,18; cf. also Pradhan 1967: 133,18, paralleling MN I 8,4.

[4] Following general practice, references to fragments published in the series *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* are by volume of the series plus the number of the fragment. The expression 'Sanskrit' used in the third column is meant as an umbrella term in a wider sense.

[5] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 48,8 and 435,8, paralleling MN I 33,34 or a similar passage elsewhere.

MN 9	MN I 46	Chinese[6] Chinese Sanskrit	MĀ 29 SĀ 344 fragment	T I 461b T II 94b Tripāṭhī 1962: 50
MN 10	MN I 55	Chinese Chinese Pāli Pāli* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan*	MĀ 98 EĀ 12.1 DN 22 MN 119 fragment fragment fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 582b T II 568a DN II 290 MN III 89 SHT I 614 SHT III 862 SHT V 1180 A1 SHT IX 3039 mngon: nyu 12b / thu 45b[7] mngon: nyu 49b / thu 89b[8] mngon: nyu 58a / thu 100b[9]
MN 11	MN I 63	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 103 EĀ 27.2	T I 590b T II 643c
MN 12	MN I 68	Chinese Chinese* Chinese*[10] Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Pāli* Pāli* Pāli* Pāli* Pāli* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	T 757 T 13 SĀ 612 SĀ 684 SĀ 701 EĀ 27.6 EĀ 31.8 EĀ 46.4 EĀ 50.6 T 780 T 781 T 802 SN 12:21-22 SN 52:15-24 AN 4:8 AN 6:64 AN 10:21-22 fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	T XVII 591c T I 241b T II 171c T II 186c T II 189a T II 645b T II 670c T II 776b T II 811a T XVII 717c T XVII 718c T XVII 747b SN II 27 SN V 304 AN II 8 AN III 417 AN V 32 Chung 2009 Hartmann 1991, no. 133-135[11] Lévi 1910: 443 Poussin 1911: 1063 Sander 1987: (181), 185 SHT IV 32.41-57 SHT IV 500.5 SHT IV 623.5

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6 Akanuma 1929/1990: 163 also lists EĀ 49.5 at T II 797b.

7 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 342,7, paralleling MN I 56,27.

8 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 396,10, paralleling MN I 59,30.

9 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 411,5, paralleling MN I 57,15.

10 The present survey includes several versions of the ten powers and four intrepidities, even when these do not stand in a direct relation to the remainder of MN 12.

11 For no. 133 cf. also Kudo 2009: 193, for no. 134 cf. also Nagashima 2009: 139.

		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT V 1102
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1504
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1543
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1564
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IX 2018
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IX 2066
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IX 2162
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IX 2323
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Waldschmidt 1932: 209
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Waldschmidt 1958: 384
		Uighur*	fragment	Shōgaito 2002
MN 13	MN I 83	Chinese	MĀ 99	T I 584c
		Chinese	T 53	T I 846c
		Chinese	EĀ 21.9	T II 604c
		Chinese	T 737	T XVII 539b
MN 14	MN I 91	Chinese	MĀ 100	T I 586b
		Chinese	T 54	T I 848b
		Chinese	T 55	T I 849b
		Chinese*	EĀ 41.1	T II 744a
MN 15	MN I 95	Chinese	MĀ 89	T I 571c
		Chinese	T 50	T I 842b
MN 16	MN I 101	Chinese	MĀ 206	T I 780b
		Chinese	EĀ 51.4	T II 817a
		Chinese*	DĀ 10	T I 53c
		Chinese*	T 1536	T XXVI 416b
		Pāli	AN 10:14	AN V 17
		Pāli*	DN 33	DN III 237
		Pāli*	DN 34	DN III 278
		Pāli*	AN 5:205-206	AN III 248
		Pāli*	AN 9:71-72	AN IV 460
		Pāli*	AN 9:82	AN IV 463
		Pāli*	AN 9:92	AN IV 464
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Mittal 1957: 34
MN 17	MN I 104	Chinese	MĀ 107	T I 596c
		Chinese	MĀ 108	T I 597c
		Chinese*	EĀ 45.3	T II 771c
		Pāli*	AN 9:6	AN IV 366
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1304
MN 18	MN I 108	Chinese	MĀ 115	T I 603b
		Chinese	EĀ 40.10	T II 743a
MN 19	MN I 114	Chinese	MĀ 102	T I 589a
MN 20	MN I 118	Chinese	MĀ 101	T I 588a
MN 21	MN I 122	Chinese	MĀ 193	T I 744a
		Chinese*	EĀ 50.8	T II 812c
MN 22	MN I 130	Chinese	MĀ 200	T I 763b
		Chinese*	EĀ 43.5	T II 759c
		Chinese*	EĀ 50.8	T II 812c
		Chinese*	T 1421	T XXII 56c
		Chinese*	T 1425	T XXII 367a

		Chinese*	T 1428	T XXII 682a
		Chinese*	T 1435	T XXIII 106a
		Chinese*	T 1442	T XXIII 840b[12]
		Chinese*	T 1460	T XXIV 663a
		Pāli*	Pācittiya 68	Vin IV 133
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: nyu 74b / thu 119b[13]
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: nyu 94b / thu 143b[14]
MN 23	MN I 142	Chinese	T 95	T I 918b
		Chinese	SĀ 1079	T II 282a
		Chinese	SĀ² 18	T II 379c
		Chinese	EĀ 39.9	T II 733b
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 130a / tu 149b[15]
MN 24	MN I 145	Chinese	MĀ 9	T I 429c
		Chinese	EĀ 39.10	T II 733c
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT II 163b-d
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1329
MN 25	MN I 151	Chinese	MĀ 178	T I 718b
MN 26	MN I 160	Chinese	MĀ 204	T I 775c
		Chinese*	EĀ 19.1	T II 593a
		Chinese*	EĀ 24.5	T II 618a
		Chinese*	T 765	T XVII 679b[17]
		Chinese*	T 1421	T XXII 101
		Chinese*	T 1428	T XXII 779
		Chinese*	T 1450	T XXIV 126
		Sanskrit*	Udānavarga	Bernhard 1965: 278[18]
		Sanskrit*	Saṅghabh	Gnoli 1977: 128
		Sanskrit*	Lalitavistara[16]	Lefmann 1902: 238[19]
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Liu 2009: 50
		Sanskrit*	Mahāvastu	Senart 1890: 118[20]
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT I 769[21]
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT V 1332
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT V 1714
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1493
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT X 3917
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT X 3920

[12] Cf. also Dutt 1984c: 30,2 and Yamagiwa 2001: 86,7.
[13] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 449,18.
[14] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 472,7, paralleling MN I 138,3.
[15] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 127,7, paralleling MN I 144,2.
[16] In addition to the Chinese counterparts to the *Lalitavistara* and the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (cf. T 186 at T III 527a, T 187 at T III 603a, and T 191 at T III 952c), several other Buddha biographies parallel some of the events described in MN 26, cf., e.g., T 188 at T III 620b, T 189 at T III 642c, T 190 at T III 806a, and T 196 at T IV 147c.
[17] Akanuma 1929/1990: 164 instead lists T 765 at T XVII 67a, which seems to be a typing error.
[18] Cf. also Chakravarti 1930: 262 and Nakatani 1987: 60.
[19] Cf. also Vaidya 1958b: 174.
[20] Cf. also Basak 1965: 165.
[21] This fragment has been published as no. 97 and 98 in Waldschmidt 1952: 48.

		Sanskrit* Tibetan* Tocharian*	fragment D 4094 / Q 5595fragment	Waldschmidt 1957a: 108 mngon: ju 52b / tu 57b[22] Sieg 1933: 171
MN 27	MN I 175	Chinese	MĀ 146	T I 656a
MN 28	MN I 184	Chinese Tibetan*	MĀ 30 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 464b mngon: ju 140b / tu 161b[23]
MN 29	MN I 192	Chinese	EĀ 43.4	T II 759a
MN 30	MN I 198	Chinese*	EĀ 43.4	T II 759a
MN 31	MN I 205	Chinese Chinese Gāndhārī	MĀ 185 EĀ 24.8 fragment	T I 729b T II 629a Senior Karoṣṭhī 12
MN 32	MN I 212	Chinese Chinese Chinese Sanskrit* Tibetan*	MĀ 184 EĀ 37.3 T 154.16 fragment D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 726c T II 710c T III 80c SHT V 1346 mngon: ju 68b / tu 76b[24]
MN 33	MN I 220	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Pāli Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	SĀ 1249 T 123 EĀ 49.1 T 1509 AN 11:18 fragment fragment fragment	T II 342c T II 546a T II 794a T XXV 74a AN V 347 Schøyen 2380/50b Schøyen 2380/51a Schøyen 2380/51b
MN 34	MN I 225	Chinese Chinese Sanskrit*	SĀ 1248 EĀ 43.6 fragment	T II 342a T II 761b SHT VI 1381
MN 35	MN I 227	Chinese Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	SĀ 110 EĀ 37.10 fragment fragment fragment	T II 35a T II 715a Bongard-Levin 1989: 509 Schøyen 2372/1/1 SHT III 997A
MN 36	MN I 237	Chinese*[25] Chinese* Chinese* Pāli* Pāli* Sanskrit Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	EĀ 31.8 T 757 T 1428 MN 85 MN 100 fragment fragment Saṅghabh	T II 670c T XVII 598a-599c T XXII 780c MN II 93 MN II 212 Liu 2009 Bongard-Levin 1989: 509 Gnoli 1977: 100

[22] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 43,2, paralleling MN I 169,8.

[23] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 136,19, paralleling MN I 185,15.

[24] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 71,12, paralleling MN I 219,31.

[25] The events described in MN 36 recur in several Buddha biographies; e.g., the first *dhyāna* experience of the bodhisattva can be found in the Chinese counterparts to the *Lalitavistara* and the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, T 186 at T III 499b, T 187 at T III 560b, and T 191 at T III 944b, and also in such texts as T 184 at T III 467b, T 185 at T III 475b, T 188 at T III 619b, T 189 at T III 629a, T 190 at T III 706a, T 192 at T IV 8c, and T 193 at T IV 66b; cf. also the *Divyāvadāna* in Cowell 1886: 391 (cf. also Vaidya 1999: 250).

		Sanskrit*	fragment	Hartmann 1991, no. 148
		Sanskrit*	Lalitavistara	Lefmann 1902: 246[26]
		Sanskrit*	Mahāvastu	Senart 1890: 121[27]
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT III 931
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT III 997A
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Wille 2006: 72
MN 37	MN I 251	Chinese	SĀ 505	T II 133b
		Chinese	EĀ 19.3	T II 593c
MN 38	MN I 256	Chinese	MĀ 201	T I 766b
		Chinese*	EĀ 21.3	T II 602c
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT V 1114
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT V 1166
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 110a / tu 126a[28]
MN 39	MN I 271	Chinese	MĀ 182	T I 724c
		Chinese	EĀ 49.8	T II 801c
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT I 562
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1392
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: nyu 27b / thu 63b[29]
MN 40	MN I 281	Chinese	MĀ 183	T I 725c
MN 41	MN I 285	Chinese	SĀ 1042	T II 272c
		Chinese	SĀ 1043	T II 273a
		Pāli	MN 42	MN I 290
MN 42	MN I 290	Chinese	SĀ 1042	T II 272c
		Chinese	SĀ 1043	T II 273a
		Pāli	MN 41	MN I 285
MN 43	MN I 292	Chinese[30]	MĀ 211	T I 790b
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 73b / tu 83a[31]
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 165a / tu 190b[32]
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 165b / tu 191a[33]
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 239a / tu 273a[34]
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: nyu 68a / tu 112a[35]
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: nyu 81a / thu 127a[36]
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: nyu 95a / thu 143b[37]

[26] Cf. also Vaidya 1958b: 181.

[27] Cf. also Basak 1965: 169.

[28] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 121,22, paralleling MN I 265,35; for another quotation cf. Pradhan 1967: 153,6, paralleling MN I 261,5.

[29] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 369,9, paralleling MN I 280,12.

[30] Akanuma 1929/1990: 165 also lists SĀ 251 at T II 60b.

[31] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 73,19, paralleling MN I 295-296.

[32] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 146,14, paralleling MN I 293,22.

[33] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 146,18, paralleling MN I 295-296.

[34] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 243,21, paralleling MN I 295-296.

[35] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 434,19, paralleling MN I 295-296.

[36] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 465,7, paralleling MN I 292,32.

[37] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 473,23, paralleling MN I 292,25.

MN 44	MN I 299	Chinese Tibetan Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan*	MĀ 210 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 788a mngon: ju 6b / tu 7a[38] mngon: ju 12a / tu 13a[39] mngon: ju 43a / tu 46b[40] mngon: ju 51b / tu 56a[41] mngon: ju 62a / tu 69a[42] mngon: ju 66a / tu 73b[43] mngon: ju 268b / thu 11b[44] mngon: nyu 4b / thu 36a[45]
MN 45	MN I 305	Chinese	MĀ 174	T I 711b
MN 46	MN I 309	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 175 T 83	T I 712c T I 902b
MN 47	MN I 317	Chinese	MĀ 186	T I 731a
MN 49	MN I 326	Chinese Pāli* Tibetan*	MĀ 78 SN 6:4 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 547a SN I 142 mngon: ju 188b / tu 215b[46]
MN 50	MN I 332	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan* Tibetan*	MĀ 131 T 66 T 67 EĀ 45.4 EĀ 48.6 fragment fragment fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 620b T I 864b T I 867a T II 772a T II 793b SHT IV 412.8-11[47] SHT V 1070 SHT V 1424 SHT X 4022 mngon: ju 75b / tu 85a[48] mngon: ju 118b / tu 136a[49]
MN 51	MN I 339	Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	Melzer 2006: 306 SHT I 422 SHT III 879 SHT III 996 SHT IV 165.27 SHT V 1153 SHT V 1359

38 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 4,7, paralleling MN I 304,19.
39 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 5,8, paralleling MN I 300,1.
40 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 24,12, paralleling MN I 301,28.
41 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 39,19, paralleling MN I 303,20.
42 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 55,14, paralleling MN I 301,9.
43 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 61,5, paralleling MN I 301,21.
44 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 281,20, paralleling MN I 299,8.
45 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 329,5, paralleling MN I 303,3.
46 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 185,3, paralleling MN I 328,18.
47 Reconstructed, together with SHT V 1070, in Waldschmidt 1976.
48 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 75,3, paralleling MN I 333,19.
49 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 123,2, paralleling MN I 337,5.

MN 52	MN I 349	Chinese Chinese Pāli	MĀ 217 T 92 AN 11:17	T I 802a T I 916a AN V 342
MN 54	MN I 359	Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	MĀ 203 fragment fragment fragment	T I 773a SHT V 1332 SHT VI 1493 SHT X 3917
MN 55	MN I 368	Sanskrit Sanskrit*	fragment fragment	DĀ (Skt) 433r[50] SHT VI 1525
MN 56	MN I 371	Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan*	MĀ 133 fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 628a Hoernle 1916/1970: 28 Lévi 1925: 27 Nakatani 1986: 313 SHT III 804 SHT III 872 SHT III 1007 SHT IV 412.17-21[51] SHT VI 1291 SHT VI 1302 SHT VI 1522 SHT VIII 1802 SHT VIII 1913 SHT IX 2047 SHT IX 2932 SHT X 4193 Wille 2006: 71 mngon: ju 246a / tu 281a[52]
MN 57	MN I 387	Chinese* Tibetan*	T 1536 D 4094 / Q 5595	T XXVI 396a mngon: ju 268b / tu 235a[53]
MN 58	MN I 392	Chinese* Chinese* Sanskrit*	T 1509 T 1521 fragment	T XXV 321b T XXVI 79b Hirabayashi 2009: 167
MN 59	MN I 396	Chinese Pāli Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibet*	SĀ 485 SN 36:19 fragment fragment fragment D 4094/ Q 5595	T II 123c SN IV 223 SHT II 51a SHT VIII 1863 SHT VIII 1884 mngon: nyu 4b / thu 36a[54]
MN 60	MN I 400	Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	Hartmann 1991, no. 2 Melzer 2006: 306 SHT I 422 SHT III 879 SHT III 966

[50] Cf. Hartmann 2004b: 127.
[51] Reconstructed, together with SHT III 872, in Waldschmidt 1979.
[52] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 264,9, paralleling MN I 373,19.
[53] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 235,1.
[54] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 330,10.

		Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	SHT III 996 SHT IV 165.27+32+37 SHT V 1153 SHT V 1359 SHT VI 1261 SHT VI 1579 Wille 2006: 79
MN 61	MN I 414	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan Tibetan*	MĀ 14 T 211 T 212 T 1442 T 1509 T 1579 T 1813 fragment Śrāvakabhūmi D 3 / Q 1032 UvViv	T I 436a T IV 599c T IV 688a T XXIII 760b T XXV 158a T XXX 405b T XL 623b SHT V 1117 Shukla 1973: 55[55] 'dul ba: cha 215a / je 199b Balk 1984: 379
MN 62	MN I 420	Chinese	EĀ 17.1	T II 581c
MN 63	MN I 426	Chinese Chinese Chinese	MĀ 221 T 94 T 1509	T I 804a T I 917b T XXV 170a
MN 64	MN I 432	Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan*	MĀ 205 fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 778c SHT V 1279 SHT IX 2155 mngon: ju 259b / thu 1a[56]
MN 65	MN I 437	Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Sanskrit*	MĀ 194 EĀ 49.7 T 1425 fragment	T I 746b T II 800b T XXII 359b SHT II 559
MN 66	MN I 447	Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Tibetan*	MĀ 192 EĀ 49.7 T 1421 T 1425 T 1428 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 740c T II 800c T XXII 54a T XXII 359b T XXII 662b mngon: ju 199b / tu 227b[57]
MN 67	MN I 456	Chinese Chinese Pāli*	EĀ 45.2 T 137 AN 4:122	T II 770c T II 860a AN II 123
MN 68	MN I 462	Chinese	MĀ 77	T I 544b
MN 69	MN I 469	Chinese Tibetan*	MĀ 26 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 454c mngon: ju 57a / tu 62b[58]
MN 70	MN I 473	Chinese	MĀ 195	T I 749c

[55] Cf. also ŚSG 1998: 88.

[56] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 278,2, paralleling MN I 434,19.

[57] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 190,23, paralleling MN I 455,3; for another quotation cf. Pradhan 1967: 227,15, paralleling MN I 454,28.

[58] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 48,8 and 435,8, paralleling MN I 472,14 or a similar passage elsewhere.

		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 57a / tu 62b[59]
MN 72	MN I 483	Chinese Chinese Tibetan Uighur*	SĀ 962 SĀ² 196 D 4094 / Q 5595 fragment	T II 245b T II 444c mngon: ju 156b / tu 181a[60] Kudara 1995: 27
MN 73	MN I 489	Chinese Chinese Chinese	SĀ 964 SĀ² 198 T 1428	T II 246b T II 446a T XXIV 963a
MN 74	MN I 497	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Sanskrit Sanskrit* Tibetan Tibetan	SĀ 969 SĀ² 203 T 200 T 1509 T 1545 Avś fragment Avś Pravrajyāvastu	T II 249a T II 449a T IV 255a T XXV 61b + 254b T XXVII 509b Speyer 1909/1970: 186[61] Pischel 1904: 814[62] Devacandra 1996: 708 Eimer 1983: 96
MN 75	MN I 501	Chinese	MĀ 153	T I 670a
MN 76	MN I 513	Sanskrit*[63] Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	fragment fragment fragment	SHT III 886 SHT III 942 Wille 2006: 83
MN 77	MN II 1	Chinese[64]	MĀ 207	T I 781b
MN 78	MN II 22	Chinese	MĀ 179	T I 720a
MN 79	MN II 29	Chinese	MĀ 208	T I 783c
MN 80	MN II 40	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 209 T 90	T I 786b T I 913c
MN 81	MN II 45	Chinese Chinese Sanskrit Sanskrit Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan	MĀ 63 T 197.10 Saṅghabh Mahāvastu fragment fragment D 1 / Q 1030	T I 499a T IV 172c Gnoli 1978a: 22 Senart 1882a: 317[65] SHT X 3596 SHT XI 4607a ’dul ba: ga 4a / nge 3b
MN 82	MN II 54	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Pāli*	MĀ 132 T 68 T 69 T 199 T 200 T 1507 Ap 18	T I 623a T I 868c T I 872a T IV 196b T IV 249b T XXV 42b Ap I 63

59 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 48,8 and 435,8, paralleling MN I 477,26 or a similar passage elsewhere.

60 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 142,9, paralleling MN I 486,18.

61 Cf. also Vaidya 1958a: 255.

62 Cf. also Hosoda 1989b.

63 Akanuma 1929/1990: 167 also lists SĀ 973 at T II 251b and SĀ² 207 at T II 451a. For a quotation cf. Pradhan 1967: 247,20, paralleling MN I 515,4.

64 For a quotation cf. Pradhan 1967: 457,2, paralleling MN II 13,16 or a similar passage elsewhere.

65 Cf. also Basak 1963a: 409.

		Sanskrit	fragment	SHT IV 412.12-16[66]
		Sanskrit	Avś	Speyer 1909/1970: 118[67]
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Schøyen 2376/37
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT III 804
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT V 1896
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1423
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT X 4092
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT XI 4568
		Tibetan	Avś	Devacandra 1996: 631
		Tibetan	D 1 / Q 1030	’dul ba: kha 100ba / ge 93a
MN 83	MN II 74	Chinese	MĀ 67	T I 511c
		Chinese	EĀ 50.4	T II 806c
		Chinese	T 152.87	T III 48b
		Chinese*	EĀ 1	T II 551b
		Chinese*	T 211.38	T IV 606b
		Chinese*	T 744	T XVII 553b
		Pāli	Jā 9	Jā I 137
		Pāli*	Jā 541	Jā VI 95
		Tibetan	D 1 / Q 1030	’dul ba: kha 53a / ge 48b
		Tibetan*	D 1 / Q 1030	’dul ba: kha 194b / ge 183a
		Tibetan*	D 1 / Q 1030	’dul ba: kha 196a / ge 184b
		Tibetan*	D 4094 / Q 5595	mngon: ju 76b / tu 86a[68]
MN 84	MN II 83	Chinese	SĀ 548	T II 142a
MN 85	MN II 91	Chinese*	T 1421	T XXII 74b
		Pāli*	MN 36	MN I 237
		Pāli*	MN 100	MN II 212
		Pāli*	Cūḷavagga	Vin II 127
		Sanskrit	fragment	Silverlock 2009[69]
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Bongard-Levin 1989: 509
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Hartmann 1991, no. 12[70]
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Melzer 2009: 220
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT III 997 B
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IV 33.17-28+35
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IV 165.20-24
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IV 180.1-2
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1361
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT VI 1373a
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT IX 2063d
		Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT XI 4573
		Sanskrit*	fragment	Wille 2009: 91
MN 86	MN II 97	Chinese[71]	SĀ 1077	T II 280c
		Chinese	SĀ² 16	T II 378b

[66] Cf. Matsumura 1985 and Waldschmidt 1980b.
[67] Cf. also Vaidya 1958a: 227.
[68] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 75,4.
[69] Cf. also Hartmann 2004b: 129.
[70] Cf. also Kudo 2009: 172.
[71] Akanuma 1929/1990: 168 also includes T 120 at T II 512b and D 213 / Q 879, mdo: tsha 126a / tsu 133b.

		Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan*	T 118 T 119 EĀ 38.6 T 202 T 212 fragment fragment fragment D 341 / Q 1008	T II 508b T II 510b T II 719b T IV 423b T IV 703a Hartmann 1998: 358 SHT I 160c[72] SHT VI 1561 Schmidt 1843: 239
MN 87	MN II 106	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese*	MĀ 216 T 91 EĀ 13.3 T 212 T 154.15	T I 800c T I 915a T II 571b T IV 649c T III 80c
MN 88	MN II 112	Chinese	MĀ 214	T I 797c
MN 89	MN II 118	Chinese Chinese Chinese Gāndhārī* Pāli* Tibetan	MĀ 213 EĀ 38.10 T 1451 fragment AN 10:30 D 6 / Q 1035	T I 795b T II 724b T XXIV 237a Senior Karoṣṭhī 1+3 A and B AN V 65 ’dul ba: tha 82a / de 79a
MN 90	MN II 125	Chinese Tibetan	MĀ 212 D 1 / Q 1030	T I 792c ’dul ba: kha 86a / ge 79b
MN 91	MN II 133	Chinese Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	MĀ 161 T 76 fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	T I 685a T I 883b SHT V 1148 SHT X 3269 SHT X 3425 SHT X 3962 SHT X 4094 SHT XI 4587 SHT XI 4617d
MN 92	MN II 146	Chinese Chinese Chinese* Pāli Pāli* Sanskrit	EĀ 49.6 T 1428 T 1421 Sn 3:7 Mahāvagga Bhaiṣajyavastu	T II 798a T XXII 873a25 T XXII 151b Sn p. 102 Vin I 245 Dutt 1984a: 262
MN 93	MN II 147	Chinese Chinese Chinese* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan*	MĀ 151 T 71 EĀ 40.9 fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 663b T I 876b T II 742b Schøyen 2380/37 Schøyen 2380/44 mngon: ju 110a / tu 126a[73]
MN 95	MN II 164	Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	fragment fragment	Brekke 2000: 55 Hartmann 1991, no. 17

[72] Cf. also Enomoto 1994: 22.

[73] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 121,22+25, paralleling MN II 157,1+4.

		Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	fragment fragment fragment fragment	Hartmann 2002b: 3 SHT III 883a SHT IV 165.29-31+42 SHT V 1025A
MN 96	MN II 177	Chinese	MĀ 150	T I 660c
MN 97	MN II 184	Chinese	MĀ 27	T I 456a
MN 98	MN II 196	Pāli	Sn 3:9	Sn p. 115
MN 99	MN II 196	Chinese[74] Sanskrit*	MĀ 152 fragment	T I 666c Schøyen 2375/37
MN 100	MN II 209	Pāli* Pāli* Sanskrit Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	MN 36 MN 85 fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	MN I 237 MN II 93 Zhang 2004 Hartmann 1991, no. 147 SHT IV 33.28-29+33 SHT IV 165.24-26+42+58 SHT IV 180.3-4+6 SHT IX 2063e
MN 101	MN II 214	Chinese	MĀ 19	T I 442b
MN 102	MN II 228	Sanskrit Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan Tibetan*	fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment D 294 / Q 960 D 4094 / Q 5595	DĀ (Skt) 299v[75] Hartmann 1991, no. 125-128[76] Hartmann 1991, no. 131 SHT III 882b (?) SHT IV 32.1-6 SHT IV 33.1-7 Skilling 1994a: 310 mngon: nyu 71b / thu 116a[77]
MN 104	MN II 243	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 196 T 85	T I 752c T I 904c
MN 105	MN II 252	Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment	Schøyen 2378/7 SHT IV 32.25-33 (=SHT I 32) SHT IV 165.6-14 SHT IV 500.3-4 SHT IX 2578 SHT X 3274
MN 106	MN II 261	Chinese Tibetan	MĀ 75 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 542b mngon: ju 227b / tu 260a[78]
MN 107	MN III 1	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 144 T 70	T I 652a T I 875a
MN 108	MN III 7	Chinese Tibetan*	MĀ 145 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 653c mngon: nyu 67b / thu 111b[79]

[74] Akanuma 1929/1990: 168 also lists T 79 at T I 888b.

[75] Cf. Hartmann 2004b: 126.

[76] For no. 125 cf. also Fukita 2009: 306, for no. 127 cf. also Kudo 2009: 196.

[77] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 436,9, paralleling MN II 230,17.

[78] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 227,16.

[79] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 433,12, paralleling MN III 14,1.

MN 109	MN III 15	Chinese Pāli Tibetan	SĀ 58 SN 22:82 D 4094 / Q 5595	T II 14b SN III 100 mngon: nyu 54a / thu 95a[80]
MN 112	MN III 29	Chinese	MĀ 187	T I 732a
MN 113	MN III 37	Chinese Chinese Chinese	MĀ 85 T 48 EĀ 17.9	T I 561a T I 837c T II 585a
MN 114	MN III 45	Chinese* Pāli* Pāli*	MĀ 109 AN 9:6 AN 10:54	T I 598c AN IV 365 AN V 100
MN 115	MN III 61	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese* Pāli* Tibetan Tibetan Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan*	MĀ 181 T 776 T 1537 T 1509 AN 1:15 D 297 / Q 963 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 723a T XVII 712b T XXVI 501b T XXV 237a AN I 26 mdo: sha 297a / lu 325b mngon: ju 28b / tu 31b[81] mngon: ju 56b / tu 62a[82] mngon: ju 188b / tu 215b[83] mngon: nyu 22a / thu 57a[84]
MN 116	MN III 68	Chinese[85]	EĀ 38.7	T II 723a
MN 117	MN III 71	Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan Tibetan* Tibetan*	MĀ 189 fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 735b SHT V 1125 SHT VIII 1919A mngon: nyu 43b / thu 83a[86] mngon: nyu 72b / thu 117a[87] mngon: nyu 86a / thu 132b[88]
MN 118	MN III 78	Chinese[89] Chinese* Chinese* Pāli* Sanskrit*	SĀ 815 SĀ 803 SĀ 810 SN 54:13-16 fragment	T II 209b T II 206a T II 208a SN V 328 SHT IX 3091
MN 119	MN III 88	Chinese Pāli* Pāli* Tibetan*	MĀ 81 DN 22 MN 10 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 554c DN II 291 MN I 56 mngon: nyu 58a / thu 100b[90]

[80] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 400,16, paralleling MN III 16,12.
[81] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 18,7, paralleling MN III 62,10.
[82] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 46,24, paralleling MN III 66,7.
[83] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 184,17, paralleling MN III 65,14.
[84] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 356,10, paralleling MN III 64,16.
[85] Akanuma 1929/1990: 169 also lists a passage in the *Mahāvastu* (Senart 1882a: 357), which does not seem to stand in any direct relation to MN 116.
[86] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 387,14, paralleling MN III 76,7.
[87] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 438,5, paralleling MN III 71,20.
[88] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 468,9, paralleling MN III 71,29.
[89] Akanuma 1929/1990: 169 also lists T 96 at T I 119a.
[90] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 411,5, paralleling MN III 90,14.

MN 120	MN III 99	Chinese*[91] Gāndhārī*	MĀ 168 fragment	T I 700b Senior Karoṣṭhī 10
MN 121	MN III 104	Chinese Tibetan	MĀ 190 D 290 / Q 956	T I 736c Skilling 1994a: 146
MN 122	MN III 109	Chinese Tibetan Tibetan*	MĀ 191 D 291 / Q 957 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 738a Skilling 1994a: 188 mngon: ju 235b / tu 269a[92]
MN 123	MN III 118	Chinese[93]	MĀ 32	T I 469c
MN 124	MN III 124	Chinese	MĀ 34	T I 475a
MN 125	MN III 128	Chinese Tibetan*	MĀ 198 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 757a mngon: nyu 40b / thu 79a[94]
MN 126	MN III 138	Chinese Sanskrit*	MĀ 173 fragment	T I 709c SHT VIII 1919B
MN 127	MN III 144	Chinese	MĀ 79	T I 549b
MN 128	MN III 152	Chinese Chinese* Chinese*[95] Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Pāli* Pāli* Pāli* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan* Uighur*	MĀ 72 EĀ 24.8 T 152.10 T 161 T 212 T 1421 T 1425 T 1428 Mahāvagga Jā 371 Jā 428 Kośāmbakavastu fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595 fragment	T I 532c T II 626b T III 5a T III 386a T IV 693b T XXII 158c T XXII 333c T XXII 879b Vin I 337 Jā III 211 Jā III 486 Dutt 1984b: 177 SHT VI 1384 SHT X 3306 mngon: ju 275b / thu 19b[96] von Gabain 1954: 25
MN 129	MN III 163	Chinese Chinese Sanskrit* Tibetan* Tibetan*	MĀ 199 T 86 Divyāvadāna D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 759a T I 907a Cowell 1886: 375[97] mngon: ju 66b / tu 74a[98] mngon: ju 68a / tu 75b[99]

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91 Akanuma 1929/1990: 169 also lists "A IV. 123, 124".

92 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 235,17, paralleling MN III 115,8.

93 Although not included in the above table, several of the wonderful and marvellous qualities of the Buddha described in MN 123 recur in various Buddha biographies preserved in Chinese, cf., e.g., T 184 at T III 463c, T 185 at T III 473c, T 188 at T III 618a, and T 189 at T III 625a, as well as in works like the *Buddhacarita*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, and the *Saṅghabhedavastu*.

94 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 384,22, paralleling MN III 136,15.

95 The present survey includes several accounts of the Kosambī quarrel and the Dīghāvu tale, which appear to stand at the background of the introductory narration of MN 128.

96 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 300,12.

97 Cf. also Vaidya 1999: 236.

98 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 63,6, paralleling MN III 172,10; cf. also Pradhan 1967: 184,12.

99 Cf. Pradhan 1967: 68,7, paralleling MN III 169,26.

MN 130	MN III 178	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Pāli	DĀ 30.4 MĀ 64 T 42 T 43 T 86 EĀ 32.4 T 24 T 25 T 212 T 741 AN 3:35	T I 126b T I 503a T I 826c T I 828b T I 909b T II 674b T I 330c T I 386a T IV 668c T XVII 547a AN I 138
MN 131	MN III 187	Sanskrit*	fragment	SHT III 816
MN 132	MN III 189	Chinese Sanskrit*	MĀ 167 fragment	T I 699c Minayeff 1983: 242
MN 133	MN III 192	Chinese Chinese* Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan*	MĀ 165 T 1362 D 313 / Q 979 D 617 / Q 599 D 974	T I 696b T XXI 881c mdo: sa 161b / shu 171a rgyud: ba 56a / ya 96b gzungs: waṃ 90a
MN 134	MN III 199	Chinese Chinese	MĀ 166 T 77	T I 698c T I 886a
MN 135	MN III 202	Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Chinese Khotanese Sanskrit Sanskrit Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sogdian* Tibetan Tibetan	MĀ 170 T 78 T 79 T 80 T 81 T 755 fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment fragment D 338 / Q 1005 D 339 / Q 1006	T I 703c T I 887b T I 888b T I 891a T I 895b T XVII 588c Maggi 1995: 33 Lévi 1932a: 21[100] Hoernle 1916/1970: 48 Schøyen 2382/49a Schøyen 2382/176 Schøyen 2382/252 Schøyen 2382/255 Schøyen 2382/258a Schøyen 2382/uf1/1b Schøyen 2382/uf19/1b SHT VI 1210 Rosenberg 1920: 405 Lévi 1932a: 183 mdo: sa 298b / shu 310b
MN 136	MN III 207	Chinese Chinese* Tibetan	MĀ 171 T 1509 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 706b T XXV 238b mngon: ju 262b / thu 4b[101]
MN 137	MN III 215	Chinese Sanskrit*	MĀ 163 fragment	T I 692b Schøyen 2375/17

[100] Cf. also Kudo 2004, id. 2006a+b, and id. 2007.

[101] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 281,11.

		Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan* Tibetan* Tibetan*	fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	SHT VI 1252a SHT VII 1717 mngon: ju 165b / tu 191b[102] mngon: ju 166a / tu 191b[103] mngon: nyu 59a/ thu 101a[104]
MN 138	MN III 223	Chinese Sanskrit*	MĀ 164 fragment	T I 694b SHT V 1141
MN 139	MN III 230	Chinese Sanskrit* Tibetan*	MĀ 169 fragment D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 701b SHT II 163a mngon: ju 46a / tu 50a[105]
MN 140	MN III 237	Chinese Chinese Tibetan Tibetan*	MĀ 162 T 511 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T I 690a T XIV 779a mngon: ju 34b / tu 38a[106] mngon: ju 165b / tu 191b[107]
MN 141	MN III 248	Chinese Chinese Chinese	MĀ 31 T 32 EĀ 27.1	T I 467a T I 814b T II 643a
MN 142	MN III 253	Chinese Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Gāndhārī Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan Tibetan* Tocharian* Uighur*	MĀ 180 T 84 T 202 T 203 T 1421 fragment fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595 fragment fragment	T I 721c T I 903b T IV 434a T IV 470a T XXII 185b Bajaur Karoṣṭhī 1[108] Schøyen 2379/15 SHT III 979 mngon: ju 254a / tu 289a[109] mngon: ju 258a / tu 293b[110] Xianlin 1998: 169 Geng 1988: 170[111]
MN 143	MN III 258	Chinese[112] Chinese* Chinese* Chinese* Pāli*	EĀ 51.8 SĀ 593 SĀ 1032 SĀ^2 187 SN 1:48	T II 819b T II 158b T II 269c T II 441a SN I 33

[102] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 146,22, paralleling MN III 216,29.
[103] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 150,8, paralleling MN III 217,8. For another quotation cf. also Pradhan 1967: 147,10, paralleling MN III 216,31.
[104] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 414,9, paralleling MN III 221,3.
[105] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 31,14, paralleling MN III 234,30. For another quotation cf. also Pradhan 1967: 147,10, paralleling MN III 216,31.
[106] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 24,10, paralleling MN III 239,10; cf. also Pradhan 1967: 24,1.
[107] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 146,22, paralleling MN III 239,28. For another quotation cf. also Pradhan 1967: 147,10, paralleling MN III 239,30.
[108] Cf. Strauch 2008: 20.
[109] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 270,5, paralleling MN III 255,12.
[110] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 270,14, paralleling MN III 257,22.
[111] Cf. also Tekin 1980: 69.
[112] Akanuma 1929/1990: 171 also lists MĀ 28 at T I 458b.

		Pāli*	SN 2:20	SN I 55
MN 144	MN III 263	Chinese Pāli	SĀ 1266 SN 35:87	T II 347b SN IV 55
MN 145	MN III 267	Chinese[113] Chinese Chinese Pāli Sanskrit Tibetan	SĀ 311 T 108 T 1448 SN 35:88 Divyāvadāna D 1 / Q 1030	T II 89b T II 502c T XXIV 11c SN IV 60 Cowell 1886: 37[114] 'dul ba: ka 304b / khe 284b
MN 146	MN III 270	Chinese Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan Tibetan	SĀ 276 T 1442 fragment fragment D 3 / Q 1032 D 4106 / Q 5607	T II 73c T XXIII 792a SHT VI 1226.5R-11 SHT XI 4560 'dul ba: ja 50b / nye 48b 'dul ba: phu 81b / mu 94b
MN 147	MN III 277	Chinese Chinese* Chinese* Pāli Pāli*	SĀ 200 SĀ 897 T 212 SN 35:121 SN 18:1-5	T II 51a T II 225b T IV 626b SN IV 105 SN II 244
MN 148	MN III 280	Chinese[115] Chinese* Chinese* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Tibetan Tibetan*	SĀ 304 SĀ 323-327 SĀ 330 fragment fragment D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T II 86c T II 91c T II 92a Enomoto 1989a: 9 SHT VI 1226.24R-25 mngon: ju 159a / tu 183b[116] mngon: ju 262a / thu 4a[117]
MN 149	MN III 287	Chinese Tibetan Tibetan*	SĀ 305 D 4094 / Q 5595 D 4094 / Q 5595	T II 87a mngon: ju 203b / tu 232a[118] mngon: nyu 41b / thu 80a[119]
MN 150	MN III 290	Chinese Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit* Sanskrit*	SĀ 280 fragment fragment fragment fragment	T II 76c SHT VI 1226.15-18 SHT X 3270+4060 SHT X 3273 SHT XI 4759b
MN 151	MN III 293	Chinese Chinese*	SĀ 236 EĀ 45.6	T II 57b T II 773b
MN 152	MN III 298	Chinese Sanskrit*	SĀ 282 fragment	T II 78a SHT VI 1226.22V-24V

[113] Akanuma 1929/1990: 171 also lists SĀ 215 at T II 54b.
[114] Cf. also Vaidya 1999: 22.
[115] Akanuma 1929/1990: 171 also lists MĀ 86 at T I 562a.
[116] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 143,8, paralleling MN III 280,22.
[117] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 279,1, paralleling MN III 285,6.
[118] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 196,21, paralleling MN III 289,2.
[119] Cf. Pradhan 1967: 385,6, paralleling MN III 289,9.

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[1] The alphabetical order of the present index disregards diacritics, thus letters like ñ, ṭ, ḍ, or ś are sequenced as d, n, s, and t.

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